4.

OF THE LAVVES of Eccleſiaſticall Politie.

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Eyght Bookes.

By Richard Hooker.



Printed at London by *Iohn Windet*, dwelling at the ſigne of the *Croſſe keyes neere Powles Wharffe, and are there* to be ſoulde

A Preface.

To them that seeke (as they tearme it) the reformation of Lawes, and orders Ecclesiasticall, in the Church of ENGLAND.



THough for no other cause, yet for this; that posteritie may know we haue not loosely through silence permitted things to passe away as in a dreame, there shall be for mens information extant thus much concerning the present state of the Church of God established amongst vs, and their carefull endeuour which woulde haue vpheld the same. At your hands beloued in our Lord and Sauiour Iesus Christ (for in him the loue which we beare vnto all that would but seeme to be borne of him, it is not the sea of your gall and bitternes that shall euer drown) I haue no great cause to looke for other then the selfesame portion and lot, which your maner hath bene hitherto to lay on them that concurre not in opinion and sentence with you. But our hope is that the God of peace shall (notwithstanding mans nature too impatient of contumelious malediction) inable vs quietlie and euen gladly to suffer all things, for that worke sake which we couet to performe. The wonderfull zeale and feruour wherewith ye haue withstood the receiued orders of this Church was the first thing which caused me to enter into consideration, whether (as all your published bookes and writings peremptorilie mainteine) euerie christian man fearing God stand bound to ioyne with you for the furtherance of that which yee tearme the Lords Discipline. Wherein I must plainely confesse vnto

The cause and occasion of handling these things, and what might be wished in them for whose sakes so much paine is taken.

you, that before I examined your ſundrie declarations in that behalfe, it could not ſettle in my head to thinke but that vndoubtedly ſuch numbers of otherwiſe right well affected and moſt religiouſlie enclined mindes, had ſome maruelous reaſonable inducements which led them with ſo great earneſtnes that way. But when once, as neere as my ſlender abilitie woulde ſerue, I had with trauaile and care performed that part of the Apoſtles aduiſe and counſell in ſuch caſes whereby he willeth to try all things, *and was come at the length ſo farre, that there remained only the other clauſe to be ſatiſfied, wherein he concludeth that* what good is muſt be held: *there was in my poore vnderſtanding no remedie, but to ſet downe this as my finall reſolute perſuaſion,* Surely the preſent forme of Churchgouernment which the lawes of this land haue eſtabliſhed, is ſuch, as no lawe of God, nor reaſon of man hath hitherto bene alleaged of force ſufficient to proue they do ill, who to the vttermoſt of their power withſtand the alteration thereof. *Contrariwiſe,* The other which in ſtead of it we are required to accept, is only by error and miſconceipt named the ordinance of Ieſus Chriſt, no one proofe as yet brought forth whereby it may cleerely appeare to be ſo in very deede. *The explication of which two things I haue heere thought good to offer into your owne hands, hartely beſeeching you euen by the meekeneſſe of Ieſus Chriſt, whome I truſt ye loue; that, as ye tender the peace and quietnes of this Church, if there be in you that gracious humilitie which hath euer bene the crowne and glorie of a chriſtianlie diſpoſed mind, if your owne ſoules, heartes, and conſciences, (the ſound integritie whereof can but hardlie ſtand with the refuſall of truth in perſonall reſpects) be, as I doubt not but they are, things moſt deere and pretious vnto you,* Let not the faith which ye haue in our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, *be blemiſhed* with partialities, *regard not who it is which ſpeaketh, but waigh only what is ſpoken. Thinke not that ye reade the words of one, who bendeth himſelfe as an aduerſarie againſt the truth which ye haue alreadie embraced; but the words of one, who deſireth euen to embrace together with you the ſelfe ſame truth, if it be the truth, and for that cauſe (for no other God he knoweth) hath vndertaken the burthenſome labour of this painefull kinde of conference. For the plainer acceſſe whereunto, let it be lawfull for me to rip vp to the verie bottome, how and by whome your Diſcipline was planted, at ſuch time as this age we liue in began to make firſt triall thereof.*

Iam. 2. 1.

2. *A founder it had, whome, for mine owne part, I thinke incomparably the wiſeſt man that euer the french Church did enioy, ſince the houre it enioyed him. His bringing vp was in the ſtudie of the Ciuill Lawe. Diuine knowledge he gathered, not by hearing or reading ſo much, as by teaching others. For, though thouſands were debters to him, as touching knowledge in that kinde; yet he to none but onely to God, the author of that moſt bleſſed fountaine, the booke of life, and of the admirable dexteritie of wit, together with the helpes of other learning which were his guides: till being occaſioned to leaue Fraunce, he fell at the length vpon Geneua; which Citie, the Biſhop and Cleargie thereof had a little before, (as ſome doe affirme) forſaken, being of likelyhood frighted with the peoples ſuddaine attempt for aboliſhment of popiſh religion: the euent of which enterpriſe they thought it not ſafe for themſelues to wait for in that place. At the comming of Caluin thither, the forme of their ciuill regiment was popular, as it continueth at this day: neither King, nor Duke, nor noble man of any authoritie or power ouer them, but officers choſen by the people yerely out of themſelues, to order all things with publique conſent. For ſpirituall gouernment, they had no lawes at all agreed vpon, but did what the Paſtors of their ſoules by perſuaſion could win them vnto. Caluin, being admitted one of their Preachers, and a diuinitie reader amongſt them, conſidered how dangerous it was that the whole eſtate of that Church ſhould hang ſtill on ſo ſlender a thred, as the liking of an ignorant multitude is, if it haue power to change whatſoeuer it ſelfe liſteth. Wherefore taking vnto him two of the other miniſters for more countenance of the action (albeit the reſt were all againſt it) they moued, and in the end perſwaded with much adoe, the people to binde themſelues by ſolemne oath, firſt neuer to admit the Papacie amongſt them againe; and ſecondlie, to liue in obedience vnto ſuch orders concerning the exerciſe of their religion, and the forme of their eccleſiaſticall gouernment, as thoſe their true and faithfull Miniſters of Gods word had agreeablie to Scripture ſet downe for that ende and purpoſe. When theſe things began to be put in vre, the people alſo (what cauſes mouing them thereunto, themſelues beſt knowe) began to repent them of that they had done, and irefully to champ vpon the bit they had taken into their mouthes; the rather for that they grew by meanes of this innouation into diſlike with ſome Churches neere about them, the benefite of whoſe good friendſhip their ſtate could not well lacke. It was the manner of thoſe times (whether through mens deſire to enioy alone the glorie of their owne enterpriſes, or elſe becauſe the quicknes of their occaſions required preſent diſpatch,)*

The firſt eſtabliſhment of new diſcipline by M. Caluins induſtry in the Church of Geneua, and the beginning of ſtrife about it amongſt our ſelues.

ſo it was, that euerie particular Church did that within it ſelfe, which ſome fewe of their owne thought good, by whome the reſt were all directed. Such number of Churches then being, though free within themſelues, yet ſmal, common conference before hand might haue eaſed them of much after trouble. But a greater inconuenience it bred, that euerie later endeuoured to bee certaine degrees more remoued from conformitie with the Church of Rome, then the reſt before had bene: whereupon grewe maruelous great diſſimilitudes, and by reaſon thereof, iealouſies, hartburnings, iarres and diſcords amongſt them. VVhich notwithſtanding might haue eaſily bene preuented, if the orders which each Church did thinke fit and conuenient for it ſelfe, had not ſo peremptorily bene eſtabliſhed vnder that high commaunding forme, which tendered them vnto the people, as things euerlaſtinglie required by the lawe of that Lord of Lords, againſt whoſe ſtatutes there is no exception to be taken. For by this meane it came to paſſe, that one Church could not but accuſe and condemne another of diſobedience to the will of Chriſt, in thoſe things where manifeſt difference was betweene them: whereas the ſelfe ſame orders allowed, but yet eſtabliſhed in more warie and ſuſpenſe maner, as being to ſtand in force till God ſhould giue the opportunitie of ſome generall cõference what might be beſt for euerie of them afterwards to doe; this I ſaie had both preuented all occaſion of iuſt diſlike which others might take, and reſerued a greater libertie vnto the authors themſelues of entring into farder conſultation afterwards. Which though neuer ſo neceſſarie they could not eaſilie now admit, without ſome feare of derogation from their credit: and therefore that which once they had done, they became for euer after reſolute to maintaine. Caluin therefore and the other two his aſſociats ſtiffely refuſing to adminiſter the holie Communion to ſuch as would not quietlie without contradiction and murmur ſubmit themſelues vnto the orders which their ſolemne oath had bound them to obey, were in that quarell baniſhed the towne. A fewe yeares after (ſuch was the leuitie of that people) the places of one or two of their Miniſters beeing fallen voyde, they were not before ſo willing to be rid of their learned Paſtor, as now importunate to obteine him againe from them who had giuen him entertainment, and which were loath to part with him, had not vnreſiſtable earneſtnes bene vſed. One of the towne miniſters that ſawe in what manner the people were bent for the reuocation of Caluin, gaue him notize of their affection in this ſort. The Senate of two hundred being aſſembled, they all craue Caluin. The next day a generall conuocation. They crye in like ſort againe all: Wee will haue Caluin that good and learned man Chriſts Miniſter. This, *ſaith he*, when

Epiſt. Cal. 24.

I vnderstoode I coulde not choose but praise God, nor was I able to iudge otherwise then that this was the Lordes doing, and that it was marueilous in our eyes, *and* That the stone which the builders refused, was now made the head of the corner. Luc. 20. 17.

The other two whom they had throwne out (together with Caluin) they were content should enioy their exile. Many causes might leade them to be more desirous of him. First, his yeelding vnto them in one thing, might happily put them in hope, that time would breede the like easines of condescending further vnto them. For in his absence he had perswaded them, with whome he was able to preuaile, that albeit himselfe did better like of common bread to be vsed in the Eucharist, yet the other they rather should accept, then cause any trouble in the Church about it. Againe they saw that the name of Caluin waxed euery day greater abroad, and that, together with his fame, their infamie was spred, which had so rashly and childishly electe him. Besides it was not vnlikely but that his credite in the world, might many waies stand the poore towne in great stead: as the truth is, their ministers forrein estimation hitherto hath beene the best stake in their hedge. But what soeuer secret respectes were likely to moue them, for contenting of their minds Caluin returned (as it had beene another Tully) to his old home. He ripely considered how grosse a thing it were for men of his qualitie, wise and graue men, to liue with such a multitude, and to be tenants at will vnder them, as their ministers, both himselfe and others, had bene. For the remedy of which inconuenience he gaue them plainly to vnderstande, that if he did become their teacher againe, they must be content to admit a complet forme of discipline, which both they, and also their pastors should now be solemnely sworn to obserue for euer after. Of which discipline the main and principall partes were these: A standing ecclesiasticall Court to be established; perpetuall Iudges in that Court to be their ministers, others of the people annually chosen twice so many in number as they to be iudges together with them in the same Court: these two sorts to haue the care of all mens manners, power of determining all kind of Ecclesiasticall causes, and authoritie to conuent, to cõtroll, to punish, as farre as with excõmunication, whom soeuer they should thinke worthy, none eyther small or great excepted. This deuise I see not how the wisest at that time lyuing could haue bettered, if we duely consider what the present estate of Geneua did then require. For their Bishop and his Clergie being (as it is sayd) departed from them by moonelight, or howsoeuer, being departed, to choose in his roome any other Bishop, had beene a thing altogether impossible. And for their ministers to seeke that themselues alone might haue cõertiue power ouer the whole Church, would perhaps

haue

haue beene hardly construed at that time. But when so franke an offer was made, that for euery one minister there should be two of the people to sit and giue voyce in the Ecclesiasticall Consistorie, what inconuenience could they easily find which themselues might not be able alwaies to remedy? Howbeit (as euermore the simpler sort are, euen when they see no apparent cause, iealous notwithstanding ouer the secret intents and purposes of wiser men) this proposition of his did somewhat trouble them. Of the Ministers themselues, which had staied behind in the Citie when Caluin was gone, some, vppon knowledge of the peoples earnest intent to recall him to his place againe, had before hand written their letters of submission, and assured him of their aleagance for euer after, if it should like him to hearken vnto that publique suite. But yet misdoubting what might happen, if this discipline did goe forwarde; they obiected against it the example of other reformed Churches liuing quietly and orderly without it. Some of chiefest place and countenance amongest the laitie professed with greater stomacke their iudgements, that such a discipline was little better then popish tyranny disguised and tendered vnto them vnder a new forme. This sort, it may be, had some feare that the filling vp of the seates in the Consistorie with so great a number of lay men, was but to please the mindes of the people, to the ende they might thinke their owne swaye somewhat; but when thinges came to tryall of practise their Pastors learning woulde be at all times of force to ouerperswade simple men, who knowing the time of their owne Presidentship to be but short, would alwayes stande in feare of their Ministers perpetuall authoritie: and among the Ministers themselues, one being so farre in estimation aboue the rest, the voyces of the rest were likely to be giuen for the most part respectiuely with a kinde of secret dependencie and awe: so that in shewe a maruelous indifferently composed Senate Ecclesiasticall was to gouerne, but in effect one onely man shoulde, as the Spirite and soule of the residue, doe all in all. But what did these vaine surmises boote? Brought they were now to so streight an issue, that of two thinges they must choose one: namely whether they would to their endlesse disgrace, with ridiculous lightnes, dismisse him whose restitution they had in so impotent manner desired; or else condescend vnto that demaund, wherein he was resolute eyther to haue it or to leaue them. They thought it better to be somewhat hardly yoked at home, then for euer abroad discredited. Wherefore in the ende those orders were on all sides assented
An.D.1541. vnto: with no lesse alacritie of minde, then Cities vnable to holde out longer are woont to shewe, when they take conditions such as it liketh him to offer them which hath them in the narrowe streightes of aduantage. Not

many

many yeares were ouerpassed, before these twice sworne men aduentured to giue their last & whotest assault to the fortresse of the same discipline; childishly granting by cõmon consent of their whole Senate, & that vnder their towne seale, a relaxation to one Bertelier whom the Eldership had excommunicated; further also decreeing, with strange absurditie, that to the same Senate it should belong to giue finall iudgemẽt in matter of excõmunication, and to absolue whom it pleased them: cleane contrarie to their owne former deedes & othes. The report of which decree being foorthwith brought vnto Caluin; Before (*sayth he*) this decree take place, either my bloud or banishment shall signe it. *Againe two dayes before the Cõmunion should bee celebrated, his speech was publiquely to like effect,* Kill me if euer this hand do reach forth the things that are holy to thẽ whom THE CHVRCH hath iudged despisers. *Whereupon, for feare of tumult, the forenamed Bertelier was by his friends aduised for that time not to vse the liberty granted him by the Senate, nor to present himself in the Church, till they sawe somewhat further what would ensue. After the Communion quietly ministred, and some likelihoode of peaceable ending these troubles without any more ado, that very day in the afternoone, besides all mens expectation, concluding his ordinary sermon, he telleth them, that because hee neither had learned nor taught to striue with such as are in authoritie, therfore (saith he)* the case so standing as now it doth, let me vse these words of the Apostle vnto you, I commend you vnto God & the word of his grace, *and so bad them hartily all* Adew. *It sometimes commeth to passe that the readiest way, which a wise man hath to conquer, is to flie. This voluntarie and vnexpected mention of suddaine departure caused presently the Senate (for according to their woonted maner they still continued only constant in vnconstancy) to gather themselues together, and for a time to suspend their own decree, leauing things to proceed as before till they had heard the iudgement of foure Heluetian Cities concerning the matter which was in strife. This to haue done at the first before they gaue asset vnto any order had shewed some wit & discretion in thẽ: but now to do it was as much as to say in effect, that they would play their parts on a stage. Caluin therfore dispatcheth with all expedition his letters vnto some principall pastor in euery of those cities, crauing earnestly at their hands, to respect this cause as a thing whereupõ the whole state of religion & piety in that church did so much depend, ẏ God & all good men were now ineuitably certaine to be trampled vnder foot, vnlesse those foure Cities by their good means might be brought to giue sentence with the ministers of Geneua, when the cause should be brought before them: yea so to giue it, that two thinges it might*

effectually

effectually containe; the one an absolute approbation of the discipline of Geneua as consonant vnto the word of God without any cautions, qualifications, ifs or ands; the other an earnest admonition not to innouate or change the same. His vehement request herein as touching both points was satisfied. For albeit the said Heluetian Churches did neuer as yet obserue that discipline, neuertheless the Senate of Geneua hauing required their iudgement concerning these three questions: First, after what manner by Gods commaundement according to the Scripture, and vnspotted religion excommunication is to be exercised: *Secondly,* whether it may not be exercised some other way then by the Consistory: *thirdly,* what the vse of their Churches was to doe in this case: *answere was returned from the sayd Churches,* That they had heard alreadie of those consistoriall lawes, and did acknowledge them to be *godly* ordinances *drawing towards* the prescript of the word of God, for which cause that they did not thinke it good for *the Church of Geneua* by innouation to change the same, but rather to keepe them as they were. *Which answere, although not answering vnto the former demaundes, but respecting what M. Caluin had iudged requisite for them to answere, was notwithstanding accepted without any further reply: in as much as they plainely saw that when stomacke doth striue with wit, the match is not equall. And so the heat of their former contentions began to slake. The present inhabitants of Geneua, I hope, will not take it in euill part that the faltinesse of their people heretofore, is by vs so farre foorth layd open, as their owne learned guides and Pastors haue thought necessarie to discouer it vnto the world. For out of their bookes and writinges it is that I haue collected this whole narration, to the end it might thereby appeare in what sort amongst them that discipline was planted, for which so much contention is raised amongest our selues. The reason which mooued Caluin herein to be so earnest, was, as Beza him selfe testifyeth,* for that he saw how needfull these bridles were to be put in the iawes of that Citie. *That which by wisedome he saw to be requisite for that people, was by as great wisedome compassed. But wise men are men, and the truth is truth. That which Caluin did for establishment of his discipline, seemeth more comendable then that which he tanght for the countenancing of it established. Nature worketh in vs all a loue to our owne Counsels. The contradiction of others is a fanne to inflame that loue. Our loue set on fire to maintaine that which once we haue done, sharpneth the wit to dispute, to argue, and by all meanes to reason for it. Wherefore a marualle it were if a man of so great capacitie, hauing such incitements to make him desirous of*

2p. 166.

Quod eam vrbem videret omnino his frenis indigere.

all

all kind of furtherances vnto his cause, could espie in the whole Scripture of God nothing which might breed at the least a probable opinion of likelihood, that diuine authoritie it selfe was the same way somewhat inclinable. And all which the wit euen of Caluin was able from thence to drawe, by sifting the very vtmost sentence and syllable, is no more then that certaine speeches there are which to him did seeme to intimate that all Christian Churches ought to haue their Eldershipps indued with power of excommunication, and that a part of those Eldershipps euery where should be chosen out frō amongst the laitie after that forme which himselfe had framed Geneua vnto. But what argument are yee able to showe, whereby it was euer prooued by Caluin, that any one sentence of Scripture doeth necessarily enforce these thinges, or the rest wherein your opinion concurreth with his against the orders of your owne Church? We should be iniurious vnto vertue it selfe, if wee did derogate from them whome their industrie hath made great. Two thinges of principall moment there are which haue deseruedly protured him honour throughout the worlde: the one his exceeding paynes in composing the Institutions of Christian religion; the other his no lesse industrious trauailes for exposition of holy Scripture according vnto the same institutions. In which two thinges who soeuer they were that after him bestowed their labour; hee gayned the aduantage of preiudice against them if they gainesayde; and of glorie, aboue them, if they consented. His writinges published after the question about that discipline was once begunne omit not any the least occasion of extolling the vse and singuler necessitie thereof. Of what accompt the Maister of sentences was in the Church of Rome, the same and more amongest the preachers of reformed Churches Caluin had purchased: so that the perfectest diuines were iudged they, which were skilfullest in Caluins writinges. His bookes almost the very Canon to iudge both doctrine and discipline by. French Churches, both vnder others abroade and at home in their owne Countrie, all cast according vnto that mould which Caluin had made. The Church of Scotlande in erecting the fabricke of their reformation tooke the selfe same paterne. Till at length the discipline, which was at the first so weake, that without the staffe of their approbation, who were not subiect vnto it themselues, it had not brought others vnder subiection; beganne nowe to chalenge vniuersall obedience, and to enter into open conflict with those very Churches which in desperate extremitie had beene relieuers of it. To one of those Churches which liued in most peaceable sort, and abounded as well with men for their learning in other professions singular, as also with diuines whose equals were not elsewhere to be found,

a Church

a Church ordered by Gualters diſcipline, and not by that which Geneua adoreth: vnto this Church, the Church of Heidelberge, there commeth one who craning leaue to diſpute publiquely defendeth with open diſdaine of their gouernement, that To a Miniſter with his Elderſhip power is giuen by the lawe of God to excommunicate whomſoeuer, yea euen kings and princes themſelues. *Here were the ſeedes ſowne of that controuerſie which ſprang vp betweene Beza and Eraſtus about the matter of excommunication, whether there ought to be in all Churches an Elderſhip hauing power to excommunicate, and a part of that Elderſhip to be of neceſsitie certaine choſen out from amongeſt the laity for that purpoſe. In which diſputation they haue, as to me it ſeemeth, deuided very equally the truth betweene them; Beza moſt truely mainteyning the neceſsitie of excommunication, Eraſtus as truely the nonneceſsitie of layelders to be miniſters thereof. Amongeſt our ſelues, there was in King Edwardes dayes ſome queſtion mooued by reaſon of a few mens ſcrupuloſitie touching certain thinges. And beyond Seas, of them which fled in the dayes of Q. Mary, ſome contenting themſelues abroad with the vſe of their owne Seruice booke at home authoriſed before their departure out of the Realme; others liking better the Common prayer booke of the Church of Geneua tranſlated, thoſe ſmaller contentions before begun were by this meane ſomewhat increaſed. Vnder the happy raigne of her Maieſtie which now is, the greateſt matter a while cõtended for was the wearing of the Cap & Surpleſſe, till there came Admonitions directed vnto the high Court of Parliament, by men who concealing their names thought it glory enough to diſcouer their mindes and affections, which now were vniuerſally bent euen againſt all the orders and lawes wherein this Church is found vnconformable to the platforme of Geneua. Concerning the defendor of which admonitions, all that I meane to ſay is but this:* There will come a time when three words vttered with charitie and meekenes ſhall receiue a farre more bleſsed rewarde then three thouſand volumes written with diſdainefull ſharpnes of wit. *But the maner of mens writing muſt not alienate our hearts from the truth if it appeare they haue the truth: as the followers of the ſame defendor doe thinke he hath, and in that perſwaſion they followe him, no otherwiſe then himſelfe doth Caluin, Beza and others with the like perſwaſion that they in this cauſe had the truth. We being as fully perſwaded otherwiſe, it reſteth that ſome kinde of triall be vſed to finde out which part is in error.*

By what meanes ſo many of the people are trained into the liking of that diſcipline.

3. *The firſt meane whereby nature teacheth men to iudge good from euill as well in lawes as in other things, is the force of their owne diſcretion.*

Hereunto

Hereunto therefore Saint Paule referreth oftentimes his owne ſpeech to be conſidered of by them that heard him, I ſpeake as to them which haue vnderſtanding, iudge ye what I ſay. 1. Cor. 10. 15. *Againe afterwarde,* Iudge in your ſelues, is it comely that a woman pray vncouered? 1. Cor. 11. 13. Luc. 12. 56. 57. *The exercise of this kind of iudgement our Sauiour requireth in the Iewes. In them of Berea the Scripture commendeth it. Finally whatſoeuer we doe, if our owne ſecret iudgement conſent not vnto it as fit and good to be done; the doing of it to vs is ſinne, although the thing it ſelfe be allowable. Saint Pauls rule therefore generally is,* Let euery man in his owne minde be fully perſwaded of that thing which he either alloweth or doth. Rom. 14. 5. *Some things are ſo familier and plaine, that truth from falſhood, and good from euill is moſt eaſily diſcerned in them, euen by men of no deepe capacitie. And of that nature, for the moſt part are things abſolutely vnto all mens ſaluation neceſſarie, eyther to be held or denied, eyther to be done or auoyded. For which cauſe Saint Auguſtine acknowledgeth that they are not onely ſet downe, but alſo plainely ſet downe in Scripture: ſo that he which heareth or readeth may, without any great difficultie, vnderſtand. Other thinges alſo there are belonging (though in a lower degree of importance) vnto the offices of Chriſtian men: which, becauſe they are more obſcure, more intricate and hard to be iudged of, therefore God hath appointed ſome to ſpende their whole time principally in the ſtudie of things diuine, to the end that in theſe more doubtfull caſes their vnderſtanding might be a light to direct others.* If the vnderſtanding power or facultie of the ſoule be (*ſayth the grand Phiſition*) like vnto bodily ſight not of equall ſharpnes in all, what can be more conuenient then that, euen as the darke-ſighted man is directed by the cleare about things viſible, ſo likewiſe in matters of deeper diſcourſe the wiſe in heart do ſhewe the ſimple where his way lyeth? *In our doubtfull caſes of law, what man is there who ſeeth not howe requiſite it is that profeſſors of skill in that facultie be our directors? So it is in all other kindes of knowledge. And euen in this kinde likewiſe the Lorde hath himſelfe appointed, that* the Prieſts lips ſhould preſerue knowledge, and that other mē ſhould ſeeke the truth at his mouth, *becauſe* he is the meſſenger of the Lorde of Hoſts. Galen. de opt. docen. gen. Mal. 2. 7. *Gregory Nazianzene offended at the peoples too great preſumption in controlling the iudgement of them to whom in ſuch caſes they ſhould haue rather ſubmitted their owne, ſeeketh by earneſt intreatie to ſtaie them within their boundes:* Preſume not yee that are ſheepe to make your ſelues guides of them that ſhould guide you, neither ſeeke ye to ouerskip the folde which they about you haue pitched. Greg. Naz. orat. qua ſe excuſat. It ſufficeth

for your part, if ye can well frame your ſelues to be ordered. Take not vpon you to iudge your iudges, nor to make them ſubiect to your lawes who ſhould be a law to you. For God is not a God of
Matth. 15. 14. ſedition and confuſion but of order and of peace. *But ye will ſay that if the gudes of the people be blind, the common ſort of men muſt not cloſe vp*
Mal 2. 9. *their owne eyes and be led by the conduct of ſuch; if the Prieſt be partiall in the lawe, the flocke muſt not therefore depart from the wayes of ſincere truth, and in ſimplicitie yeelde to be followers of him for his place ſake and office ouer them. Which thing, though in it ſelfe moſt true, is in your defence not withſtanding weake: becauſe the matter, wherein ye thinke that yee ſee and imagine that your wayes are ſincere, is of farre deeper conſideration then any one amongeſt fiue hundered of you conceiueth. Let the vulgar ſort amongſt you know that there is not the leaſt branch of the cauſe wherin they are ſo reſolute, but to the tryall of it a great deale more appertaineth then their conceipt doth reach vnto. I write not this in diſgrace of the ſimpleſt that way giuen, but I would gladly they knewe the nature of that cauſe wherein they thinke themſelues throughly inſtructed and are not; by means*
Iud. ver. 10. 2. Pet. 2. 12. Cal inſtit. li. 4. cap. 20. Sect. 8. *whereof they dayly run themſelues, without feeling their owne hazard, vpō the dint of the Apoſtles ſentence againſt euill ſpeakers as touching thinges wherein they are ignorant. If it be graunted a thing vnlawfull for priuate men, not called vnto publique conſultation, to diſpute which is the beſt ſtate of ciuill Politie (with a deſire of bringing in ſome other kind thē that vnder which they already liue, for of ſuch diſputes I take it his meaning was) if it be a thing confeſt that of ſuch queſtions they cannot determine without raſhnes, in as much as a great part of them conſiſteth in ſpeciall circumſtances, & for one kinde as many reaſons may be brought as for an other; is there anie reaſon in the world why they ſhould better iudge what kind of regimēt Eccleſiaſticall is the fitteſt? For in the Ciuill ſtate more inſight, and in thoſe affaires more experiēce a great deale muſt needs be granted thē, then in this they can poſsibly haue? When they which write in defence of your diſcipline*
The author of the petition directed to her Maieſtie p. 3. *and commend it vnto the* Higheſt *not in the leaſt cūning maner, are forced notwithſtāding to acknowledge, that* with whō the truth is they know not, *they are not certaine; what certainty or knowledge can the multitude haue therof? Waigh what doth moue ỹ cōmō ſort ſo much to fauour this innouation, & it ſhall ſoone appear vnto you, that the force of particular reaſons which for your ſeueral opinions are alleaged is a thing wherof the multitude neuer did nor could ſo cōſider as to be therewith wholly carried; but certaine generall inducements are vſed to make ſaleable your Cauſe in groſſe; and when once men haue caſt a phancie towardes it, any ſlight declaration of*

ſpecialties

ſpecialties will ſerue to lead forward mens inclinable and prepared mindes. The method of winning the peoples affection vnto a generall liking of the Cauſe (for ſo ye terme it) hath beene this. Firſt in the hearing of the multitude, the faults eſpecially of higher callings are ripped vp with meruelous exceeding ſeuerity and ſharpnes of reproofe; which being oftentimes done begetteth a great good opinion of integritie, zeale and holines, to ſuch conſtant reproouers of ſinne, as by likelihood would neuer be ſo much offended at that which is euill, vnleſſe themſelues were ſingularly good. The next thing hereunto is to impute all faults and corruptions where with the worlde aboundeth, vnto the kind of Eccleſiaſticall gouernement eſtabliſhed. Wherin, as before by reprouing faults, they purchaſed vnto themſelues with the multitude a name to be vertuous; ſo by finding out this kinde of cauſe they obtaine to be iudged wiſe aboue others; whereas in truth vnto the forme euen of Jewiſh gouernement, which the Lord himſelfe (they all confeſſe) did eſtabliſh, with like ſhew of reaſon they might impute thoſe faults which the Prophets condemne in the gouernors of that common wealth, as to the Engliſh kind of regiment Eccleſiaſticall (whereof alſo God himſelfe though in other ſort is author) the ſtaines and blemiſhes found in our State, which ſpringing from the root of humaine frailtie and corruption, not only are, but haue beene alwaies more or leſſe, yea and (for any thing we know to the contrary) will be till the worlds end complained of, what forme of gouernment ſoeuer take place. Hauing gotten thus much ſway in the hearts of men, a third ſtep is to propoſe their owne forme of Church gouernement, as the only ſoueraigne remedy of all euils; and to adorne it with all the glorious titles that may be. And the nature, as of men that haue ſicke bodies, ſo likewiſe of the people in the craſednes of their mindes poſſeſt with diſlike and diſcontentment at things preſent, is to imagine that any thing (the vertue whereof they here commended) would helpe them; but that moſt, which they leaſt haue tryed. The fourth degree of inducement is by faſhioning the very notions & conceipts of mens minds in ſuch ſort, that whē they read the Scripture, they may thinke that euery thing ſoundeth towards the aduancement of that diſcipline, and to the vtter diſgrace of the contrary. Pythagoras, by bringing vp his Scholers in the ſpeculatiue knowledge of numbers, made their conceipts therein ſo ſtrong, that when they came to the contemplation of things naturall they imagined that in euery particular thing they euen beheld as it were with their eyes, howe the elementes of number gaue eſſence and being to the workes of nature. A thing in reaſon impoſsible; which not withſtanding through their miſfaſhioned preconceipt, appeared vnto them no leſſe certaine, then if nature had written it in the verie

Ariſt. Metaph. lib. 1. cap. 5.

foreheads of all the creatures of God. When they of the family of loue haue it once in their heades, that Christ *doth not signifie any one person but a qualitie whereof many are pertakers; that to be* rayſed *is nothing elſe but to be regenerated or indued with the ſayd qualitie; and that when ſeparation of them which haue it from them which haue it not is here made, this is* iudgement; *how plainely do they imagine that the Scripture euery where ſpeaketh in the fauour of that ſect? And aſſuredly the very cauſe which maketh the ſimple and ignorant to thinke they euen ſee how the worde of God runneth currantly on your ſide, is that their mindes are foreſtalled and their conceites peruerted before hand by being taught, that an* Elder *doth ſignifie a layman admitted onely to the office of rule or gouernement in the Church; a* Doctor *one which may only teach and neither preach nor adminiſter the Sacramentes; a* Deacon *one which hath charge of the almes box and of nothing elſe: that the* Scepter, *the* rod, *the* throne *&* kingdome *of Chriſt are a forme of regiment, onely by Paſtors, Elders, Doctors and Deacons: that by myſticall reſemblance mount Syon and Ieruſalem are the Churches which admit, Samaria and Babylon the Churches which oppugne the ſaid forme of regimẽt. And in like ſort they are taught to apply all things ſpoken of repairing the wals and decayed parts of the City & temple of God, by Eſdras, Nehemias, & the reſt: as if purpoſely the holy ghoſt had therein ment to foreſignifie, what the authors of admonitions to the Parliament, of ſupplications to the Councell, of petitions to her Maieſtie, & of ſuch other like writs, ſhould either doe or ſuffer in behalfe of this their cauſe. From hence they proceede to an higher point, which is the perſwading of men credulous & ouer capable of ſuch pleaſing errors, that it is the ſpeciall illumination of the holy Ghoſt, whereby they diſcerne thoſe things in the word, which others reading yet diſcerne them not. Dearely beloued ſaith S. Iohn,* Giue not credit vnto euery Spirite. *There are but two waies whereby the ſpirit leadeth men into all truth: the one extraordinarie, the other common; the one belonging but vnto ſome few, the other extending it ſelfe vnto all that are of God; the one that which we call by a ſpeciall diuine excellency* Reuelation, *the other* Reaſon. *If the Spirite by ſuch reuelation haue diſcouered vnto thẽ the ſecrets of that diſcipline out of Scripture, they muſt profeſſe themſelues to be all (euen men, women, and children) Prophets. Or if reaſon be the hand which the Spirite hath led them by, for as much as perſwaſions grounded vpon reaſon are either weaker or ſtronger according to the force of thoſe reaſons whereupon the ſame are grounded, they muſt euery of them from the greateſt to the leaſt be able for euery ſeuerall article to ſhowe ſome ſpecial reaſon as ſtrong as their perſwaſion therin is earneſt. Otherwiſe*

1. Ioh. 4. 1.

how

how can it be but that some other sinewes there are from which that ouerplus of strength in perswasion doth arise? Most sure it is, that when mens affections doe frame their opinions, they are in defense of error more earnest a great deale, then (for the most part) sound belieuers in the maintenance of truth apprehended according to the nature of that euidence which scripture yeeldeth: which being in some things plaine, as in the principles of Christian doctrine; in some things, as in these matters of discipline, more darke and doubtfull, frameth correspondentlie that inward assent which Gods most gracious Spirit worketh by it as by his effectuall instrument. It is not therefore the feruent earnestnes of their perswasion, but the soundnes of those reasons whereupon the same is built, which must declare their opinions in these things to haue bene wrought by the holie Ghost, and not by the fraud 2. Thess. 2. 11. *of that euill Spirit which is euen in his illusions strong. After that the phancie of the common sort hath once throughlie apprehended the Spirit to be author of their perswasion concerning discipline, then is instilled into their hearts, that the same Spirit leading men into this opinion, doth thereby seale them to be Gods children, and that as the state of the times now standeth, the most speciall token to know them that are Gods owne from others, is an earnest affection that waie. This hath bred high tearmes of separation betweene such and the rest of the world, whereby the one sort are named* The *brethren,* The *godlie, and so forth, the other worldlings, timeseruers, pleasers of men not of God, with such like. From hence, they are easilie drawne on to thinke it exceeding necessarie, for feare of quenching that good Spirit, to vse all meanes whereby the same may be both strengthned in themselues, and made manifest vnto others. This maketh them diligent hearers of such as are knowne that way to incline; this maketh them eager to take and to seeke all occasions of secret conference with such; this maketh them glad to vse such as Counsellors and directors in all their dealings which are of waight, as contractes, testaments, and the like; this maketh them, through an vnwearied desire of receyuing instruction from the maisters of that companie, to cast off the care of those verie affayres which doe most concerne theyr estate, and to thinke that then they are lyke vnto Marie, commendable for making choice of the better parte. Finallie, this is it which maketh them willing to charge, yea, oftentimes euen to ouercharge themselues for such mens sustenance and relieue, least their zeale to the cause shoulde any waie bee vnwitnessed. For what is it which poore beguiled soules will not doe through so powerfull incitements? In which respect it is also noted, that most labour hath bene*

bestowed to win and reteine towards this cause them whose iudgements are
2.Tim.3.6. *commonlie weakest by reason of their sex. And although not women* loden with sinnes, *as the Apostle S. Paule speaketh, but (as we verelie esteeme of them for the most part) women propense and inclinable to holines be otherwise edified in good things, rather then carried away as captiues into any kinde of sinne and euill by such as enter into their houses, with purpose to plant there a zeale and a loue towards this kind of discipline: yet some occasion is hereby ministred for men to thinke, that if the cause which is thus furthered did gaine by the soundnes of proofe, whereupon it doth build it selfe, it would not most busilie endeuor to preuaile where least habilitie of iudgement is: and therefore that this so eminent industrie in making proselytes more of that sex then of the other groweth, for that they are deemed apter to serue as instruments and helps in the cause. Apter they are through the eagernesse of their affection, that maketh them which way soeuer they take, diligent in drawing their husbands, children, seruants, friends and allies the same waie; apter through that naturall inclination vnto pittie which breedeth in them a greater readines then in men, to be bountifull towards their Preachers who suffer want; apter through sundrie opportunities which they especially haue, to procure encouragements for their brethren; finally, apter through a singular delight which they take in giuing verie large and particular intelligence how all neere about them stand affected as concerning the same cause. But be they women or be they men, if once they haue tasted of that cup, let any man of contrarie opinion open his mouth to perswade them, they close vp their eares, his reasons they waigh not, all is answered with rehearsall of*
1.Iohn.4.6. *the words of Iohn,* We are of God, he that knoweth God, heareth vs, *us for the rest, ye are of the world, for this worlds pomp and vanitie it is that ye speake, and the world whose ye are heareth you. Which cloake sitteth no lesse fit on the backe of their cause, then of the Anabaptists, when the dignitie, authoritie and honor of Gods Magistrate is vpheld against them. Shew these egerlie affected men their inhabilitie to iudge of such matters; their an-*
1.Cor.1.27. *swere is,* God hath chosen the simple. *Conuince them of follie, and that so plainely, that verie children vpbraid them with it; they haue their bucklers of like defence.* Christs owne Apostle vvas accompted mad.
Act.26.24. Sap 5.4. Wee fooles thought his life madnes. Merc. Trist. ad Asculap. Οἱ ἐν γνώσει ὄντες ἔτι τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀπε-
The best men euermore by the sentence of the vvorld haue bene iudged to be out of their right minds. *When instruction doth them no good, let them feele but the least degree of most mercifullie tempered seueritie, they fasten on the head of the Lords vicegerents heere on earth whatsoeuer they any where finde uttered against the crueltie of bloodthirstie men,*

And to themselues they drawe all the sentences which scripture hath in the fauour of innocencie persecuted for the truth; yea, they are of their due and deserued sufferings no lesse prowd, then those ancient disturbers, to whome S. Augustine writeth, saying: Martyrs rightly so named are they not vvhich suffer for their disorder, and for the vngodly breach they haue made of christian vnitie, but vvhich for righteousnes sake are persecuted. For Agar also suffered persecution at the hands of Sara, vvherein, she vvhich did impose vvas holie, and she vnrighteous vvhich did beare the burthen. In like sort, vvith theeues vvas the Lord himselfe crucified, but they vvho vvere matcht in the paine vvhich they suffered, were in the cause of their suffering disioyned. If that must needes be the true Church which doth endure persecution, and not that which persecuteth, let them aske of the Apostle what Church Sara did represent, vvhen she held her maid in affliction. For euen our mother vvhich is free, the heauenly Ierusalem, that is to say the true Church of God was, as he doth affirme, prefigured in that very woman by whome the bondmaid was so sharply handled. Although, if all things be throughly skanned, she did in truth more persecute Sara by prowd resistance, then Sara hir, by seueritie of punishment. *These are the pathes wherein ye haue walked that are of the ordinarie sort of men, these are the verie steps ye haue troden, and the manifest degrees whereby ye are of your guides and directors trained vp in that schoole: a custome of inuring your eares with reproofe of faults especially in your gouernors; an vse to attribute those faults to the kind of spirituall regiment vnder which ye liue; boldnes in warranting the force of their discipline for the cure of all such euils; a slight of framing your conceipts to imagine that Scripture euery where fauoureth that discipline; perswasion that the cause why ye find it in Scripture is the illumination of the spirite, that the same Spirite is a seale vnto you of your neerenes vnto God, that ye are by all meanes to nourish and witnesse it in your selues, and to strengthen on euery side your minds against whatsoeuer might be of force to withdrawe you from it.*

οἱ αὐτοὶ ἔντες οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν. μεμιμῆναι ἢ δοκῶσι, ἢ γέλωτα ὀφλισκάνουσι.

Vide Lactant. de iustit. lib. 5. ca. 16. August. Epist. 50.

4. *Wherefore to come vnto you whose iudgement is a lantarne of direction for all the rest, you that frame thus the peoples heartes, not altogether (as I willingly perswade my selfe) of a politique intent or purpose, but your selues being first ouerborne with the waight of greater mens iudgementes: on your shoulders is laide the burthen of vpholding the cause by argument. For which purpose sentences out of the word of God ye alleage diuerse: but so, that when*

What hath caused so many of the learneder sort to approue the same discipline

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the ſame are diſcuſt, thus it alwayes in a maner falleth out, that what things by vertue thereof ye vrge vpon vs as altogether neceſſarie, are found to be thence collected onlie by poore and maruelous ſlight coniectures. I neede not giue inſtance in anie one ſentence ſo alleaged, for that I thinke the inſtance in many alleaged otherwiſe a thing not eaſie to be giuen. A verie ſtrange thing ſure it were that ſuch a diſcipline as ye ſpeake of ſhould be taught by Chriſt and his Apoſtles in the word of God, and no Church euer haue found it out, nor receyued it till this preſent time; contrarywiſe, the gouernment againſt which ye bend your ſelues be obſerued euerywhere throughout all generations and ages of the Chriſtian world, no Church euer perceiuing the word of God to be againſt it. We require you to finde out but one Church vpon the face of the whole earth, that hath bene ordered by your diſcipline, or hath not bene ordered by ours, that is to ſaie, by epiſcopall regiment, ſithence the time that the bleſſed Apoſtles were heere conuerſant. Manie things out of antiquitie ye bring, as if the pureſt times of the Church had obſerued the ſelfe ſame orders which you require; and as though your deſire were, that the Churches of olde ſhould be paternes for vs to follow, and euen glaſſes, wherein we might ſee the practiſe of that which by you is gathered out of ſcripture. But the truth is ye meane nothing leſſe. All this is done for faſhions ſake only: for ye complaine of it as of an iniurie, that men ſhould be willed to ſeeke for examples and paternes of gouernment in any of thoſe times that haue bene before. Ye plainlie hold that from the verie Apoſtles times till this preſent age wherein your ſelues imagine ye haue found out a right paterne of ſound diſcipline, there neuer was any time ſafe to be followed. Which thing ye thus endeuour to proue. Out of Egeſippus ye ſay that Euſebius writeth, how although as long as the Apoſtles liued, the Church did remaine a pure virgin, yet after the death of the Apoſtles, and after they were once gone whome God vouchſafed to make hearers of the diuine wiſedome with their owne eares, the placing of wicked error began to come into the Church. Clement alſo in a certaine place, to confirme that there was corruption of doctrine immediatlie after the Apoſtles times, alleageth the prouerb, that There are few ſonnes like their fathers. Socrates ſaith of the Church of Rome & Alexandria, the moſt famous Churches in the Apoſtles times, that about the yere 430 the Romaine and Alexandrian Biſhops leauing the ſacred function, were degenerate to a ſecular rule or dominiō. Hereupon ye cōclude, that it is not ſafe to fetch our gouernment from anie other then the Apoſtles times. Wherein by the waie it may be noted, that in propoſing the Apoſtles times as a paterne for the Church to follow, though the deſire of you all be one,

T.C.lib.1.p.97

Euſeb 3.lib 32

Lib.Strom. ſomewhat after the beginning.

Lib.7.c.11.

the

the drift and purpose of you all is not one. The chiefest thing which lay reformers yawne for is, that the Cleargie may through conformitie in state and condition be Apostolicall, poore as the Apostles of Christ were poore. In which one circumstance if they imagine so great perfection, they must thinke that Church which hath such store of mendicant Friers, a Church in that respect most happie. Were it for the glorie of God and the good of his Church in deede that the Cleargie should be left euen as bare as the Apostles when they had neither staffe nor scrip, that God which should lay vpon them the condition of his Apostles, would I hope, endue them with the selfesame affection which was in that holie Apostle, whose words concerning his owne right vertuous contentment of hart, As well how to want as how to abound, *are a most fit episcopall emprese. The Church of Christ is a bodie mysticall. A bodie cannot stand, vnlesse the partes thereof be proportionable. Let it therefore be required on both partes, at the hands of the Cleargie, to be in meannesse of state like the Apostles; at the hands of the laitie to be as they were who liued vnder the Apostles: and in this reformation there will be though little wisedome, yet some indifferencie. But your reformation which are of the Cleargie (if yet it displease you not that I should say ye are of the Cleargie) seemeth to aime at a broader marke. Ye thinke that he which will perfectly reforme, must bring the forme of Church discipline vnto the state which then it was at. A thing neither possible, nor certaine, nor absolutely conuenient. Concerning the first, what was vsed in the Apostles times, the scripture fullie declareth not, so that making their times the rule and Canon of Church polities, ye make a rule which being not possible to be fully knowne, is as impossible to be kept. Againe, sith the later euen of the Apostles owne times had that which in the former was not thought vpon, in this generall proposing of the Apostolicall times, there is no certaintie which should be followed, especiallie seeing that ye giue vs great cause to doubt how farre ye allow those times. For albeit the louuer of Antichristian building were not, ye say, as then set vp, yet the foundations thereof were secretly and vnder the ground layd in the Apostles times: so that all other times ye plainely reiect, and the Apostles owne times ye approue with maruelous great suspition, leauing it intricate and doubtfull, wherein we are to keepe our selues vnto the paterne of their times. Thirdly, whereas it is the error of the common multitude to consider only what hath bene of olde, and, if the same were well, to see whether still it continue; if not, to condemne that presentlie which is, and neuer to search vpon what ground or consideration the change might growe: such rudenes cannot be in you so well borne with, whome learning and iudgement*

Phil. 4. 12.

hath

hath inabled much more ſoundlie to diſcerne how farre the times of the Church, and the orders thereof may alter without offence. True it is, a the auncienter, the better ceremonies of religion are; howbeit, not abſolutely true and without exception, but true only ſo farre forth as thoſe different ages do agree in the ſtate of thoſe things for which at the firſt thoſe rites, orders, and ceremonies, were inſtituted. In the Apoſtles times that was harmeleſſe, which being now reuiued, would be ſcandalous, as their b oſcula ſancta. Thoſe c feaſtes of charitie, which being inſtituted by the Apoſtles, were reteined in the Church long after, are not nowe thought any where needefull. What man is there of vnderſtanding, vnto whome it is not manifeſt how the waie of prouiding for the Cleargie by tithes, the deuiſe of almes-houſes for the poore, the ſorting out of the people into their ſeuerall pariſhes, together with ſundrie other things which the Apoſtles times could not haue, (being now eſtabliſhed) are much more conuenient and fit for the Church of Chriſt, then if the ſame ſhould be taken away for conformities ſake with the auncienteſt and firſt times? The orders therefore which were obſerued in the Apoſtles times, are not to be vrged as a rule vniuerſallie either ſufficient or neceſſarie. If they be, neuertheleſſe on your part it ſtill remayneth to be better prooued, that the forme of diſcipline which ye intitle Apoſtolicall, was in the Apoſtles times exerciſed. For of this verie thing yee fayle euen touching that which yee make moſt accompt of, as being matter of ſubſtance in diſcipline, I meane the power of your layelders, and the difference of your Doctors from the Paſtors in all Churches. So that in ſumme, we may be bold to conclude, that beſides theſe laſt times, which for inſolencie, pride, and egregious contempt of all good order are the woorſt, there are none wherein yee can trulie affirme, that the complete forme of your diſcipline, or the ſubſtance thereof was practiſed. The euidence therefore of antiquitie failing you, yee flie to the iudgements of ſuch learned men, as ſeeme by their writings to be of opinion that all Chriſtian Churches ſhould receyue your diſcipline, and abandon ours. Wherein, as yee heape vp the names of a number of men not vnworthie to be had in honor, ſo there are a number whome when yee mention, although it ſerue you to purpoſe with the ignorant and vulgar ſort, who meaſure by tale and not by waight, yet ſurely they who knowe what qualitie and value the men are of, will thinke yee drawe verie neere the dregs. But were they all of as great accompt as the beſt and chiefeſt amongſt them, with vs notwithſtanding neither are they, neither ought they to be of ſuch reckening, that their opinion or coniecture ſhoulde cauſe the lawes of the Church of England

a Antiquitas ceremonijs atque fanis tantum ſanctitatis tribuere conſueuit quantum adſtruxerit vetuſtas. Arno. p.746.

b Rom.16.16. 2.Cor.13.12. 1.Theſ.5.25. 1.Pet.5.14. In their meetings to ſerue God, their maner was in the end to ſalute one another with a kiſſe, vſing theſe words, Peace be with you. For which cauſe Tertull. doth call it ſignaculum orationis, the ſeale of prayer. lib. de Orat.

c Epiſt. Iud. verſ. 12. Concerning which feaſtes, S. Chryſoſt. ſaith, Statis diebus mẽſas faciebant communes, & peracta ſynaxi poſt ſacramentorum communionem inibant conuiuium, diuitibus quidem cibos afferentibus, pauperibus autem & qui nihil habebant etiam vocatis. in 1.Cor.11. hom.27. Of the ſame feaſts in like ſort Tertull. Cœna noſtra de nomine rationẽ ſui oſtendit. Vocatur enim ἀγάπη id quod eſt penes Græcos dilectio. Quantiſcunq; ſumptibus conſtet lucrum eſt pietatis nomine facere ſumptum Apolog.c.39.

England to giue place. Much leſſe whē they neither do all agree in ẏ opinion, and of thē which are at agreemēt, the moſt part through a courteous inducement haue followed one man as their guide, finallie that one therein not vnlikely to haue ſwarued. If any chance to ſay it is probable ẏ in the Apoſtles times there were layelders, or not to miſlike the continuance of them in the Church, or to affirme that Biſhops at the firſt were a name, but not a power diſtinct from presbyters, or to ſpeake any thing in prayſe of thoſe Churches which are without epiſcopall regimēt, or to reproue the fault of ſuch as abuſe that calling, all theſe ye regiſter for men, perſwaded as you are, that euery chriſtian Church ſtādeth bound by the law of God to put downe Biſhops, and in their roomes to erect an Elderſhip ſo authorized as you would haue it for the gouernmēt of each pariſh. Deceiued greatly they are therfore, who think ẏ all they whoſe names are cited amongſt the fauourers of this cauſe, are on any ſuch verdict agreed. Yet touching ſome materiall points of your diſcipline, a kind of agreemēt we graunt there is amōgſt many Diuines of reformed Churches abroade. For firſt to do as the Church of Geneua did, the learned in ſome other Churches muſt needs be the more willing, who hauing vſed in like maner not the ſlow & tedious help of proceeding by publique authoritie, but the peoples more quick endeuor for alteration, in ſuch an exigent I ſee not well how they could haue ſtaied to deliberat about any other regimēt then ẏ which already was deuiſed to their hands, that which in like caſe had bene taken, that which was eaſieſt to be eſtabliſhed without delay, that which was likelieſt to content the people by reaſon of ſome kind of ſway which it giueth them. When therfore the example of one Church was thus at the firſt almoſt through a kind of cōſtraint or neceſſitie followed by many, their concurrence in perſwaſion about ſome materiall points belonging to the ſame politie is not ſtrange. For we are not to meruaile greatly, if they which haue all done the ſame thing, do eaſily embrace the ſame opinion as concerning their owne doings. Beſides, marke I beſeech you ẏ which Galen in matter of philoſophie noteth, for the like falleth out euen in queſtions of higher knowledge. It fareth many times with mens opiniōs as with rumors and reports. That which a credible perſon telleth is eaſily thought probable by ſuch as are well perſwaded of him. But if two, or three, or foure, agree all in the ſame tale, they iudge it then to be out of controuerſie, and ſo are many times ouertaken, for want of due conſideration; eyther ſome common cauſe leading them all into error, or one mans ouerſight deceyuing manie through their too much credulitie and eaſines of beliefe. Though ten perſons be brought to giue teſtimonie in any cauſe, yet if the knowledge they haue of the thing whereunto they come as witneſſes appeare to haue growen from ſome one amongſt them,

Galen. Claſ. 2. lib. de cuiuſq; anim. peccat. notitia atque medela.

and

and to haue ſpred it ſelfe from hand to hand, they all are in force but as one teſtimonie. Nor is it otherwiſe here where the daughter Churches do ſpeake their mothers dialect, here where ſo many ſing one ſong, by reaſon that bee is the guide of the quier concerning whoſe deſerued authority amongeſt euen the graueſt diuines, we haue already ſpoken at large. Will yee aske what ſhould moue thoſe many learned to be followers of one mans iudgement, no

Petit to the Q. M. P. 14.

neceſsitie of argument forcing them thereunto? your demaund is aunſwered by your ſelues. Loath yee are to thinke that they whom ye iudge to haue attained as ſound knowledge in all points of doctrine, as any ſince the Apoſtles time ſhould miſtake in diſcipline. Such is naturally our affection, that whom in great things we mightily admire, in them we are not perſwaded willingly that any thing ſhould be amiſſe. The reaſon whereof is, for that as dead

Eccleſ. 10. 1.

flies putrifie the oyntment of the Apoticarie, ſo a little folly him that is in eſtimation for wiſedome. This in euery profeſsion hath too much authorized the iudgements of a few. This with Germans hath cauſed Luther, and with many other Churches, Caluin to preuaile in all thinges. Yet are we not able to define, whether the wiſedome of that God (who ſetteth before vs in holy Scripture ſo many admirable paternes of vertue, and no one of them without ſomewhat noted wherin they were culpable, to the end that to him alone it might alwayes be acknowledged, Thou only art holy thou onely art iuſt*) might not permit thoſe worthy veſſels of his glory to be in ſome things blemiſhed with the ſtaine of humaine frailtie, euen for this cauſe, leaſt we ſhould eſteeme of any man aboue that which behoueth.*

Their calling for tryall by diſputation.

5. *Notwithſtanding, as though ye were able to ſay a great deale more then hitherto your bookes haue reuealed to the world, earneſt chalengers ye are of tryall by ſome publique diſputation. Wherein if the thing ye craue be no more then onely leaue to diſpute openly about thoſe matters that are in queſtion, the ſchooles in Vniuerſities (for any thing I know) are open vnto you: they haue their yerely Acts and Commencements, beſides other diſputations both ordinary and vpon occaſion, wherein the ſeuerall parts of our owne Eccleſiaſticall diſcipline are oftentimes offered vnto that kind of examination; the learnedeſt of you haue beene of late yeares noted ſeeldome or neuer abſent from thence at the time of thoſe greater aſſemblies; and the fauour of propoſing there in conuenient ſort whatſoeuer ye can obiect (which thing my ſelfe haue knowen them to graunt of Scholaſticall courteſie vnto ſtraungers) neither hath (as I thinke) nor euer will (I preſume) be denied you. If your ſuite be to haue ſome great extraordinary confluence, in expectation whereof the lawes that already are ſhould ſleepe and haue no power ouer you, till in the hearing of thouſands ye all did acknowledge your error*

and

and renounce the further prosecution of your cause; happily they whose authoritie is required vnto the satisfieng of your demaund, do thinke it both dangerous to admit such concourse of deuided minds, and vnmeet ẏ laws which being once solemnly established, are to exact obedience of all men, and to constraine thereunto, should so far stoup as to hold thẽselues in suspense frõ taking any effect vpõ you, till some disputer can perswade you to be obedient. A lawe is the deed of the whole bodie politike, whereof if ye iudge your selues to be any part, then is the law euen your deed also. And were it reason in things of this qualitie to giue men audience pleading for the ouerthrow of that which their own verie deed hath ratified? Lawes that haue bene approued may be (no man doubteth) again repealed, & to that end also disputed against, by the authors therof thẽselues. But this is whẽ the whole doth deliberate what lawes each part shal obserue, and not when a part refuseth the lawes which the whole hath orderly agreed vpon. Notwithstãding, for asmuch as the cause we maintaine is (God be thanked) such as needeth not to shun any triall, might it please them on whose approbation the matter dependeth to condescend so far vnto you in this behalf, I wish hartily that proofe were made euen by solemne conferẽce in orderlie & quiet sort, whether you would your selues be satisfied, or else could by satisfiing others draw thẽ to your part. Prouided alwaies, first in asmuch as ye go about to destroy a thing which is in force, and to draw in that which hath not as yet bin receiued; to impose on vs that which we thinke not our selues bound vnto, & to ouerthrow those things wherof we are possessed; that therfore ye are not to claime in any such cõferẽce other then the plaintifs or opponents part, which must consist altogether in proofe and cõfirmation of two things, the one, ẏ our orders by you condẽned we ought to abolish, the other that yours, we are bound to accept in the stead therof: secondly, because the questions in controuersie between vs are many, if once we descend vnto particularities, that for the easier & more orderly proceding therin, the most generall be first discussed, nor any questiõ left off, nor in each questiõ ẏ prosecutiõ of any one argumẽt giuen ouer & another taken in hãd, til ẏ issue wherunto by replies & answers both parts are come be collected, red & acknowledged aswel on the one side as on the other to be ẏ plain cõclusion which they are grown vnto: thirdly for auoiding of ẏ manifold inconueniẽces wherunto ordinarie & extemporall disputers are subiect, as also because if ye should singlie dispute one by one, as euery mans owne wit did best serue, it might be cõceiued by the rest ẏ happily some other would haue done more, the chiefest of you do all agree in this action, that whom ye shal then choose your speaker, by him that which is publikely brought into disputatiõ be acknowledged by all your cõsents not to be his allegatiõ but yours, such as ye all are agreed vpõ, & haue required him to deliuer in all your names; ẏ true copie

whereof being taken by a notarie, that a reasonable time be allowed for returne of answere vnto you in the like forme. Fourthly, whereas a number of conferences haue bene had in other causes with the lesse effectuall successe, by reason of partiall & vntrue reports published afterwards vnto the world, that to preuent this euill, there be at the first a solemne declaration made on both parts of their agreement to haue that verie booke and no other set abroade, wherein their present authorized notaries doe write those things fullie & only, which being written and there read, are by their owne open testimonie acknowledged to be their owne. Other circumstances hereunto belonging, whether for the choice of time, place, and language, or for preuention of impertinent and needlesse speech, or to any end and purpose else, they may be thought on when occasiō serueth. In this sort to broach my priuate conceipt for the ordering of a publike action, I should be loth (albeit I do it not otherwise then vnder correction of thē whose grauitie & wisedome ought in such cases to ouerrule) but ý so venterous boldnes I see is a thing now generall, and am therby of good hope, ý where all mē are licensed to offend, no man will shew himself a sharp accuser.

No end of contention without submission of both parts vnto some definitiue sentence.

6. What successe God may giue vnto any such kind of conference or disputation, we cannot tell. But of this we are right sure, that nature, scripture, & experience it selfe, haue all taught the world to seeke for the ending of contentions by submitting it selfe vnto some iudiciall and definitiue sentence, whereunto neither part that contendeth may vnder any pretense or coulor refuse to stand. This must needs be effectuall and strong. As for other meanes without this, they seldome preuaile. I would therefore know whether for the ending of these irksome strifes wherein you and your followers do stand thus formallie deuided against the autorized guides of this Church, and the rest of the people subiect vnto their charge, whether I say ye be content to referre your cause to any other higher iudgement then your owne, or else intend to persist and proceed as ye haue begun, til your selues can be perswaded to cōdemne your selues. If your determination be this, we can be but sorie that ye should deserue to be

Rom. 3. 17. *reckoned with such, of whom God himselfe pronounceth,* The way of peace they haue not knowne. *Waies of peaceable conclusion there are, but these two certaine: the one, a sentence of iudiciall decision giuen by authority thereto appointed within our selues; the other, the like kind of sentence giuen by a more vniuersall authoritie. The former of which two waies God himselfe in the lawe prescribeth; and his Spirit it was which directed the verie first Christian Churches in the world to vse the later. The ordinance of God in the*

Deut. 17. 8. *lawe was this.* If there arise a matter too hard for thee in iudgement betwene bloud and bloud, betwene plea &c. then shalt thou arise,

and

and go vp vnto the place which the Lord thy God ſhall chooſe, and thou ſhalt come vnto the Prieſts of the Leuites, and vnto the Iudge that ſhall be in thoſe dayes, and aske, and they ſhal ſhew thee the ſentence of iudgemẽt, and thou ſhalt do according to that thing which they of that place which the Lorde hath choſen ſhew thee, and thou ſhalt obſerue to do according to all that they enform thee, according to the law vvhich they ſhall teach thee, and according to the iudgmẽt vvhich they ſhal tell thee ſhalt thou do, thou ſhalt not decline from the thing which they ſhal ſhew thee to the right hand nor to the left. And that man that vvill do preſumptuouſly, not harkning vnto the Prieſt (that ſtandeth before the Lord thy God to miniſter there) or vnto the Iudge, that man ſhall dye, and thou ſhalt take away euill from Iſrael. *When there grew in the Church of Chriſt a* Act. 15. *queſtion,* Whether the Gentils belieuing might be ſaued, although they vvere not circumciſed after the maner of Moſes, nor did obſerue the reſt of thoſe legall rites & ceremonies whereunto the Iewes were bound; *After great diſſenſion and diſputation about it, their concluſion in the end was, to haue it determined by ſentence at Ieruſalem: which was accordingly done in a Councell there aſſembled for the ſame purpoſe. Are ye able to alleage any iuſt and ſufficient cauſe wherefore abſolutely ye ſhould not condeſcend in this controuerſie to haue your iudgements ouerruled by ſome ſuch definitiue ſentence, whether it fall out to be giuen with or againſt you, that ſo theſe tedious contentions may ceaſe? Ye will perhaps make anſwere, that being perſwaded alreadie as touching the truth of your cauſe, ye are not to harken vnto any ſentence, no not though Angels ſhould define otherwiſe, as the bleſſed Apoſtles owne example teacheth; againe that men, yea, Councels may erre; and that, vnleſſe the iudgement giuen do ſatisfie your minds, vnleſſe it be ſuch as ye can by no further argumẽt oppugne; in a word, vnleſſe you perceiue and acknowledge it your ſelues conſonant with Gods word, to ſtand vnto it not alloving it, were to ſinne againſt your own conſcieces. But cõſider I beſeech you firſt as touching the Apoſtle, how that wherein he was ſo reſolute & peremptorie, our Lord Ieſus Chriſt made manifeſt vnto him euen by intuitiue reuelation, wherein there was no poſſibilitie of error. That which you are perſwaded of, ye haue it no other wiſe then by your owne only probable collection, & therfore ſuch bold aſſeuerations as in him were admirable, ſhould in your mouthes but argue raſhnes. God was not ignorant ẏ the Prieſts and Iudges, whoſe ſentence in matters of controuerſie he ordeined ſhould ſtand, both might and oftentimes would be deceiued in their iudgement. Howbeit, better it was*

in the eye of his vnderſtanding, that ſometime an erroneous ſentence definitiue ſhould preuaile, till the ſame authoritie perceiuing ſuch ouerſight, might afterwardes correct or reuerſe it, then that ſtrifes ſhould haue reſpit to growe, and not come ſpeedily vnto ſome ende. Neither wiſh wee that men ſhould do any thing which in their hearts they are perſwaded they ought not to doe, but this perſwaſion ought (we ſay) to be fully ſetled in their hearts, that in litigious and controuerſed cauſes of ſuch qualitie, the will of God is to haue them doe whatſoeuer the ſentence of iudiciall and finall deciſion ſhall determine, yea, though it ſeeme in their priuate opinion to ſwarue vtterly from that which is right: as no doubt many times the ſentence amongſt the Iewes did ſeeme vnto one part or other contending, and yet in this caſe God did then allowe them to doe that which in their priuate iudgement it ſeemed, yea and perhaps truly ſeemed that the lawe did diſallow. For if God be not the author of confuſion but of peace, then can he not be the author of our refuſall, but of our contentment, to ſtand vnto ſome definitiue ſentence, without which almoſt impoſſible it is that eyther we ſhould auoyd confuſion, or euer hope to attaine peace. To ſmall purpoſe had the Councell of Ieruſalem bene aſſembled, if once their determination being ſet downe, men might afterwards haue defended their former opinions. When therefore they had giuen their definitiue ſentence, all controuerſie was at an ende. Things were diſputed before they came to be determined; men afterwards were not to diſpute any longer, but to obey. The ſentence of iudgement finiſhed their ſtriſe, which their diſputes before iudgement could not doe. This was ground ſufficient for any reaſonable mans conſcience to build the dutie of obedience vpon, whatſoeuer his owne opinion were as touching the matter before in queſtion. So full of wilfulnes and ſelfeliking is our nature, that without ſome definitiue ſentence, which being giuen may ſtand, and a neceſſitie of ſilence on both ſides afterward impoſed, ſmall hope there is that ſtrifes thus far proſecuted, will in ſhort time quietlie ende. Now it were in vaine to aske you whether ye could be content that the ſentence of any Court alreadie erected, ſhould be ſo farre authorized, as that among the Iewes eſtabliſhed by God himſelfe, for the determining of all controuerſies: That man which wil do preſumptuouſly not harkning vnto the Prieſt that ſtandeth before the Lord to miniſter there, nor vnto the Iudge, let him dye. *Ye haue giuen vs already to vnderſtand, what your opinion is in part concerning her ſacred Maieſties Court of high Commiſſion, the nature whereof is the ſame with that amongſt the Iewes, albeit the power be not ſo great. The other waie happilie may like you better, becauſe Maiſter Beza in his laſt booke ſaue one written*

about

about these matters, professeth himselfe to be now wearie of such combats and encounters, whether by word or writing, in as much as he findeth that controuersies therby are made but braules, & therfore wisheth that in some common lawfull assembly of Churches, all these strifes may at once be decided. *Shall there be then in the meane while no* doings? *Yes. There are the waightier matters of the law,* iudgement and mercy and fidelitie. *These things we ought to do, and these things, while we contend about lesse, we leaue vndone. Happier are they whome the Lord whē he commeth, shall find* doing *in these things, then disputing about* Doctors, Elders, & Deacons. *Or if there be no remedie but somewhat needes yee must do which may tend to the setting forward of your discipline; doe that which wise men, who thinke some Statute of the realme more fit to be repealed, then to stand in force, are accustomed to doe before they come to Parliament where the place of enacting is; that is to say, spend the time in reexāmining more dulie your cause, and in more throughly considering of that which ye labour to ouerthrow. As for the orders which are established, sith equitie and reason, the law of nature, God and man, do all fauour that which is in being, till orderlie iudgement of decision be giuen against it; it is but iustice to exact of you, and peruersnes in you it should be to denie thereunto your willing obedience. Not that I iudge it a thing allowable for men to obserue those lawes which in their hearts they are stedfastly perswaded to be against the law of God: but your perswasion in this case ye are all bound for the time to suspend, and in other wise doing, ye offend against God by troubling his Church without any iust or necessary cause. Be it ỹ there are some reasons inducing you to think hardly of our lawes. Are those reasons demonstratiue, are they necessary, or but meere probabilities only? An argument necessary & demonstratiue is such, as being proposed vnto any man & vnderstood, the mind cannot choose but inwardly assent. Any one such reason dischargeth, I graunt the conscience, and setteth it at full libertie. For the publike approbation giuen by the body of this whole Church vnto those things which are established, doth make it but probable ỹ they are good. And therefore vnto a necessary proofe ỹ they are not good, it must giue place. But if the skilfullest amongst you can shewe all the bookes ye haue hitherto written be able to afford any one argument of this nature, let the instance be giuen. As for probabilities, what thing was there euer set downe so agreeable with sound reason, but some probable shewe against it might be made? Is it meete that when publikely things are receyued, and haue taken place, generall obedience thereunto shoulde cease to be exacted, in case this or that priuate person led with some probable conceipt, shoulde make open protestation, I Peter or Iohn disallow them, and pronounce them nought?*

Pref. tract. de excom. & presbyt.

Math. 23. 23.

T.C.li.1.p.171 *In which case your answere will be, that concerning the lawes of our Church, they are not only condemned in the opinion of a* priuate man, but of thousands, *yea and euen* of those amongst which diuers are in publique charge and authoritie. *As though when publique consent of the whole hath established any thing, euery mans iudgment being thereunto compared, were not priuate, howsoeuer his calling be to some kind of publique charge. So that of peace and quietnes there is not any way possible, vnlesse the probable voice of euerie intier societie or bodie politique ouerrule all priuate of like nature in the same bodie. Which thing effectually proueth, that God being author of peace and not of confusion in the Church, must needs be author of those mens peaceable resolutions, who concerning these things, haue determined with them selues to thinke and do as the Church they are of decreeth, till they see necessarie cause enforcing them to the contrarie.*

The matter conteyned in these eyght bookes.

7. *Nor is mine owne intent any other in these seuerall bookes of discourse, then to make it appeare vnto you, that for the ecclesiasticall lawes of this land, we are led by great reason to obserue them, and yee by no necessitie bound to impugne them. It is no part of my secret meaning to draw you hereby into hatred or to set vpon the face of this cause any fairer glasse, then the naked truth doth afford: but my whole endeuor is to resolue the conscience, and to shewe as neere as I can what in this controuersie the hart is to thinke, if it will follow the light of sound and sincere iudgement, without either clowd of preiudice, or mist of passionate affection. Wherefore seeing that lawes and ordinances in particular, whether such as we obserue, or such as your selues would haue established; when the minde doth sift and examine them, it must needes haue often recourse to a number of doubts and questions about the nature, kindes, and qualities of lawes in generall, whereof vnlesse it be throughly enformed, there will appeare no certaintie to stay our perswasion vpon: I haue for that cause set downe in the first place an introduction on both sides needefull to be considered. Declaring therein what lawe is, how different kindes of lawes there are, and what force they are of according vnto each kind. This done, because ye suppose the lawes for which ye striue are found in scripture, but those not, against which ye striue; and vpon this surmise are drawen to hold it as the very maine pillar of your whole cause, that* scripture ought to be the only rule of all our actions, *and consequently that the Church-orders which we obserue being not commaunded in scripture, are offensiue and displeasant vnto God: I haue spent the second booke in sifting of this point, which standeth with you for the first and chiefest principle whereon ye build. Whereunto the next in degree is, that as God will haue alwayes a Church vpon*

earth

earth while the world doth continue, and that Church ſtande in neede of gouernement, of which gouernement it behoueth himſelfe to be both the author and teacher: ſo it cannot ſtande with dutie that man ſhould euer preſume in any wiſe to change and alter the ſame; and therefore That in Scripture there muſt of neceſſitie be found ſome particular form of politie Eccleſiaſticall, the lawes whereof admit not any kinde of alteration. *The firſt three bookes being thus ended, the fourth proceedeth from the generall grounds and foundations of your cauſe vnto your generall accuſations againſt vs, as hauing in the orders of our Church (for ſo you pretend)* corrupted the right forme of Church politie with manifolde popiſh rites and ceremonies, which certaine reformed Churches haue baniſhed from amongſt them, and haue thereby giuen vs ſuch example as *(you thinke)* we ought to follow. *This your aſſertion hath herein drawen vs to make ſearch, whether theſe be iuſt exceptions againſt the cuſtomes of our Church, when ye plead that they are the ſame which the Church of Rome hath, or that they are not the ſame which ſome other reformed Churches haue deuiſed. Of thoſe foure bookes which remaine and are beſtowed about the ſpecialties of that cauſe which lyeth in controuerſie, the firſt examineth the cauſes by you alleaged, wherefore the publique duties of Chriſtian religion, as our prayers our Sacramẽts and the reſt, ſhould not be ordered in ſuch ſort as with vs they are; nor that power whereby the perſons of men are conſecrated vnto the miniſterie, be diſpoſed of in ſuch maner as the lawes of this Church doe allow. The ſecond and third are concerning the power of iuriſdiction: the one, whether laymẽ, ſuch as your gouerning Elders are, ought in all congregations for euer to be inueſted with that power; the other, whether Biſhops may haue that power ouer other Paſtors, and therewithall that honour which with vs they haue. And becauſe beſides the power of order which all conſecrated perſons haue, and the power of iuriſdiction which neither they all nor they only haue, there is a third power, a power of Eccleſiaſticall Dominion, communicable as we thinke, vnto perſons not Eccleſiaſticall, and moſt fit to be reſtrayned vnto the Prince or Soueraigne commaunder ouer the whole bodie politique: the eight booke we haue allotted vnto this queſtion, and haue ſifted therin your obiections againſt thoſe preeminences royall which thereunto appertaine. Thus haue I layd before you the briefe of theſe my trauailes, and preſented vnder your view the limmes of that cauſe litigious betweene vs: the whole intier bodie whereof being thus compact, it ſhall be no troubleſome thing for any man to find ech particular controuerſies reſting place, and the coherence it hath with thoſe things, either on which it depẽdeth, or which depend on it.*

8. *The*

How iust cause there is to feare the manifold dangerous euents likely to ensue vpon this intended reformation, if it did take place.

8. *The case so standing therefore my brethren as it doth, the wisdom of gouernors ye must not blame, in that they further also forecasting the manifold strange & dangerous innouations which are more then likely to follow if your discipline should take place, haue for that cause thought it hitherto a part of their dutie to withstand your endeuors that way. The rather, for that they haue seene already some small beginnings of the fruits thereof, in them who concurring with you in iudgement about the necessitie of that discipline, haue aduentured without more ado, to separate themselues from the rest of the Church, and to put your speculations in execution. These mens hastines the warier sort of you doth not commend, yee wish they had held themselues longer in, and not so daungerously flowne abroad before the fethers of the cause had beene growne, their errour with mercifull termes ye reprooue naming them in great commiseration of mind, your* poore brethren. *They on the cõtrary side more bitterly accuse you as their* false brethrẽ, *& against you they plead saying: From your breasts it is that we haue*
„ *sucked thinges which when ye deliuered vnto vs ye tearmed that heauenly,*
1. Pet. 2. 2. „ *sincere, and wholesome milke of Gods worde, howsoeuer ye now abhorre as*
„ *poison that which the vertue thereof hath wrought and brought forth in vs.*
Ps. 55. 13. „ *You sometime our companions, guides and familiars, with whom we haue*
„ *had most sweete consultations, are now become our professed aduersaries,*
„ *becausse we thinke the statute-congregations in Englande to be no true*
„ *Christian Churches; becausse we haue seuered our selues from them; and*
„ *becausse without their leaue or licence that are in Ciuill authoritie, we haue*
„ *secretly framed our owne Churches according to the platforme of the worde*
„ *of God. For of that point betweene you and vs there is no controuersie. Alas*
„ *what would ye haue vs to doe? At such time as ye were content to accept*
„ *vs in the number of your owne, your teachings we heard, we read your wri-*
„ *tinges: and though we would, yet able wee are not to forget with what*
„ *zeale yee haue euer profest, that in the English congregations (for*
„ *so manie of them as be ordered according vnto their owne lawes) the*
„ *very publique seruice of God is fraught, as touching matter with heapes*
„ *of intollerable pollutions, and, as concerning forme, borrowed from the*
„ *shoppe of Antichrist; hatefull both wayes in the eyes of the most holy: the*
„ *kinde of their gouernment by Bishops and Archbishops Antichristian; that*
Pref. against D. Bancr. „ *discipline which Christ hath essentially tyed, that is to say, so vnited vnto*
„ *his Church, that we can not accompt it really to be his Church which hath*
„ *not in it the same discipline, that verie discipline no lesse there despised,*
„ *then in the highest throne of Antichrist; all such partes of the worde of*
„ *God as doe any waye concerne that discipline no lesse vnsoundly taught*

and

and interpreted by all authorized English Pastors, then by Antichristes
factors themselues, at baptisme crossing, at the supper of the Lord kneeling,
at both a number of other the most notorious badges of Antichristian recog-
nisance vsuall. Being moued with these and the like your effectuall discour-
ses, whereunto we gaue most attentiue eare, till they entred euen into our
soules, and were as fire within our bosomes; we thought we might hereof be
bold to conclude, that sith no such Antichristian synagogue may be accomp-
ted a true Church of Christ, you by accusing all congregations ordered accor-
ding to the lawes of England as Antichristian, did mean to condemne those
congregations, as not being any of them worthy the name of a true Christi-
an Church. Ye tell vs now it is not your meaning. But what meant your of-
ten threatnings of them, who professing thẽselues the inhabitants of mount
Sion, were too loth to depart wholly as they should out of Babylon? Where-
at our hearts being fearefully troubled, we durst not, we durst not conti-
nue longer so neere her confines, least hir plagues might suddenly ouertake
vs, before we did cease to be partakers with hir sinnes: for so we could not
choose but acknowledge with griefe that we were, when, they dooing euill,
we by our presence in their assemblyes seemed to like thereof, or at least wise
not so earnestly to dislike, as became men heartily zealous of Gods glorie. For
aduenturing to erect the discipline of Christ without the leaue of the Chri-
stian Magistrate, happily ye may condemne vs as fooles, in that we hazard
thereby our estates and persons, further then you which are that way more
wise thinke necessarie: but of any offence or sinne therin committed against
God, with what conscience can you accuse vs, when your owne positions are,
that the thinges we obserue should euery of them be dearer vnto vs then ten
thousand liues; that they are the peremptory commaundements of God; that
no mortall man can dispence with them, and that the Magistrate grieuously
sinneth in not constraining thereunto? Will yee blame any man for doing
that of his owne accord, which all men should be compelled to doe that are
not willing of themselues? When God cõmandeth, shall we answere that we
will obey, if so be Cæsar will graunt vs leaue? Is discipline an Ecclesiasticall
matter or a Ciuill? If an Ecclesiasticall, it must of necessitie belong to the
dutie of the Minister. And the Minister (you say) holdeth all his authority of
doing whatsoeuer belongeth vnto the spirituall charge of the house of God,
euen immediatly from God himselfe, without dependency vpon any Magi-
strate. Whereupon it followeth, as we suppose, that the hearts of the people
being willing to be vnder the Scepter of Christ, the minister of God, into
whose hands the Lord himselfe hath put that Scepter, is without all excuse
if thereby he guide them not. Nor do we find that hitherto greatly ye haue

disliked

» disliked those Churches abroad wher the people with direction of their godly
» ministers haue euen against the will of the Magistrate brought in eyther
» the doctrin or discipline of Iesus Christ. For which cause we must now think
» the very same thing of you, which our Sauiour did sometime vtter concerning
» falsehearted Scribes and Pharises; They say and do not. Thus the
Matth. 23. 3. foolish Barrowist deriueth his schisme by way of conclusion, as to him it seemeth, directly and plainely out of your principles. Him therefore we leaue to be satisfied by you from whom he hath sproong. And if such by your owne acknowledgement be persons daungerous, although as yet the alterations which they haue made are of small and tender groath; the changes likely to insue throughout all states and vocations within this land, in case your desire should take place, must be thought vpon. First concerning the supreme power of the highest, they are no small prerogatiues which nowe thereunto belonging the forme of your discipline will constreine it to resigne, as in the last booke of this treatise we haue shewed at large. Againe it may iustly be feared whether our English Nobilitie, when the matter came in tryall, would contentedly suffer themselues to be alwayes at the call, and to stande to the sentence of a number of meane persons assisted with the presence of their poore teacher, a man (as sometimes it hapneth) though better able to speake, yet little or no whit apter to iudge then the rest from whom, be their dealings neuer so absurd (vnlesse it be by way of cõplaint to a Synod) no appeale may be made vnto any one of higher power, in as much as the order of your discipline admitteth no standing inequalitie of Courtes, no spirituall iudge to haue any ordinary superiour on earth, but as many supremacies as there are parishes & seuerall Congregations. Neither is it altogether without cause that so many doe feare the ouerthrow of all learning as a threatned sequele of this your intended discipline. For if the worldes preseruation
Sap. 6. 24. depend vpon the multitude of the wise; and of that sort the number hereafter be not likely to waxe ouer great, when (that wher with the sonne
Eccl. 26. 29. of Syrac professeth himselfe at the heart grieued) men of vnderstanding are already so little set by: how should their mindes whom the loue of so pretious a iewell filleth with secret iealousie euen in regard of the least things which may any way hinder the flourishing estate thereof, choose but misdoubt least this discipline, which alwayes you match with diuine doctrine as hir naturall and true sister, be found vnto all kindes of knowledge a stepmother; seeing that the greatest worldly hopes, which are proposed vnto the chiefest kind of learning, ye seeke vtterly to extirpate as weedes, and haue grounded your platforme on such propositions as do after a sort vndermine those most renowmed habitations, wher through the goodnes of almightie God

God all commendable arts and ſciences are with exceeding great induſtrie hitherto (and ſo may they for euer continue) ſtudied, proceeded in, and profeſt. To charge you as purpoſely bent to the ouerthrow of that wherein ſo many of you haue attained no ſmall perfection, were iniurious. Only therfore I wiſh that your ſelues did well conſider howe oppoſite certaine your poſitions are vnto the ſtate of Collegiate ſocieties, whereon the two Vniuerſities conſiſt. Thoſe degrees which their ſtatutes bind them to take, are by your lawes taken away; your ſelues who haue ſought them ye ſo excuſe, as that ye would haue men to thinke ye iudge them not allowable, but tollerable only, and to be borne with, for ſome helpe which ye find in them vnto the furtherance of your purpoſes, till the corrupt eſtate of the Church may be better reformed. Your lawes forbidding Eccleſiaſticall perſons vtterly the exerciſe of Ciuill power muſt needes deprive the Heades and Maſters in the ſame Colledges of all ſuch authoritie as now they exerciſe, either at home by puniſhing the faults of thoſe, who not as children to their parents by the lawe of Nature, but altogether by ciuill authoritie are ſubiect vnto them: or abroad by keeping Courts amongeſt their tenants. Your lawes making permanent inequalitie amongſt Miniſters, a thing repugnant to the word of God, enforce thoſe Colledges, the Seniors wherof are all or any part of them Miniſters vnder the gouernment of a maſter in the ſame vocation, to chooſe as oft as they meete together a new preſident. For if ſo ye iudge it neceſſary to do in Synods, for the auoyding of permanent inequality amongſt Miniſters, the ſame cauſe muſt needes euen in theſe Collegiate aſſemblies enforce the like. Except peraduenture ye meane to auoid all ſuch abſurdities, by diſſoluing thoſe Corporations, and by bringing the Vniuerſities vnto the forme of the Schoole of Geneua. Which thing men the rather are inclined to looke for, in as much as the Miniſtery, whereinto their founders with ſingular prouidence haue by the ſame ſtatutes appointed them neceſſarily to enter at a certaine time, your lawes bind them much more neceſſarily to forbeare, till ſome pariſh abroad call for them. Your opinion concerning the lawe Ciuill is that the knowledge thereof might be ſpared, as a thing which this land doth not neede. Profeſſors in that kinde being few ye are the bolder to ſpurne at them, and not to diſſemble your mindes as concerning their remoouall: in whoſe ſtudies although my ſelfe haue not much beene conuerſant, neuertheleſſe exceeding great cauſe I ſee there is to wiſh that thereunto more encouragement were giuen, as well for the ſingular treaſures of wiſedome therin conteined, as alſo for the great vſe we haue thereof both in deciſion of certaine kindes of cauſes ariſing daily within our ſelues, and eſpecially for commerce with Nations abroad, whereunto that knowledge is moſt requiſite.

Humb. Motion to the 22. p. 50.

The

The reasons wherewith ye would perswade that Scripture is the onely rule to frame all our actions by, are in euery respect as effectuall for proofe that the same is the onely law whereby to determine all our Ciuill controuersies. And then what doth let, but that as those men may haue their desire, who frankely broch it already that the worke of reformation will neuer be perfect, till the lawe of Jesus Christ be receiued alone; so pleaders and Counsellors may bring their bookes of the Common law, and bestowe them as the students of curious & needlesse arts did theirs in the Apostles time? I leaue them to scanne how farre those words of yours may reach, wherein ye declare that, whereas now many houses lye wast through inordinate suites of lawe,

Act. 19. 19.

Humb. Mot. P. 74.

This one thing will showe the excellencie of Discipline for the wealth of the Realme, and quiet of Subiects, that the Church is to censure such a party who is apparently troublesome and contentious, and without *REASONABLE CAVSE* vpon a mans will and stomacke doth vex and molest his brother & trouble the Country. *For mine owne part I do not see but that it might very well agree with your principles, if your discipline were fully planted, euen to send out your writs of surcease vnto all Courts of Englande besides, for the most things handled in them. A great deale further I might proceede & descend lower. But for as much as against all these and the like difficulties your answere is, that we ought to search what things are consonant to Gods will, not which be most for our owne ease; and therefore that your discipline being (for such is your errour) the absolute commaundement of almighty God, it must be receiued although the world by receiuing it should be cleane turned vpside downe; herein lyeth the greatest daunger of all. For whereas the name of diuine authoritie is vsed to countenance these things, which are not the commaundements of God, but your owne erronious collections; on him ye must father whatsoeuer ye shall afterwards be led, either to doe in withstanding the aduersaries of your Cause, or to thinke in maintenance of your doings. And what this may be, God doth know. In such kinds of error the minde once imagining it selfe to seeke the execution of Gods will, laboureth foorth with to remooue both things and persons which any way hinder it from taking place, and in such cases if any strange or new thing seeme requisite to be done, a strange and new opinion concerning the lawfulnes therof, is withall receiued and broched vnder countenance of diuine authoritie. One example herein may serue for many, to shew that false opinions, touching the will of God to haue things done, are woont to bring foorth mightie and violent practises against the hinderances of them; and those practises new opinions more pernitious then the first, yea most extremely sometimes*

Counterp. p. 108.

opposite

opposite to ý which the first did seeme to intend. Where the people tooke vpon them the reformation of the Church by casting out popish superstition, they hauing receiued from their Pastors a generall instruction ý whatsoeuer the heauenly father hath not planted must be rooted out, proceeded in some forrein places so far ý down went oratories & the very tẽples of God thẽselues. For as they chanced to take the compasse of their cõmission stricter or larger, so their dealings were accordingly more or lesse moderate. Amongst others there sprang vp presently one kind of mẽ, with whose zeale & forwardnes the rest being compared, were thought to be maruelous cold & dull. These, grounding thẽselues on rules more generall; that whatsoeuer ý law of Christ commaundeth not, thereof Antichrist is the authour: and that whatsoeuer Antichrist or his adherents did in the worlde, the true professors of Christ are to vndo; found out many things more then others had done, the extirpation wherof was in their conceipt as necessary as of any thing before remooued. Hereupon they secretly made their dolefull complaints euery where as they went, that albeit the worlde did begin to professe some dislike of that which was euill in the kingdome of darknes, yet fruits woorthy of a true repentance were not seene; & that if men did repent as they ought, they must endeuour to purge the earth of all maner euill, to the end there might follow a new world afterward, wherein righteousnes only should dwell. Priuate repentance they sayd must appeare by euery mans fashioning his owne life contrary vnto the customes and orders of this present world, both in greater things and in lesse. To this purpose they had alwayes in their mouthes those greater things, Charitie, faith, the true feare of God, the Crosse, the mortification of the flesh. All their exhortations were to set light of the things in this world, to count riches and honors vanitie, and in token therof not only to seeke neither, but if men were possessors of both, euen to cast away the one & resign ý other, ý al men might see their vnfaigned cõuersion vnto Christ. They were sollicitors of mẽ to fasts, to often meditations of heauenly things, & as it were cõferences in secret with God by prayers, not framed according to the frosen maner of the world, but expressing such feruẽt desires as might euen force God to hearken vnto them. Where they found men in diet, attire, furniture of house, or any other way obseruers of Ciuility and decent order, such they reprooued as being carnally and earthly minded. Euery worde otherwise then seuerely and sadly vttered, seemed to pearce like a sword thorow them. If any man were pleasant, their maner was presently with deepe sighes to repeate those words of our Sauiour Christ, Wo be to you which now laugh, for ye shal lament. So great was their delight to be alwaies in trouble, ý such as did quietly lead their liues, they iudged of all other men

Matth. 15. 13.

Guy de Bres contre l' erreur des Anabaptistes. P. 4.

P. 5.

P. 16.
P. 118.
119.
120.

P. 116.

P. 124.
Luc. 6. 24.

p. 117. to be in moſt dangerous caſe. They ſo much affected to croſſe the ordinary cuſtome in euery thing, ẏ when other mens vſe was to put on better attire, they would be ſure to ſhew thẽſelues openly abroad in worſe; the ordinarie names of the daies in the weeke they thought it a kind of prophanes to vſe, & therfore accuſtomed thẽſelues to make no other diſtinction then by numbers, The Firſt, Second, Third day. Frõ this they proceeded vnto publike reformation,
p. 40. firſt Eccleſiaſticall, and then Ciuil. Touching the former, they boldly aduouched, that thẽſelues only had the truth, which thing, vpon perill of their liues they would at all times defend; & that ſince ẏ Apoſtles liued, the ſame was neuer before in all points ſincerely taught. Wherefore ẏ things might againe be brought to that auncient integritie which Ieſus Chriſt by his word requireth, they began to cõtroule ẏ miniſters of the Goſpell for attributing ſo much force & vertue vnto the ſcriptures of God read, wheras the truth was, that whẽ the word is ſaid to engender faith in the hart, & to conuert the ſoule of mã, or to worke any ſuch ſpirituall diuine effect, theſe ſpeeches are not therunto appliable as it is read or preached, but as it is ingrafted in vs by ẏ power of the holy Ghoſt opening the eies of our vnderſtanding, and ſo reueaſing the myſteries of God, acording to ẏ which Ieremy promiſed before ſhould be, ſay-
Ierc. 31. 34. ing, I will put my law in their inward partes, and I wil write it in
p. 29. their harts. The booke of God they notwithſtãding for the moſt part ſo ad-
27. mired, that other diſputation againſt their opinions thẽ only by allegation of ſcripture they would not heare; beſides it, they thought no other writings in ẏ world ſhould be ſtudied, in ſo much as one of their great Prophets exhorting thẽ to caſt away all reſpects vnto humane writings, ſo far to his motion they condeſcended, that as many as had any books ſaue the holie Bible in their cuſtodie, they brought and ſet them publiquely on fire. When they and their Bibles were alone together, what ſtrange phantaſticall opinion ſoeuer at any time entred into their heads, their vſe was to thinke the Spirit taught it them. Their phrenſies cõcerning our Sauiours incarnation, the ſtate of ſoules departed, & ſuch like, are things needleſſe to be rehearſed. And for as much as they were of the ſame ſuite with thoſe of whome the Apoſtle ſpeaketh,
2. Tim. 3. 7. ſaying, They are ſtill learning, but neuer attaine to the knowledge
of truth, it was no meruaile to ſee them euerie daie broach ſome new thing, not heard of before. Which reſtleſſe leuitie they did interpret to be their growing to ſpirituall perfection, and a proceeding from faith to faith.
p. 65. 66. The differences amongſt them grewe by this meane in a maner infinite, ſo that ſcarcely was there found any one of them, the forge of whoſe brayne was not poſſeſt with ſome ſpeciall myſterie. Whereupon, al-
p. 135. though theyr mutuall contentions were moſte fiercelie proſecuted amongſt

mongſt themſelues, yet when they came to defend the cauſe common to them all againſt the aduerſaries of their faction, they had wayes to licke one another whole, the founder in his own perſwaſion, excuſing THE DEARE BRETHREN, which were not ſo farre enlightned, and profeſsing a charitable hope of the mercy of God towards them notwithſtanding their ſwaruing from him in ſome things. Their owne miniſters they highly magnified as mẽ whoſe vocation was frõ God: the reſt their maner was to terme diſdainfully Scribes and Phariſes, to accompt their calling an humain creature, and to deteine the people as much as might be from hearing them. As touching Sacramẽts, baptiſme adminiſtred in ẏ church of Rome, they iudged to be but an execrable mockery & no baptiſme: both becauſe the Miniſters thereof in the papacy are wicked idolators, lewd perſons, theeues, & murderers, curſed creatures, ignorant beaſts, & alſo for that to baptiſe is a proper action belonging vnto none but the Church of Chriſt, whereas Rome is Antichriſts ſynagogue. The cuſtome of vſing Godfathers & Godmothers at Chriſtnings they ſcorned. Baptiſing of infants, although confeſt by thẽſelues to haue bin continued euẽ ſithens the very Apoſtles own times, yet they altogether cõdemned: partly becauſe ſundry errors are of no leſſe antiquitie, & partly for ẏ there is no commandement in the Goſpell of Chriſt which ſayth, Baptiſe infants, but he contrariwiſe in ſaying, Go preach & Baptiſe, doth appoint ẏ the miniſter of Baptiſme ſhall in that action firſt adminiſter doctrine, & thẽ Baptiſme, as alſo in ſaying, whoſoeuer doth beleeue & is baptiſed, he appointeth ẏ the party to whõ baptiſme is adminiſtred ſhall firſt belieue, & then be baptiſed; to the end ẏ believing may go before this ſacramẽt in the receiuer, no otherwiſe then preaching in the giuer, ſith equally in both, the law of Chriſt declareth not only what things are required, but alſo in what order they are required. The Euchariſt they receiued (pretending our Lord & Sauiors example) after ſupper, & for auoiding all thoſe impieties which haue bin groũded vpon ẏ myſticall words of Chriſt This is my body, This is my bloud, they thought it not ſafe to mẽtion either body or bloud in ẏ Sacrament, but rather to abrogate both, & to vſe no words but theſe, Take, eate, declare the death of our Lord: drinke, ſhow forth our Lords death. In rites & ceremonies their profeſsiõ was hatred of all cõformity with ẏ Church of Rome: for which cauſe they would rather indure any tormẽt then obſerue the ſolemne feſtiuals which others did, in as much as Antichriſt (they ſaid) was ẏ firſt inuentor of thẽ. The pretended end of their ciuill reformatiõ was ẏ Chriſt might haue dominion ouer all, that all crowns & ſcepters might be throwne downe at his feete, that no other might raign ouer Chriſtian mẽ but he, no regimẽt keepe thẽ in aw, but his diſciplin,

P. 25. P. 71. 124 764. 748. 512. 518. 721. 726. 618. P. 31. P. 122.

amongst them no sword at all be carried, besides his, the sword of spirituall excommunication. For this cause they laboured with all their might in ouer-
P.841. turning the seates of Magistracy, because Christ hath said, Kings of Nati-
ons; in abolishing the execution of iustice, because Christ hath said, Resist
833. not euill; in forbidding oathes the necessary meanes of iudiciall tryall, be-
849. cause Christ hath sayd, Swere not at all; finally in bringing in community
40. of goods, because Christ by his Apostles hath giuen the world such example, to the end that men might excell one another not in welth the pillar of secular authoritie, but in vertue. These men at the first were only pitied in their error, and not much withstoode by any, the great humilitie, zeale, and deuotion which appeared to be in them, was in all mens opinion a pledge of their harmelesse meaning. The hardest ẏ men of sound vnderstanding conceined of thẽ was but this, O quam honesta voluntate miseri errant? With how good a meaning these poore soules doe euill. *Luther made re-*
Lactant. de Iustit. lib. 5. cap. 19.
queste vnto Frederick Duke of Saxony, that within his dominion they might
P.6. *be fauourably dealt with and spared, for that (their errour excepted) they seemed otherwise right good men. By meanes of which mercifull tolleration they gathered strength, much more then was safe for the state of the cõmon welth wherein they liued. They had their secret corner-meetings and assem-*
P.4. 20. *blies in the night, the people flocked vnto them by thousandes. The meanes*
35. *whereby they both allured and reteyned so great multitudes were most effectuall; first a woonderfull show of zeale to wards God, wher with they seemed to be euen rapt in euery thing they spake: secondly an hatred of sinne, and a singular loue of integritie, which men did thinke to be much more then ordinary in thẽ, by reason of the custom which they had to fill the eares of the people with inuectiues against their authorised guides, as well spirituall as ciuill: thirdly the bountifull reliefe wher with they eased the broken estate of such needie creatures, as were in ẏ respect the more apt to be drawne away: fourthly, a tender compassion which they were thought to take vpon the miseries of the common sort, ouer whose heads their maner was euen to powre*
P.6. 7. *down showers of teares in complayning ẏ no respect was had vnto thẽ, that their goods were deuoured by wicked cormorants, their persons had in contempt, all liberty both temporall & spirituall taken from them, that it was high time for God now to heare their grones, and to send them deliuerance: lastly a cunning slight which they had to stroke and smooth vp the mindes of their followers as well by appropriating vnto them all the fauourable titles the good wordes, and the gracious promises in Scripture, as also by casting the contrary alwaies on the heads of such as were seuered from that retinue.*
7. *Whereupon the peoples cõmon acclamation vnto such deceiuers was, These*

are

are verily the men of God, these are his true and sincere Prophets. If any such Prophet or man of God did suffer by order of law condigne and deserued punishment; were it for felony, rebellion, murder, or what else, the people (so strangely were their hearts inchanted) as though blessed S. Stephen had beene againe martyred, did lament that God tooke away his most deere seruants from them. In all these thinges being fully perswaded that what they did, it was obedience to the will of God, and that all men should doe the like: there remained after speculation practise, whereby the whole world thereunto (if it were possible) might be framed. This they saw could not be done, but with mightie opposition and resistance: against which to strengthen themselues, they secretly entred into league of association. And peraduenture considering, that although they were many, yet long warres would in time waste them out, they began to thinke whether it might not be that God would haue them doe for their speedie and mightie increase, the same which sometime Gods owne chosen people, the people of Israell did. Glad and faine they were to haue it so, which verie desire was it selfe apt to breede both an opinion of possibilitie, and a willingnesse to gather argumentes of likelihood that so God himselfe would haue it. Nothing more cleare vnto their seeming, then that a newe Ierusalem being often spoken of in Scripture, they vndoubtedly were themselues that newe Ierusalem, and the old did by way of a certaine figuratiue resemblance signifie what they should both be and doe. Heere they drewe in a Sea of matter by applying all thinges vnto their owne companie which are anye where spoken concerning diuine fauours and benefites bestowed vppon the olde common wealth of Israell, concluding that as Israell was deliuered out of Ægypt, so they spiritually out of the Ægypt of this worldes seruile thraldome vnto sinne and superstition; as Israell was to root out the Idolatrous nations, and to plant in steede of them a people which feared God, so the same Lordes good will and pleasure was now, that these new Israelites should vnder the conduct of other Iosuaes, Sampsons, and Gedeons performe a worke no lesse miraculous in casting out violently the wicked from the earth, and establishing the kingdome of Christ with perfect libertie: and therfore as the cause why the children of Israell tooke vnto one man many wiues, might be least the casualties of warre should any way hinder the promise of God concerning their multitude from taking effect in them; so it was not vnlike that for the necessarie propagation of Christes kingdome vnder the Gospell the Lorde was content to allowe as much. Now what soeuer they did in such sort collect out of Scripture when they came to iustifie or perswade it vnto others, all was the heauenly fathers

27.

6.

appointment, his commaundement, his will and charge. Which thing is the very point in regard whereof I haue gathered this declaration. For my purpose herein is to shew that when the minds of men are once erroniously perswaded that it is the will of God to haue those things done which they phancie, their opinions are as thornes in their sides neuer suffering them to take rest till they haue brought their speculations into practise: the lets and impediments of which practise their restles desire and studie to remooue leadeth them euery day forth by the hand into other more dangerous opinions, sometimes quite & cleane contrarie to their first pretended meanings: so as what will grow out of such errors as go masked vnder the cloke of diuine authority, impossible it is that euer the wit of man should imagine, till time haue brought foorth the fruits of them: for which cause it behoueth wisedome to feare the sequels thereof, euen beyond all apparant cause of feare. These men in whose mouthes at the first, sounded nothing but onely mortification of the flesh, were come at the length to thinke they might lawfully haue their six or seuen wiues apeece; they which at the first thought iudgement and iustice it selfe to be mercilesse cruelty, accompted at the length their owne handes sanctified with being imbrued in Christian bloud; they who at the first were woont to beat downe all dominion, and to vrge against poore Constables, Kings of Nations, had at the lẽgth both Consuls & kings of their owne erection amongst themselues: finally they which could not brooke at the first that any man should seeke, no not by law, the recouery of goods iniuriously taken or withheld from him, were grown at ẏ last to thinke they could not offer vnto God more acceptable sacrifice, then by turning their aduersaries cleane out of house & home, and by inriching thẽselues with all kind of

p. 41. *spoyle & pillage; which thing being laid to their charge they had in a readines their answere, that now the time was come, when according to our Sauiours promise,* The meeke ones must inherite the earth, *and that their*

Matth. 55.54. Exod. 11.2. *title hereunto was the same which the righteous Israelites had vnto ẏ goods of the wicked Ægyptians. Wherefore sith the world hath had in these men so fresh experience, how dangerous such actiue errors are, it must not offend you though touching the sequele of your present misperswasions much more be doubted, then your owne intents and purposes doe happily ayme at. And yet your wordes alreadie are somewhat when ye affirme that your Pastors,*

Mart. in his 3. libel. p. 28. *Doctors, Elders, and Deacons, ought to be in this Church of Englande,* whether hir Maiestie and our state will or no; *when for the animating of your confederats ye publish the musters which ye haue made of your owne bands, and proclaime them to amount I know not to how many thousands; when ye threaten that sith neither your suites to the Parliament, nor*

suppli-

supplications to our Conuocation house, neither your defenses by writing, nor chalenges of disputation in behalfe of that cause are able to preuaile, we must blame our selues if to bring in discipline some such meanes hereafter be vsed as shall cause all our harts to ake. That things doubtfull are to be constrted in the better part, *is a principle not safe to be followed in matters concerning the publique state of a common weale. But howsoeuer these and the like speeches be accompted as arrowes idlie shot at randon, without either eye had to any marke, or regard to their lighting place: hath not your longing desire for the practise of your discipline, brought the matter alreadie vnto this demurrer amongst you, whether the people and their godly pastors that way affected, ought not to make separation from the rest, and to begin the exercise of discipline without the licence of Ciuill powers, which licence they haue sought for, and are not heard? Vpon which question as ye haue now deuided your selues, the warier sort of you taking the one part, and the forwarder in zeale the other; so in case these earnest ones should preuaile, what other sequele can anie wise man imagine but this, that hauing first resolued that attempts for discipline without superiors are lawfull, it will follow in the next place to be disputed what may be attempted against superiors which will not haue the scepter of that discipline to rule ouer them? Yea euen by you which haue staied your selues from running headlong with the other sort, somewhat notwithstanding there hath bene done without the leaue or liking of your lawfull superiors, for the exercise of a part of your discipline amongst the Cleargie thereunto addicted. And least examination of principall parties therein should bring those things to light, which might hinder and let your proceedings; behold for a bar against that impediment, one opinion yee haue newly added vnto the rest euen vpon this occasion, an opinion to exempt you from taking oathes which may turne to the molestation of your brethren in that cause. The next neighbour opinion whereunto, when occasion requireth, may follow for dispensation with oathes alreadie taken, if they afterwards be found to import a necessitie of detecting ought which may bring such good men into trouble or damage, whatsoeuer the cause be. O mercifull God, what mans wit is there able to sound the deapth of those daungerous and fearefull euils, whereinto our weake and impotent nature is inclinable to sinke it selfe, rather then to shewe an acknowledgement of error in that which once we haue vnaduisedly taken vpon vs to defend, against the streame as it were of a contrarie publique resolution! Wherefore if we anie thing respect their error, who being perswaded euen as you are, haue gone further vpon that perswasion then you allow; if we regard the present state of the highest gouernor*

Demonstr. in the præf.

placed

placed ouer vs, if the qualitie and disposition of our Nobles if the orders and lawes of our famous Vniuersities, if the profession of the Ciuil or the practise of the Common law amongst vs, if the mischieses whereinto euen before our eyes so manie others haue fallen headlong from no lesse plausible and faire beginnings then yours are: there is in euerie of these considerations most iust cause to feare least our hastines to embrace a thing of so perilous consequence should cause posteritie to feele those euils, which as yet are more easie for vs to preuent then they would be for them to remedy.

The conclusion of all.

9. *The best and safest waie for you therefore my deere brethren is, to call your deedes past to a newe reckoning, to reexamine the cause yee haue taken in hand, and to trie it euen point by point, argument by argument, with all the diligent exactnes yee can; to lay aside the gall of that bitternes wherein your mindes haue hitherto ouerabounded, and with meekenes to search the truth. Thinke yee are men, deeme it not impossible for you to erre: sift vnpartiallie your owne hearts, whether it be force of reason, or vehemencie of affection, which hath bread, and still doth feede these opinions in you. If truth doe anie where manifest it selfe, seeke not to smoother it with glosing delusions, acknowledge the greatnes thereof, and thinke it your best victorie when the same doth preuaile ouer you. That yee haue bene earnest in speaking or writing againe and againe the contrarie waie, shall be no blemish or discredit at all vnto you. Amongst so manie so huge volumes as the infinite paynes of Saint Augustine haue brought foorth, what one hath gotten him greater loue, commendacion and honor, then the booke wherein hee carefullie collecteth his owne ouersightes, and sincerely condemneth them? Manie speeches there are of Iobes whereby his wisedome and other vertues may appeare: but the glorie of an ingenuous minde hee hath purchased by these wordes onelie.* Iob.39.37. Behold, I will lay mine hand on my mouth; I haue spoken once, yet vvill I not therefore maintaine argument; yea tvvice, hovvbeit forthat cause further I vvill not proceed. *Far more comfort it were for vs (so small is the ioy we take in these strifes) to labour vnder the same yoke, as men that looke for the same eternall reward of their labours, to be ioyned with you in bands of indissoluble loue and amitie, to liue as if our persons being manie our soules were but one, rather then in such dismembred sort to spend our fewe and wretched dayes in a tedious prosecuting of wearisome contentions: the ende whereof, if they haue not some speedie ende, will be beauie euen on both sides. Brought alreadie wee are euen to that estate which Gregorie Nazianzene mournefullie describeth, saying.*

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My minde leadeth me (*ſith there is no other remedie*) to flye and to conuey my ſelfe into ſome corner out of ſight, where I may ſcape from this cloudie tempeſt of malitiouſnes, vvhereby all parts are entred into a deadly vvarre amongſt themſelues, and that little remnant of loue which was, is now conſumed to nothing. The only godlines vve glory in, is to finde out ſomewhat vvhereby we may iudge others to be vngodly. Each others faults we obſerue as matter of exprobration and not of griefe. By theſe meanes we are growne hateful in the eyes of the Heathens themſelues, and (which woundeth vs the more deeply) able we are not to deny but that we haue deſerued their hatred. With the better ſort of our owne, our fame and credit is cleane loſt. The leſſe we are to meruaile if they iudge vilely of vs, vvho although we did well vvould hardly allow therof. On our backs they alſo build that are lewd, and vvhat vve obiect one againſt another, the ſame they vſe to the vtter skorne and diſgrace of vs all. This vve haue gained by our mutuall home-diſſentions. This vve are vvorthily revvarded vvith vvhich are more forvvard to ſtriue, then becommeth men of vertuous and mild diſpoſition. *But our truſt in the almightie is, that with vs contentions are now at their higheſt ſtoate, and that the day will come (for what cauſe of deſpaire is there) whē the paſſions of former enmitie being allaied, we ſhal with ten times redoubled tokens of our vnfainedlie reconciled loue, ſhewe our ſelues each towards other the ſame which Ioſeph and the brethren of Ioſeph were at the time of their enteruiew in Aegypt. Our comfortable expectation and moſt thirſtie deſire whereof what man ſoeuer amongſt you ſhall anie waie helpe to ſatisfie (as we trulie hope there is no one amongſt you but ſome way or other will) the bleſſings of the God of peace both in this world and in the world to come, be vpon him more then the ſtarres of the firmament in number.*

Greg. Naz. in Apol.

VVhat things are handled

in the Bookes following.

THe *firſt* Booke, concerning lawes in generall.

The *ſecond*, of the vſe of diuine lawe conteined in ſcripture, vvhether that be the onely lawe vvhich ought to ſerue for our direction in all things without exception.

The *third*, of lawes concerning Eccleſiaſticall Politie, vvhether the forme thereof be in ſcripture ſo ſet downe, that no addition or change is lawfull.

The *fourth*, of generall exceptions taken againſt the lawes of our politie as being popiſh and baniſhed out of certaine reformed Churches.

The *fift*, of our lawes that concerne the publike religions, duties of the Church, and the maner of beſtowing that power of order vvhich inableth men in ſundrie degrees and callings to execute the ſame.

The *ſixt*, of the power of iuriſdiction, vvhich the reformed platforme c'aymeth vnto layelders, vvith others.

The *ſeauenth*, of the povver of iuriſdiction, and the honor vvhich is annexed thereunto in Byſhops.

The *eyght*, of the povver of eccleſiaſticall dominion or ſupreme authoritie vvhich vvith vs the higheſt gouernour or Prince hath as vvell in regard of domeſticall iuriſdictions, as of that other forreinlie claimed by the Byſhop of Rome.

The fyrſt Booke

Concerning Lawes, and their ſeuerall kindes *in generall.*

The matter conteined in this fyrſt Booke.

1 *THE cauſe of writing this generall diſcourſe concerning lawes.*
2 *Of that law which God from before the beginning hath ſet for himſelfe to doe all things by.*
3 *The lawe which naturall agents obſerue, & their neceſſarie maner of keeping it.*
4 *The lawe which the Angels of God obey.*
5 *The lawe whereby man is in his actions directed to the imitation of God.*
6 *Mens firſte beginning to vnderſtand that lawe.*
7 *Of mans will which is the firſt thing that lawes of action are made to guide.*
8 *Of the naturall finding out of lawes by the light of reaſon to guide the will vnto that which is good.*
9 *Of the benefit of keeping that lawe which reaſon teacheth.*
10 *How reaſon doth leade men vnto the making of humane lawes, whereby politique ſocieties are gouerned, and to agreement about lawes whereby the fellowſhip or communion of independent ſocieties ſtandeth.*
11 *Wherefore God hath by ſcripture further made knowne ſuch ſupernaturall lawes as doe ſerue for mens direction.*
12 *The cauſe why ſo manie naturall or rationall lawes are ſet downe in holie ſcripture.*
13 *The benefit of hauing diuine lawes written.*
14 *The ſufficiencie of ſcripture vnto the end for which it was inſtituted.*
15 *Of lawes poſitiue conteined in ſcripture, the mutabilitie of certaine of them, and the generall vſe of ſcripture.*
16 *A concluſion, ſhewing how all this belongeth to the cauſe in queſtion.*

The cauſe of writing this generall diſcourſe.

HE that goeth about to perſwade a multitude, that they are not ſo well gouerned as they ought to be, ſhall neuer wāt attentiue & fauourable hearers; becauſe they know the manifold defects whereunto euery kind of regiment is ſubiect, but the ſecret lets and difficulties, which in publike proceedings are innumerable & ineuitable, they haue not ordinarily the iudgement to conſider. And becauſe ſuch as openly reproue ſuppoſed diſorders of ſtate are taken for principall friends to the common benefite of all, and for men that carry ſingular freedome of mind; vnder this faire and plauſible coulour whatſoeuer they vtter paſſeth for good

good and currant. That which wanteth in the waight of their ſpeech, is ſupplyed by the aptnes of mens minds to accept and belieue it. Whereas on the other ſide, if we maintaine thinges that are eſtabliſhed, we haue not onely to ſtriue with a number of heauie preiudices deepely rooted in the hearts of men, who thinke that herein we ſerue the time, and ſpeake in fauour of the preſent ſtate, becauſe therby we eyther holde or ſeeke preferment; but alſo to beare ſuch exceptions as minds ſo auerted before hand vſually take againſt that which they are loath ſhould be powred into them. Albeit therefore much of that we are to ſpeake in this preſent cauſe, may ſeeme to a number perhaps tedious, perhaps obſcure, darke, and intricate, (for many talke of the truth, which neuer ſounded the depth from whence it ſpringeth, and therefore when they are led therunto they are ſoone wearie, as men drawne from thoſe beaten pathes wherewith they haue beene inured) yet this may not ſo farre preuaile as to cut off that which the matter it ſelfe requireth, howſoeuer the nice humour of ſome be therewith pleaſed or no. They vnto whom we ſhall ſeeme tedious are in no wiſe iniuried by vs, becauſe it is in their owne hands to ſpare that labour which they are not willing to indure. And if any complaine of obſcuritie, they muſt conſider, that in theſe matters it commeth no otherwiſe to paſſe then in ſundry the workes both of art and alſo of nature, where that which hath greateſt force in the very things we ſee, is notwithſtanding it ſelfe oftentimes not ſeene. The ſtatelineſſe of houſes, the goodlines of trees, when we behold them delighteth the eye; but that foundation which beareth vp the one, that root which miniſtreth vnto the other nouriſhment and life, is in the boſome of the earth concealed: & if there be at any time occaſion to ſearch into it, ſuch labour is then more neceſſary then pleaſant both to them which vndertake it, and for the lookers on. In like maner the vſe and benefite of good lawes, all that liue vnder them may enioy with delight and comfort, albeit the groundes and firſt originall cauſes from whence they haue ſprong be vnknowne, as to the greateſt part of men they are. But when they who withdraw their obedience pretend that the lawes which they ſhould obey are corrupt & vitious; for better examination of their qualitie, it behooueth the very foundation and roor, the higheſt welſpring and fountaine of them to be diſcouered. Which becauſe wee are not oftentimes accuſtomed to doe, when we doe it the paines wee take are more needefull a great deale, then acceptable, and the matters which we handle ſeeme by reaſon of newneſſe (till the minde grow better acquainted with them) darke, intricate and vnfamiliar. For as much helpe whereof as may be in this caſe, I haue endeuoured throughout the bodie of this whole diſcourſe, that euery former part might giue ſtrength vnto all that followe, and euery later bring ſome light vnto all before. So that if the iudgements of men doe but holde themſelues in ſuſpence as touching theſe firſt more generall meditations, till in order they haue peruſed the reſt that enſue; what may ſeeme darke at the firſt will afterwardes be founde more plaine, euen as the later particular deciſions will appeare, I doubt not more ſtrong, when the other haue beene read before. The lawes of the Church, whereby for ſo many ages together we haue beene guided in the exerciſe of Chriſtian religion, and the ſeruice of the true God, our rites, cuſtomes, and orders of Eccleſiaſticall gouernement are called in queſtion,

queſtion, we are accuſed as men that will not haue Chriſt Ieſus to rule ouer them, but haue wilfully caſt his ſtatutes behinde their backs, hating to be reformed, and made ſubiect vnto the ſcepter of his diſcipline. Behold therefore we offer the lawes whereby we liue vnto the generall triall and iudgement of the whole world, hartely beſeeching Almightie God, whome wee deſire to ſerue according to his owne will, that both we and others (all kinde of partiall affection being cleane laide aſide) may haue eyes to ſee, and harts to embrace the things that in his ſight are moſt acceptable. And becauſe the point about which wee ſtriue is the qualitie of our lawes, our firſt entrance hereinto cannot better be made, then with conſideration of the nature of lawe in generall, and of that lawe which giueth life vnto all the reſt, which are commendable iuſt and good, namely the lawe whereby the Eternall himſelfe doth worke. Proceeeing from hence to the lawe firſt of nature, then of ſcripture, we ſhall haue the eaſier acceſſe vnto thoſe things which come after to be debated, concerning the particular cauſe and queſtion which wee haue in hand.

Of that lawe which God from before the beginning hath ſet for himſelfe to do all things by.

2 All things that are haue ſome operation not violent or caſuall. Neither doth any thing euer begin to exerciſe the ſame without ſome foreconceaued ende for which it worketh. And the ende which it worketh for is not obteined, vnleſſe the worke be alſo fit to obteine it by. For vnto euery ende euery operation will not ſerue. That which doth aſſigne vnto each thing the kinde, that which doth moderate the force and power, that which doth appoint the forme and meaſure of working, the ſame we tearme a *Lawe*. So that no certaine end could euer be attained, vnleſſe the actions whereby it is attained were regular, that is to ſay, made ſuteable fit and correſpondent vnto their end, by ſome Canon rule or lawe. Which thing doth firſt take place in the workes euen of God himſelfe. All things therefore do worke after a ſort according to lawe: all other things according to a lawe, whereof ſome ſuperiours, vnto whome they are ſubiect, is author; only the workes and operations of God haue him both for their worker, and for the lawe whereby they are wrought. The being of God is a kinde of lawe to his working: for that perfection which God is, geueth perfection to that he doth. Thoſe naturall, neceſſary, and internall operations of God, the *generation* of the Sonne, the *proceeding* of the Spirit, are without the compaſſe of my preſent intent: which is to touch only ſuch operations as haue their beginning and being by a voluntarie purpoſe, wherewith God hath eternally decreed when and howe they ſhould be. Which eternall decree is that wee tearme an eternall lawe. Dangerous it were for the feeble braine of man to wade farre into the doings of the moſt High, whome although to knowe be life, and ioy to make mention of his name: yet our ſoundeſt knowledge is to know that we know him not as in deed he is, neither can know him: and our ſafeſt eloquence concerning him is our ſilence, when we confeſſe without confeſſion that his glory is inexplicable, his greatnes aboue our capacitie and reach. He is aboue, and we vpon earth, therefore it behoueth our wordes to be warie and fewe. Our God is one, or rather verie *Oneneſſe*, and meere vnitie, hauing nothing but it ſelfe in it ſelfe, and not conſiſting (as all things do beſides God) of many things. In which eſſentiall vnitie of God a Trinitie perſonall neuertheleſſe ſubſiſteth

after a maner far exceeding the possibilitie of mans conceipt. The wo rks which outwardly are of God, they are in such sort of him being one, that ea ch person hath in them somewhat peculiar and proper. For being three, and the y all subsisting in the essence of one deitie; from the Father, by the Sonne, through the Spirit all things are. That which the Sonne doth heare of the Father, and which the Spirit doth receiue of the Father & the Sonne, the same we haue at the hāds of the Spirit as being the last, and therfore the neerest vnto vs in order, although in power the same with the second and the first. The wise & learned among the verie Heathens themselues, haue all acknowledged some first cause, whereupon originallie the being of all things dependeth. Neither haue they otherwise spoken of that cause, then as an Agent, which knowing *what* and *why* it worketh, obserueth in working a most exact *order* or *lawe*. Thus much is signified by that which *Homer* mentioneth, [a] Διὸς δ' ἐτελείετο βουλή. Thus much acknowledged by *Mercurius Trismegist.* [b] τὰ πάντα κόσμον ἐποίησεν ὁ δημιουργὸς οὐ χερσὶν ἀλλὰ λόγῳ. Thus much cōfest by *Anaxago.* & *Plato*, terming the maker of the world an *Intellectual* worker. Finallie the Stoikes, although imagining the first cause of all things to be fire, held neuertheless that the same fire hauing arte, did [c] ὁδῷ βαδίζειν ἐπὶ γῆν κόσμον. They all confesse therfore in the working of that first cause, that *counsell* is vsed, *reason* followed, a *way* obserued, that is to say, constant *order* and *law* is kept, wherof it selfe must needs be author vnto it selfe. Otherwise it should haue some worthier and higher to direct it, and so could not it selfe be the first. Being the first, it can haue no other then it selfe to be the author of that law which it willingly worketh by. God therefore is a law both to himselfe, and to all other things besides. To himselfe he is a law in all those things, whereof our Sauiour speaketh, saying, *My Father worketh as yet, so I.* God worketh nothing without cause. All those things which are done by him, haue some ende for which they are done: and the ende for which they are done, is a reason of his will to do them. His will had not inclined to create woman, but that he saw it could not be wel if she were not created, *Non est bonum, It is not good man should be alone*, Therefore let vs make an helper for him. That and nothing else is done by God, which to leaue vndone were not so good. If therfore it be demanded, why God hauing power and habilitie infinite, th'effects notwithstāding of that power are all so limited as we see they are: the reason hereof is the end which he hath proposed, and the lawe whereby his wisedome hath stinted th'effects of his power in such sort, that it doth not worke infinitely but correspōdently vnto that end for which it worketh, euen al things χρηστῶς, in most decent and comely sort, all things in *measure, number, and waight.* The generall end of Gods externall working, is the exercise of his most glorious and most abundant vertue: Which abundance doth shew it selfe in varietie, and for that cause this varietie is oftentimes in scripture exprest by the name of *riches.* *The Lord hath made all things for his owne sake.* Not that any thing is made to be beneficiall vnto him, but all things for him to shew beneficence and grace in them. The particular drift of euerie acte proceeding externally from God, we are not able to discerne, and therefore cannot alwaies giue the proper and certaine reason of his works. Howbeit vndoubtedly a proper and certaine reason there is of euery finite worke of God, in as much as there is a law imposed vpon it; which if there were not, it should be infinite euen as the worker himselfe is. They erre therefore who thinke that of the will of God to do this or that, there is no reason

besides

Ioh.16.13,14. 15.

a *Iupiters* Counsell *was accomplished.*

b *The creater made the whole world not with hands, but by* Reason. Stob. in eclog. phys.

c *Proceed by a certaine and a set* Waie *in the making of the world.*

Iohn.5.17.

Gen.2.18.

Sap.8.1. Sap.11.17.

Eph.1.7. Phil.4.19. Col.2.3. Prou.16.4.

beſides his will. Many times no reaſon knowne to vs; but that there is no reaſon thereof, I iudge it moſt vnreaſonable to imagine, in as much as he worketh all things κατὰ τὴν βουλὴν τοῦ θελήματος αὐτοῦ, not only according to his owne will, but *the counſell of his owne will.* And whatſoeuer is done with counſell or wiſe reſolution, hath of neceſſitie ſome reaſon why it ſhould be done, albeit that reaſon be to vs in ſome things ſo ſecret, that it forceth the wit of man to ſtand, as the bleſſed Apoſtle himſelf doth, amazed thereat, *O the depth of the riches both of the wiſdome and knowledge of God, How vnſearchable are his iudgements, &c.* That law eternall which God himſelf hath made to himſelfe, and therby worketh all things wherof he is the cauſe and author, that law in the admirable frame wherof ſhineth with moſt perfect bewtie the countenance of that wiſedome which hath teſtified concerning her ſelf, *The lord poſſeſſed me in the beginning of his way, euen before his works of old, I was ſet vp &c.* That law which hath bene the patterne to make, and is the Card to guide the world by: that law which hath bene of God, and with God euerlaſtingly: that law the author and obſeruer whereof is one only God to be bleſſed for euer, how ſhould either men or Angels be able perfectly to behold? The booke of this law we are neither able nor worthie to open and looke into. That little thereof which we darkly apprehend, we admire, the reſt with religious ignorance we humbly & meekly adore. Seeing therfore that according to this law he worketh, *of whom, through whom, & for whom are all things*, although there ſeeme vnto vs cõfuſion & diſorder in th'affaires of this preſent world: *Tamen quoniam bonus mundum rector temperat, recte fieri cuncta ne dubites*, Let no mã doubt but that euery thing is well done, becauſe the world is ruled by ſo good a guide, as tranſgreſſeth not his owne law, then which nothing can be more abſolute, perfect & iuſt. The law wherby he worketh, is eternall, and therefore can haue no ſhew or cullor of mutabilitie: for which cauſe a part of that law being opened in the promiſes which God hath made (becauſe his promiſes are nothing elſe but declarations what God will do for the good of men) touching thoſe promiſes the Apoſtle hath witneſſed, that God may as poſſibly deny himſelfe and not be God, as faile to performe them. And cõcerning the counſel of God, he termeth it likewiſe a thing *vnchangeable*, the counſell of God, and that law of God wherof now we ſpeake being one. Nor is the freedom of the wil of God any whit abated, let or hindered by meanes of this, becauſe the impoſition of this law vpõ himſelf is his own free & volũtary act. This law therfore we may name eternall, being *that order which God before all ages hath ſet down with himſelfe, for himſelfe to do all things by.*

Ephe. 1, 11.

Rom. 11, 33.

Prou. 8, 22.

Rom. 11, 36.

Boet. lib. 4. de conſol. philoſ.

2. Tim. 2, 13.

Heb. 6. 17.

3 I am not ignorant that by law eternall the learned for the moſt part do vnderſtand the order, not which God hath eternallie purpoſed himſelfe in all his works to obſerue, but rather that which with himſelfe he hath ſet downe as expedient to be kept by all his creatures, according to the ſeuerall condition wherwith he hath indued them. They who thus are accuſtomed to ſpeake apply the name of *Lawe* vnto that only rule of working which ſuperior authority impoſeth, whereas we ſomewhat more enlarging the ſenſe thereof, terme any kind of rule or Canon whereby actions are framed a law. Now that law which as it is laid vp in the boſome of God, they call *eternall*, receyueth according vnto the different kinds of things which are ſubiect vnto it different and ſundry kinds of names. That part of it which ordereth naturall agents, we call vſually *natures* law: that which Angels doe clearely behold, and without any ſwaruing obſerue is a

The lawe which naturall agents haue giuen them to obſerue, and their neceſſary manner of keeping it.

law *cæleſtiall* and heauenly: the law of *reaſon* that which bindeth creatures reaſonable in this world, and with which by reaſon they may moſt plainly perceiue themſelues bound; that which bindeth them, and is not knowen but by ſpeciall reuelation from God, *Diuine* law; *humane* law that which out of the law either of reaſon or of God, men probablie gathering to be expedient, they make it a law. All things therfore, which are as they ought to be, are conformed vnto *this ſecond law eternall*, and euen thoſe things which to this *eternall* law are not conformable, are notwithſtanding in ſome ſort ordered by *the firſt eternall lawe*. For what good or euill is there vnder the ſunne, what action correſpondent or repugnant vnto the law which God hath impoſed vpō his creatures, but in or vpon it God doth worke according to the law which himſelfe hath eternally purpoſed to keep, that is to ſay, the *firſt law eternall*? So that a twofold law eternall being thus made, it is not hard to conceiue how they both take place in [a] all things. Wherfore to come to the law of nature, albeit therby we ſometimes meane that manner of working which God hath ſet for each created thing to keepe: yet for as much as thoſe things are tearmed moſt properly naturall agents, which keepe the law of their kind vnwittingly, as the heauens and elements of the world, which can do no otherwiſe then they doe; and for as much as we giue vnto intellectuall natures the name of *voluntary* agents, that ſo we may diſtinguiſh them from the other: expedient it will be, that we ſeuer the law of nature obſerued by the one from that which the other is tied vnto. Touching the former, their ſtrict keeping of one tenure ſtatute and law is ſpoken of by all, but hath in it more then men haue as yet attained to know, or perhaps euer ſhall attaine, ſeeing the trauaile of wading herein is geuen of God to the ſonnes of men, that perceauing how much the leaſt thing in the world hath in it more then the wiſeſt are able to reach vnto, they may by this meanes learne humilitie. *Moſes* in deſcribing the worke of creation, attributeth ſpeech vnto God, *God ſaid, Let there be light, Let there be a firmament: Let the waters vnder the heauen be gathered together into one place: Let the earth bring forth: Let there be lightes in the firmament of heauen.* Was this only the intent of *Moſes*, to ſignifie the infinite greatnes of Gods power by the eaſines of his accompliſhing ſuch effects, without trauaile, paine or labour? Surely it ſeemeth that *Moſes* had herein beſides this a further purpoſe, namely, firſt to teach that God did not worke as a neceſſary, but a voluntary agent, intending before hand and decreeing with himſelfe that which did outwardly proceed from him: ſecondly to ſhew that God did then inſtitute a law naturall to be obſerued by creatures, and therefore according to the manner of lawes, the inſtitution thereof is deſcribed, as being eſtabliſhed by ſolemne iniunction. His commanding thoſe things to be which are, and to be in ſuch ſort as they are, to keep that tenure and courſe which they do, importeth the eſtabliſhment of natures law. This worlds firſt creation, & the preſeruation ſince of things created, what is it but only ſo far forth a manifeſtation by execution, what the eternall lawe of God is cōcerning things natural? And as it cōmeth to paſſe in a kingdom rightly ordered, that after a law is once publiſhed, it preſently takes effect far & wide, all ſtates framing thēſelues therunto; euen ſo let vs thinke it fareth in the naturall courſe of the world: ſince the time that God did firſt proclaime the edicts of his law vpon it, heauen & earth haue hearkned vnto his voice, and their labour hath bene to do his wil: He *made a law for the raine*. He gaue his *decree vnto the ſea, that the waters ſhould not*

paſſe

[a] Id omne quod in rebus creatis fit eſt materia legis æternæ. Th. 1.2.q.93. art.4.5.6. Nullo modo aliquid legibus ſummi creatoris ordinationiq; ſubtrahitur, à quo pax vniuerſitatis adminiſtratur. Auguſt. de ciu. dei lib.19.c.22 *Imo & peccatum quatenus à Deo iuſte permittitur cadit in legem æternam. Etiam legi æternæ ſubijcitur peccatum quatenus voluntaria legis tranſgreſſio pœnale quoddam incommodum animæ inſerit, iuxta illud Auguſtini*, Iuſſiſti Domine & ſic eſt vt pœna ſua ſibi ſit omnis animus inordinatus. Confeſ. lib. 1. c.12. *Nec male ſcholaſtici*, Quemadmodum inquiunt videmus res naturales contingentes, hoc ipſo quod a fine particulari ſuo atq; adeo a lege æterna exorbitant, in eandem legem æternam incidere, quatenus conſequuntur alium finem a lege etiam æterna ipſis in caſu particulari cōſtitutum: ſic veriſimile eſt homines etiam cum peccant & deſciſcunt a lege æterna vt precipiente, reincidere in ordinē æternæ legis vt punientis.

paſſe his commandement. Now if nature ſhould intermit her courſe, and leaue altogether, though it were but for a while, the obſeruation of her own lawes: if thoſe principall & mother elemẽts of the world, wherof all things in this lower world are made, ſhould looſe the qualities which now they haue, if the frame of that heauenly arch erected ouer our heads ſhould looſen & diſſolue it ſelfe: if celeſtiall ſpheres ſhould forget their wonted motions and by irregular volubilitie, turne themſelues any way as it might happen: if the prince of the lightes of heauen which now as a Giant doth runne his vnwearied courſe, ſhould as it were through a languiſhing faintnes begin to ſtand & to reſt himſelfe: if the Moone ſhould wander from her beaten way, the times and ſeaſons of the yeare blend themſelues by diſordered and confuſed mixture, the winds breath out their laſt gaſpe, the cloudes yeeld no rayne, the earth be defeated of heauenly influence, the fruites of the earth pine away as children at the withered breaſts of their mother no longer able to yeeld them relieſe, what would become of man himſelfe, whom theſe things now do all ſerue? See we not plainly that obedience of creatures vnto the lawe of nature is the ſtay of the whole world? Notwithſtanding with nature it cõmeth ſomtimes to paſſe as with arte. Let *Phidias* haue rude & obſtinate ſtuffe to carue, though his arte do that it ſhould, his worke will lacke that bewtie which otherwiſe in fitter matter it might haue had. He that ſtriketh an inſtrument with skill, may cauſe notwithſtanding a verie vnpleaſant ſound, if the ſtring whereon he ſtriketh chaunce to be vncapable of harmonie. In the matter whereof things naturall conſiſt, that of Theophraſtus taketh place, Πολὺ τὸ οὐχ ὑπακοῦον ὅλως ἢ δεχόμενον τὸ εὖ, *much of it is oftentimes ſuch as will by no meanes yeeld to receiue that impreſsion which were beſt and moſt perfect*: which defect in the matter of things naturall, they who gaue themſelues vnto the contemplation of nature amongſt the heathen obſerued often: but the true originall cauſe thereof diuine malediction, laid for the ſinne of man vpon theſe creatures which God had made for the vſe of mã, this being an article of that ſauing truth which God hath reuealed vnto his Church, was aboue the reach of their meerely naturall capacitie & vnderſtanding. But howſoeuer theſe ſwaruings are now and then incident into the courſe of nature, neuertheleſſe ſo conſtantly the lawes of nature are by naturall agents obſerued, that no man denieth but thoſe things which nature worketh, are wrought either alwaies or for the moſt part after one and the ſame manner. If here it be demaunded what that is which keepeth nature in obedience to her owne law, we muſt haue recourſe to that higher lawe wherof we haue already ſpoken, and becauſe all other lawes do thereon depend, from thence we muſt borrow ſo much as ſhall neede for briefe reſolution in this point. Although we are not of opinion therfore, as ſome are, that nature in working hath before hir certaine exemplary draughts or patternes, which ſubſiſting in the boſome of the Higheſt, and being thence diſcouered, ſhe fixeth her eye vpon them, as trauelers by ſea vpon the pole-ſtarre of the world, and that according thereunto ſhe guideth her hand to worke by imitation: although we rather embrace the Oracle of *Hippocrates*, that *Each thing hath in ſmall and in great fulfilleth the taske which deſtenie hath ſet downe*: and concerning the maner of executing and fulfilling the ſame. *What they doe they knowe not, yet is it in ſhowe and appearance, as though they did know what they doe, and the truth is they doe not diſcerne the things*

Pſal. 19. 5.

Theophr. in Metaph.

Ariſt. Rhet. 1. ca. 39.

ἢ πεπραμένη μοίρῳ ἕκαστον ἐκπληροῖ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ μεῖζον καὶ ἔλαττον τὸ μεῖον. ὁ σφήκασιν οὐκ οἴδασιν, ὁ δὲ σφήκασι δοκέουσιν εἰδέναι, καὶ δ' ἃ μὴ ὁρῶσι οὐ γινώσκουσι.

things which they looke on: neuertheleſſe, for as much as the works of nature are no leſſe exact, then if ſhe did both behold and ſtudie how to expreſſe ſome abſolute ſhape or mirror alwayes preſent before her; yea, ſuch her dexteritie and skill appeareth, that no intellectuall creature in the world were able by capacitie to do that which nature doth without capacitie and knowledge; it cannot be, but nature hath ſome director of infinite knowledge to guide her in all her wayes. Who the guide of nature but only the God of nature? *In him wee liue, moue, and are.* Thoſe things which nature is ſaid to do, are by diuine arte performed, vſing nature as an inſtrument: nor is there any ſuch arte or knowledge diuine in nature her ſelfe working, but in the guide of natures worke. Whereas therefore things naturall which are not in the number of voluntarie agents (for of ſuch only we now ſpeake, and of no other) do ſo neceſſarily obſerue their certaine lawes, that as long as they keepe thoſe formes which giue them their being, they cannot poſſiblie be apt or inclinable to do otherwiſe then they do; ſeeing the kinds of their operations are both conſtantly and exactly framed according to the ſeuerall ends for which they ſerue, they themſelues in the meane while though doing that which is fit, yet knowing neither what they do, nor why: it followeth, that all which they do in this ſort, proceedeth originally from ſome ſuch agent as knoweth, appointeth, holdeth vp, and euen actually frameth the ſame. The manner of this diuine efficiencie being farre aboue vs, we are no more able to conceiue by our reaſon, then creatures vnreaſonable by their ſenſe are able to apprehend after what manner we diſpoſe and order the courſe of our affaires. Only thus much is diſcerned, that the naturall generation and proceſſe of all things receyueth order of proceeding from the ſetled ſtabilitie of diuine vnderſtanding. This appointeth vnto them their kinds of working, the diſpoſition whereof in the puritie of Gods owne knowledge and will is rightly tearmed by the name of *Prouidence.* The ſame being referred vnto the things themſelues here diſpoſed by it, was woont by the auncient to be called *naturall deſtinie.* That lawe the performance whereof we behold in things naturall, is as it were an authenticall, or an originall draught written in the boſome of God himſelfe; whoſe ſpirite being to execute the ſame, vſeth euerie particular nature, euerie meere naturall agent only as an inſtrument created at the beginning, and euer ſince the beginning vſed to worke his owne will and pleaſure withall. Nature therefore is nothing elſe but Gods inſtrument: in the courſe whereof *Dionyſius* perceyuing ſome ſuddaine diſturbance, is ſaid to haue cried out, *Aut Deus naturæ patitur aut mundi machina diſſoluetur.* Either God doth ſuffer impediment, and is by a greater then himſelfe hindered; or if that be impoſſible, then hath he determined to make a preſent diſſolution of the world; the execution of that law beginning now to ſtand ſtil, without which the world cannot ſtand. This workman, whoſe ſeruitor nature is, being in truth but only one, the Heathens imagining to be moe, gaue him in the skie the name of *Iupiter*, in the aire the name of *Iuno*, in the water the name of *Neptune*, in the earth the name of *Veſta* and ſometimes of *Ceres*, the name of *Apollo* in the Sunne, in the Moone the name of *Diana*, the name of *Aeolus* and diuers other in the windes, and to conclude euen ſo many guides of nature they dreamed of, as they ſawe there were kindes of things naturall in the world. Theſe they honored, as hauing

Act. 17. 28.

Forme in other creatures is a thing proportionable vnto the ſoule in liuing creatures. Senſible it is not, nor otherwiſe diſcernable, then only by effects. According to the diuerſitie of inward formes, things of the world are diſtinguiſhed into their kindes.

Vide Thom. in Compend. theol. cap. 3. Omne quod mouetur ab aliquo eſt quaſi inſtrumentum quoddam primi mouentis. Ridiculum eſt autem etiam apud indoctos ponere inſtrumentum moueri non ab aliquo principali agente.

uing power to woſke or ceaſe accordingly as men deſerued of them. But vnto vs there is one only guide of all agents naturall, and he both the creator, and the worker of all in all, alone to be bleſſed, adored and honoured by all for euer. That which hitherto hath beene ſpoken concerneth naturall agents conſidered in themſelues. But we muſt further remember alſo (which thing to touch in a word ſhall ſuffice) that as in this reſpect they haue their law, which lawe directeth them in the meanes whereby they tende to their owne perfection: So likewiſe another law there is, which toucheth them as they are ſociable partes vnited into one bodie, a lawe which bindeth them each to ſerue vnto others good, and all to preferre the good of the whole before whatſoeuer their owne particular, as we plainely ſee they doe, when things naturall in that regard forget their ordinary naturall woont, that which is heauie mounting ſometime vpwardes of it owne accord, and forſaking the centre of the earth, which to it ſelfe is moſt naturall, euen as if it did heare it ſelfe commaunded to let goe the good it priuately wiſheth, and to releiue the preſent diſtreſſe of nature in common.

4 But now that we may lift vp our eyes (as it were) from the footſtoole to the throne of God, and leauing theſe naturall, conſider a little the ſtate of heauenly and diuine creatures; touching Angels which are ſpirits immateriall and intellectuall, the glorious inhabitants of thoſe ſacred palaces, where nothing but light and bleſſed immortalitie, no ſhadow of matter for teares, diſcontentments, greifes, and vncomfortable paſſions to worke vpon, but all ioy, tranquilitie, and peace, euen for euer and euer doth dwell; as in number and order they are huge, mightie, and royall armies: ſo likewiſe in perfection of obedience vnto that lawe, which the Higheſt, whom they adore, loue, and imitate, hath impoſed vpon them, ſuch obſeruantes they are thereof, that our Sauiour himſelfe being to ſet downe the perfect *idea* of that which wee are to pray and wiſh for on earth, did not teach to pray or wiſh for more then onely that here it might be with vs, as with them it is in heauen. God which mooueth meere naturall agents as an efficient onely, doth otherwiſe mooue intellectuall creatures and eſpecially his holy Angels. For beholding the face of God, in admiration of ſo great excellencie they all adore him; and being rapt with the loue of his beautie, they cleaue inſeparably for euer vnto him. Deſire to reſemble him in goodnes maketh them vnweariable, & euen vnſatiable in their longing to doe by all meanes all maner good vnto all the creatures of God, but eſpecially vnto the children of men; in the countenance of whoſe nature looking downeward they behold themſelues beneath themſelues, euen as vpwarde in God, beneath whom themſelues are, they ſee that character which is no where but in themſelues and vs reſembled. Thus farre euen the Painims haue approched; thus farre they haue ſeene into the doings of the Angels of God; *Orpheus* confeſſing, that the fierie throne of God is attended on by thoſe moſt induſtrious Angels, carefull how all things are performed amongſt men; and the mirror of humaine wiſedome plainely teaching, that God mooueth Angels, euen as that thing doth ſtirre mans heart, which is thereunto preſented amiable. Angelicall actions may therefore be reduced vnto theſe three generall kindes; firſt, moſt delectable loue ariſing from the viſible apprehenſion of the puritie, glory, and

The law which Angels doe worke by. Pſal. 104. 4. Heb. 1. 7. Eph. 3. 10. Dan. 7. 10. Matth. 26. 53. Heb. 12. 22. Luc. 2. 13. Matth. 6. 10. Matth. 18. 10. Pſal 91. 11. 12. Luc. 15. 7. Heb. 1. 14. Act. 10. 3. Dan. 9. 23. Matth. 18. 10. Dan. 4. 10. Σῶδά θρόνῳ πυρίεντι παρᾶσιν φολυμόχλοι Αἰγλαι εἶσι μάκαρλεπτολεῖς ὡς πάντα τέλεῖ. Ariſt. Metaph. 12. cap 7. Iob. 38. 7. Matth. 18. 10.

Pſa.148.2. Heb.1.6. Eſa.6.3

and beautie of God inuiſible, ſauing only vnto Spirites that are pure; ſecondly adoration grounded vpon the euidence of the greatnes of God, on whom they ſee how all things depende, thirdly imitation bred by the preſence of his exemplary goodnes, who ceaſeth not before them daily to fill heauen and earth with the rich treaſures of moſt free and vndeſerued grace. Of Angels wee are not to conſider only what they are, and doe, in regarde of their owne being, but that alſo which concerneth them as they are lincked into a kinde of corporation amongſt themſelues, and of ſocietie or fellowſhip with men. Conſider Angels ech of them ſeuerally in himſelf, and their law is that which the Prophet Dauid mentioneth, *All ye his Angels prayſe him.* Conſider the Angels of God aſſociated, and their law is that which diſpoſeth them as an *Army*, one in order and degree aboue another. Conſider finally the Angels as hauing with vs that communion which the Apoſtle to the Hebrewes noteth, and in regard wherof Angels haue not diſdayned to profeſſe thēſelues our *fellowſeruants*; From hence there ſpringeth vp a third law which bindeth them to workes of miniſteriall imployment. Euery of which their ſeuerall functions are by them performed with ioy. A part of the Angels of God notwithſtanding (we know) haue fallen, and that their fall hath beene through the voluntary breach of that lawe, which did require at their hands continuance in the exerciſe of their high and admirable vertue. Impoſſible it was that euer their will ſhould change or incline to remit any part of their dutie, without ſome obiect hauing force to auert their conceit from God, and to draw it another way; and that before they attayned that high perfection of bliſſe, wherein nowe the elect Angels are without poſſibilitie of falling. Of any thing more then of God they could not by any meanes like, as long as whatſoeuer they knew beſides God they apprehended it not in it ſelfe without dependency vpon God; becauſe ſo long God muſt needes ſeeme infinitely better then any thing which they ſo could apprehend. Thinges beneath them could not in ſuch ſort be preſented vnto their eyes, but that therein they muſt needs ſee alwayes how thoſe things did depend on God. It ſeemeth therfore that there was no other way for Angels to ſinne, but by reflex of their vnderſtanding vpon themſelues; when being held with admiration of their own ſublimitie and honor, the memory of their ſubordination vnto God and their dependencie on him was drowned in this conceipt, whereupon their adoration, loue, and imitation of God could not chooſe but be alſo interrupted. The fall of Angels therefore was pride. Since their fall, their practiſes haue beene the cleane contrary vnto thoſe before mentioned. For being diſperſed ſome in the ayre, ſome on the earth, ſome in the water, ſome amongeſt the minerals, dennes, and caues, that are vnder the earth: they haue by all meanes laboured to effect an vniuerſall rebellion againſt the lawes, and, as farre as in them lyeth, vtter deſtruction of the workes of God. Theſe wicked Spirites the Heathens honoured in ſtead of Gods, both generally vnder the name of *Dij inferi* Godds infernall; and particularly, ſome in oracles, ſome in Idoles, ſome as houſehold gods, ſome as Nymphes; in a word no foule and wicked ſpirite which was not one way or other honored of men as God, till ſuch time as light appeared in the world and diſſolued the workes of the deuill. Thus much therefore may ſuffiſe for Angels, the next vnto whom in degree are men.

Pſal.148.2. Luk.2.13. Matth.26,53. Pſal.148.2. Heb.12.22. Apoc.22,9,

Ioh.8,44. 1.Pet.5,8. Apoc.9,11, Gen.3,15, 1.Chr.21,1, Iob.1.7,& 2.5 Ioh.13,27, Act.5,3. Apoc.20.8.

This is intimated whereſoeuer we finde them termed the ſonnes of God: as Iob. 1.6. & 38.7. 2. Pet,2,4. Ep.Iud.ver,6.

5 God

5 God alone excepted, who actually and euerlaſtingly is whatſoeuer hee may be, and which cannot hereafter be that which nowe he is not; all other things beſides are ſomewhat in poſſibilitie, which as yet they are not in act. And for this cauſe there is in all things an appetite or deſire, whereby they inclyne to ſomething which they may be: and when they are it, they ſhall be perfecter then nowe they are. All which perfections are conteyned vnder the generall name of *Goodneſſe*. And becauſe there is not in the world any thing wherby another may not ſome way be made the perfecter, therefore all things that are, are good. Againe ſith there can bee no goodneſſe deſired which proceedeth not from God himſelfe, as from the ſupreme cauſe of all things; and euery effect doth after a ſort conteine, at leaſt wiſe reſemble the cauſe from which it proceedeth: all things in the worlde are ſaide in ſome ſort to ſeeke the higheſt, and to couet more or leſſe the participation of God himſelfe. Yet this doth no where ſo much appeare as it doth in man: becauſe there are ſo many kindes of perfections which man ſeeketh. The firſt degree of goodneſſe is that generall perfection which all thinges doe ſeeke, in deſiring the continuance of their being. All thinges therefore coueting as much as may be to be like vnto God in being euer, that which cannot hereunto attaine perſonally, doth ſeeke to continue it ſelfe another way, that is by offſpring and propagation. The next degree of goodneſſe is that which each thing coueteth by affecting reſemblaunce with God, in the conſtancie and excellencie of thoſe operations which belong vnto their kinde. The immutabilitie of God they ſtriue vnto, by working eyther alwaies or for the moſt part after one and the ſame maner; his abſolute exactnes they imitate, by tending vnto that which is moſt exquiſite in euery particular. Hence haue riſen a number of axiomes in Philoſophie ſhowing, howe *The workes of nature do alwayes ayme at that which cannot be bettered.* Theſe two kinds of goodneſſe rehearſed are ſo neerely vnited to the thinges themſelues which deſire them, that we ſcarcely perceiue the appetite to ſtirre in reaching foorth her hand towards them. But the deſire of thoſe perfections which grow externally is more apparent; eſpecially of ſuch as are not expreſſely deſired vnleſſe they be firſt knowne, or ſuch as are not for any other cauſe, then for knowledge it ſelfe deſired. Concerning perfections in this kind, that by proceeding in the knowledge of truth and by growing in the exerciſe of vertue, man amongſt the creatures of this inferiour world, aſpireth to the greateſt conformity with God, this is not only knowne vnto vs, whom he himſelfe hath ſo inſtructed, but euen they do acknowledge, who amongeſt men are not iudged the neereſt vnto him. With *Plato* what one thing more vſuall, then to excite men vnto the loue of wiſedome, by ſhowing how much wiſe men are thereby exalted aboue men; how knowledge doth rayſe them vp into heauen; how it maketh them, though not Gods, yet as gods, high, admirable and diuine? And *Mercurius Triſmegiſtus* ſpeaking of the vertues of a righteous ſoule, *Such ſpirits* (ſayth he) *are neuer cloyed with prayſing and ſpeaking well of all men, with doing good vnto euery one by worde and deede, becauſe they ſtudie to frame themſelues according to* THE PATERNE *of the father of ſpirits.*

The law wher by man is in his actions directed to the imitation of God.

Πάντα γὰρ ἐκείνου ἐφίεται. Ariſt. de An. lib. 2. cap. 4.

Ἐν τοῖς φύσει δεῖ τὸ βέλτιον ἐὰν ἐνδέχηται ὑπάρχειν μᾶλλον. ἡ φύσις ἀεὶ ποιεῖ τοῦτο ἐνδεχομένων τὸ βέλτιστον. Ariſt. 2. de cæl. ca. 5.

Matth. 5. 48. Sap. 7. 27.

ἡ γὰρ τοιαύτη ψυχὴ κέρδος εὐδέποτε ἴσχει ὑμνῆσαι εὐφημοῦσά τε πάντας ἀνθρώπους καὶ λόγοις καὶ ἔργοις πάντας ἀνθρώπους μιμεῖσθαι αὐτῆς τὸ πατέρα.

6 In the matter of knowledge, there is betweene the Angels of God and the children of men this difference. Angels alreadie haue full and complete knowledge

Mens firſt beginning to grow to the

knowledge of that law which they are to obserue. vide Isa. 7. 16.

knowledge in the highest degree that can be imparted vnto them: men if wee view them in their spring, are at the first without vnderstanding or knowledge at all. Neuertheless from this vtter vacuitie they growe by degrees, till they come at length to be euen as the Angels themselues are. That which agreeth to the one now, the other shall attaine vnto in the ende; they are not so farre disioyned and seuered, but that they come at length to meete. The soule of man being therefore at the first as a booke, wherein nothing is, and yet all thinges may be imprinted; we are to search by what steppes and degrees it ryseth vnto perfection of knowledge. Vnto that which hath beene alreadie set downe concerning naturall agents this we must adde, that albeit therein we haue comprised as well creatures liuing, as voyd of life, if they be in degree of nature beneth men; neuertheless a difference wee must obserue betweene those naturall agentes that worke altogether vnwittinglie, and those which haue, though weake, yet some vnderstanding what they doe, as fishes, foules, and beastes haue. Beastes are in sensible capacitie as ripe euen as men themselues, perhaps more ripe. For as stones, though in dignitie of nature inferiour vnto plants, yet exceede them in firmenesse of strength or durabilitie of being; and plantes though beneath the excellencie of creatures indued with sense, yet exceede thē in the faculty of vegetation and of fertilitie: so beasts though otherwise behind men, may notwithstanding in actions of sense and phancy goe beyond them; because the endeuors of nature, when it hath an higher perfection to seeke, are in lower the more remisse, not esteeming thereof so much as those thinges doe, which hath no better proposed vnto them. The soule of man therefore being capable of a more diuine perfection, hath (besides the faculties of growing vnto sensible knowledge which is common vnto vs with beasts) a further hability, wherof in them there is no show at all, the abilitie of reaching *higher then vnto sensible things. Till we grow to some ripenes of yeares, the soule of man doth only store it selfe with conceipts of things of inferiour and more open qualitie, which afterwards doe serue as instrumentes vnto that which is greater: in the meane while aboue the reach of meaner creatures it ascendeth not. When once it comprehendeth any thing aboue this, as the differences of time, affirmations, negations, and contradictions in speech; we then count it to haue some vse of naturall reason. Whereunto if afterwardes there might be added the right helps of true art and learning (which helpes I must plainely confesse this age of the world, carrying the name of a learned age, doth neyther much know nor greatly regard) there would vndoubtedly be almost as great difference in maturitie of iudgement betweene men therewith inured, and that which now men are, as betweene men that are now and innocents. Which speech if any condemne, as being ouer hyperbolicall, let them consider but this one thing. No art is at the first finding out so perfect as industrie may after make it. Yet the very first man that to any purpose knew the way we speake of and followed it, hath alone thereby performed more very neere in all partes of naturall knowledge, then sithence in any one part thereof, the whole world besides hath doone. In the pouertie of that other new deuised ayde two things there are notwithstanding singular. Of marueilous quicke dispatch it is, and doth shewe them that haue it as much almost in three dayes, as if it dwell threescore yeares with them. Againe

*ὁ ἄνθρωπος εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀναβαίνει, καὶ μετρεῖ αὐτὸν, καὶ ὅσα πρόσεστι μὴ ἔχειν ἀπορεῖ ψιλά, ποῖα δὲ παπεινά, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα ἀκριβῶς μανθάνει. Καὶ τὸ πάντων μέγιστον, οὐδὲ τῷ γλῶ καταλιπὼν ἄνω γίνεται. Merc. Trism.

Aristotelicall demonstration.

Ramystry.

gaine becauſe the curioſitie of mans wit, doth many times with perill wade farther in the ſearch of things, then were conuenient: the ſame is thereby reſtrayned vnto ſuch generalities as euery where offering themſelues, are apparent vnto men of the weakeſt conceipt that neede be. So as following the rules & precepts thereof, we may define it to be, an Art which teacheth the way of ſpeedie diſcourſe, and reſtrayneth the minde of man that it may not waxe ouer wiſe. Education and inſtruction are the meanes the one by vſe, the other by precept to make our naturall faculty of reaſon, both the better and the ſooner able to iudge rightly betweene truth and error, good and euill. But at what time a man may be ſayde to haue attayned ſo farre foorth the vſe of reaſon, as ſufficeth to make him capable of thoſe lawes, whereby he is thē bound to guide his actions; this is a great deale more eaſie for common ſenſe to diſcerne, then for any man by skill and learning to determine: euen as it is not in Philoſophers, who beſt knowe the nature both of fire and of golde, to teach what degree of the one will ſerue to purifie the other, ſo well as the artiſan, who doth this by fire, diſcerneth by ſenſe when the fire hath that degree of heat which ſufficeth for his purpoſe.

7 By reaſon man attaineth vnto the knowledge of thinges that are and are not ſenſible. It reſteth therfore that we ſearch how mā attaineth vnto the knowledge of ſuch things vnſenſible as are to be knowne that they may be done. Seeing then that nothing can moue vnleſſe there be ſome ende, the deſire whereof prouoketh vnto motion, how ſhould that diuine power of the ſoule, that *Spirite of our mind* as the Apoſtle termeth it, euer ſtir it ſelfe vnto action, vnleſſe it haue alſo the like ſpurre? The end for which we are moued to worke, is ſomtimes the goodnes which we conceiue of the very working it ſelfe, without any further reſpect at all; and the cauſe that procureth action is the meere deſire of action, no other good beſides being therby intended. Of certaine turbulent wits it is ſaid, *Illis quieta mouere magna merces videbatur*, They thought the very diſturbance of things eſtabliſhed an hyre ſufficient to ſet them on worke. Sometimes that which we do is referred to a further end, without the deſire whereof we would leaue the ſame vndone, as in their actions that gaue almes to purchaſe thereby the prayſe of men. Man in perfection of nature being made according to the likenes of his maker reſembleth him alſo in the maner of working; ſo that whatſoeuer we worke as men, the ſame we doe wittingly worke and freely, neither are we according to the maner of naturall agents any way ſo tyed, but that it is in our power to leaue the things we do vndone. The good which either is gotten by doing or which conſiſteth in the very doing it ſelfe, cauſeth not action, vnleſſe apprehending it as good we ſo like and deſire it: that we doe vnto any ſuch ende, the ſame we chooſe and preferre before the leauing of it vndone. Choice there is not vnleſſe the thing which we take be ſo in our power that we might haue refuſed and left it. If fire conſume the ſtubble, it chooſeth not ſo to doe, becauſe the nature thereof is ſuch that it can doe no other. To chooſe is to will one thing before another. And to will is to bend our ſoules to the hauing or doing of that which they ſee to be good. Goodneſſe is ſeene with the eye of the vnderſtanding. And the light of that eye, is reaſon. So that two principall fountaines there are of humaine action, *Knowledge* and *Will*, which will in things tending

Of mans will which is the thing that lawes of action are made to guide.

Eph. 4. 23.

Saluſt.

Matth. 6. 2.

tending towards any end is termed *Choice*. Concerning knowledge, Beholde
Deut. 30.19. sayth *Moses, I haue set before you this day good and euill, life and death.* Concerning
Will, he addeth immediatly, *Choose life*, that is to say, the thinges that tend vnto
life, them choose. But of one thing we must haue speciall care, as being a matter
of no small moment, and that is, how the will properly and strictly taken, as it is
of things which are referred vnto the ende that man desireth, differeth greatly
from that inferiour naturall desire which we call appetite. The obiect of appe-
tite is whatsoeuer sensible good may be wished for; the obiect of wil is that good
which reason doth leade vs to seeke. Affections, as ioy, and griefe, and feare, and
anger, with such like; being as it were the sundry fashions and formes of appe-
tite, can neyther rise at the conceipt of a thing indifferent, nor yet choose but
rise at the sight of some things. Wherefore it is not altogether in our power,
whether we will be stirred with affections or no; whereas actions which issue
frō the disposition of the will are in the power therof to be performed or staied.
Finally appetite is the wills sollicitor, and the will is appetites controller; what
we couet according to the one, by the other we often reiect, neyther is any o-
ther desire termed properly will, but that where reason and vnderstanding, or
the shew of reason prescribeth the thing desired. It may be therefore a question,
whether those operations of men are to be counted voluntarie, wherein that
good which is sensible prouoketh appetite, and appetite causeth action, reason
being neuer called to councell; as when we eate or drinke, or betake our selues
vnto rest, and such like. The truth is, that such actions in men hauing attained
to the vse of reason are voluntary. For as the authoritie of higher powers hath
force euen in those things which are done without their priuitie, and are of so
meane reckoning that to acquaint them therewith it needeth not: in like sort
voluntarily we are said to doe that also, which the will if it listed might hinder
from being done, although about the doing thereof we doe not expressely vse
our reason or vnderstanding, and so immediatly apply our wills thereunto. In
cases therefore of such facilitie the will doth yeelde her assent, as it were with a
kind of silence, by not dissenting; in which respect her force is not so apparent
as in expresse mandates or prohibitions, especially vpon aduice and consultati-
on going before. Where vnderstanding therefore needeth, in those thinges rea-
son is the director of mans will by discouering in action what is good. For the
lawes of well doing are the dictates of right reason. Children which are not as
yet come vnto those yeares whereat they may haue; againe innocentes which
are excluded by naturall defect from euer hauing; thirdly mad men which for
the present cannot possibly haue the vse of right reason to guide themselues,
haue for their guide the reason that guideth other men, which are tutors ouer
them to seeke and to procure their good for them. In the rest there is that light
of reason, whereby good may be knowne from euill, and which discouering
the same rightly is termed right. The will notwithstanding doth not incline
to haue or do that which reason teacheth to be good, vnlesse the same doe also
teach it to be possible. For albeit the appetite, being more generall, may wish
O mihi præte-ritos referat si Iupiter an-nos. any thing which seemeth good, be it neuer so impossible: yet for such thinges
the reasonable will of man doth neuer seeke. Let reason teach impossibilitie in
any thing, and the will of man doth let it goe; a thing impossible it doth not
affect,

affect, the impoſſibilitie thereof being manifeſt. There is in the will of man naturally that freedome, whereby it is apt to take or refuſe any particular obiect whatſoeuer being preſented vnto it. Whereupon it followeth, that there is no particular obiect ſo good, but it may haue the ſhow of ſome difficultie or vnpleſant qualitie annexed to it; in reſpect whereof the will may ſhrinke and decline it: contrariwiſe (for ſo thinges are blended) there is no particular euill which hath not ſome appearance of goodnes whereby to inſinuate it ſelfe. For euill as euill cannot be deſired: if that be deſired which is euill, the cauſe is the goodnes which is, or ſeemeth to be ioyned with it. Goodnes doth not mooue by being, but by being apparent; and therefore many things are neglected which are moſt pretious, only becauſe the value of them lyeth hid. Senſible goodneſſe is moſt apparent, neere, and preſent, which cauſeth the appetite to be therewith ſtrongly prouoked. Now purſuit & refuſall in the will do follow, the one the affirmation, the other the negation of goodnes, which the vnderſtanding apprehendeth, grounding it ſelfe vpon ſenſe, vnleſſe ſome higher reaſon do chance to teach the cõtrary. And if reaſon haue taught it rightly to be good, yet not ſo apparently that the mind receiueth it with vtter impoſſibility of being otherwiſe; ſtill there is place left for the will to take or leaue. Whereas therfore amongſt ſo many things as are to be done there are ſo few, the goodnes wherof reaſõ in ſuch ſort doth or eaſily can diſcouer; we are not to maruaile at the choyce of euill, eué then whẽ the contrary is probably knowne. Hereby it cõmeth to paſſe, that cuſtome inuring the mind by long practiſe, & ſo leauing there a ſenſible impreſſion, preuaileth more thẽ reaſonable perſwaſiõ what way ſo euer. Reaſon therfore may rightly diſcerne the thing which is good, & yet the will of mã not incline it ſelfe therunto, as oft as the preiudice of ſenſible experience doth ouerſway. Nor let any mã think that this doth make any thing for the iuſt excuſe of iniquity. For there was neuer ſin committed, wherein a leſſe good was not preferred before a greater, & that wilfully; which cannot be done without the ſingular diſgrace of nature, & the vtter diſturbance of that diuine order, wherby the preeminence of chiefeſt acceptation is by the beſt things worthely chalenged. There is not that good which cõcerneth vs, but it hath euidence enough for it ſelfe, if reaſon were diligent to ſearch it out. Through neglect thereof, abuſed wee are with the ſhew of that which is not, ſomtimes the ſubtilty of Satan inueagling vs as it did [a] Eue; ſomtimes the haſtines of our wils preuẽting the more cõſiderate aduiſe of ſound reaſon, as in [b] thapoſtles, whẽ they no ſooner ſaw what they liked not, but they forthwith were deſirous of fire frõ heauen; ſometimes the very cuſtome of euil making the hart obdurate againſt whatſoeuer inſtructions to the cõtrary, as in thẽ ouer whõ our Sauiour ſpake weeping, [c] *O Ieruſalẽ, how often and thou wouldſt not?* Still therfore that wherwith we ſtand blameablẽ, & can no way excuſe it is, In doing euill, we prefer a leſſe good before a greater, the greatnes whereof is by reaſon inueſtigable, & may be known. The ſearch of knowledg is a thing painful & the painfulnes of knowledge is that which maketh the will ſo hardly inclinable thereunto. The root hereof diuine malediction whereby the [d] inſtrumẽts beingweakned wherewithall the ſoule (eſpecially in reaſoning) doth worke, it preferreth reſt in ignorance before wearisome labour to knowe. For a ſpurre of diligence therefore wee haue a naturall thirſt after knowledge ingrafted in vs. But by reaſon of that originall weaknes in the inſtruments, without which the

Βι δ' ἔπ ὀπὶ κακίαν ὁρμᾶ, πρῶτον μὲν ὄψις ὡς ὂν κακὸν αὐτῷ ὁρμᾶσαι, ἀλλ' ὡς ὂν ἀγαθόν.

Paulo poſt, Ἀδύνατον γὰρ ὁρμᾶν ὅτι κατὰ βούλησιν ἔχειν αὐτὸ, ἢ ὅτι ἐλπίδι ἀγαθῷ ὅτι φύσει μείζονος κακοῦ.

Alcin. de dogmat. Plat.

[a] 2. Cor. 11. 3.
[b] Luc. 9. 54.
[c] Math. 23. 37.
[d] Sap. 9. 15. A corruptible body is heauie vnto the ſoule, and the earthly manſion keepeth down the mind that is full of cares. And hardly can we diſcern the things that are vpõ earth, & with great labour find we out the things which are before vs. Who can then ſeeke out the things that are in heauen?

vnderstanding part is not able in this world by discourse to worke, the very conceipt of painefulnesse is as a bridle to stay vs. For which cause the Apostle who knew right wel, that the wearines of the flesh is an heauy clog to the will, striketh mightely vpon this key, *Awake thou that sleepest, Cast off all which presseth downe, Watch, Labour, striue to go forward and to grow in knowledge.*

Eph. 5. 14. Heb. 12. 1. 12. 1. Cor. 16. 13. Prou 2. 4. Luc. 13. 24.

Of the naturall way of finding out lawes by reason to guide the will vnto that which is good.

8 Wherefore to returne to our former intent of discouering the naturall way, whereby rules haue beene found out concerning that goodnes wherwith the will of man ought to be moued in humaine actions; as euery thing naturally and necessarily doth desire the vtmost good and greatest perfection, whereof nature hath made it capable, euen so man. Our felicitie therefore being the obiect and accomplishment of our desire, we cannot choose but wish and couet it. All particular things, which are subiect vnto action, the will doth so farre forth incline vnto, as reason iudgeth thē the better for vs, and consequently the more auayleable to our blisse. If reason erre, we fall into euill, and are so farre foorth depriued of the generall perfection we seeke. Seeing therefore that for the framing of mens actions the knowledge of good from euill is necessarie; it onely resteth that we search how this may be had. Neither must we suppose that there needeth one rule to knowe the good, and another the euill by. For he that knoweth what is straight, doth euen thereby discerne what is crooked, because the absence of straightnesse in bodies capable thereof is crookednes. Goodnesse in actions is like vnto straightnes; wherfore that which is done well we term right. For as the straight way is most acceptable to him that trauaileth, because by it he commeth sooneſt to his iourneyes end: so in action, that which doth lye the eueneſt betweene vs and the end we desire, must needes be the fittest for our vse. Besides which fitnes for vse there is also in rectitude, beautie; as contrariwise in obliquitie deformitie. And that which is good in the actions of men, doth not only delight as profitable, but as amiable also. In which consideration the Græcians most diuinely haue giuen to the actiue perfection of men, a name expressing both beautie and goodnes, because goodnes in ordinarie speech is for the most part applied only to that which is beneficiall. But wee in the name of goodnes, doe here imply both. And of discerning goodnes there are but these two wayes; the one the knowledge of the causes whereby it is made such, the other the obseruation of those signes and tokens, which being annexed alwaies vnto goodnes, argue that where they are found, there also goodnes is, although we know not the cause by force whereof it is there. The former of these is the most sure & infallible way, but so hard that all shunne it, and had rather walke as men do in the darke by hap hazard, then tread so long and intricate mazes for knowledge sake. As therefore Physicians are many times forced to leaue such methods of curing as themselues know to be the fittest, & being ouerruled by their patients impatiency are faine to try the best they can, in taking that way of cure, which the cured will yeeld vnto: in like sort, cōsidering how the case doth stād with this present age full of tongue & weake of braine, behold we yeeld to the streame therof; into the causes of goodnes we will not make any curious or deepe inquirie; to touch them now & then it shalbe sufficient, when they are so neere at hand that easily they may be conceiued without any far remoued discourse: that way we are contented to proue, which being the worse in it selfe, is notwith-

Τῷ δ' αὐτῷ καὶ αὐτὸ καὶ τὸ καμπύλον γινώσκομεν. Κριτὴς δὲ ἀμφοῖν ὁ κανών.

Καλοκἀγαθία.

notwithſtanding now by reaſon of common imbecilitie the fitter & likelyer to be brookt. Signes and tokens to know good by, are of ſundry kinds: ſome more certaine and ſome leſſe. The moſt certaine token of euident goodnes is, if the generall perſwaſion of all men do ſo account it. And therefore a common receiued error is neuer vtterly ouerthrowne, till ſuch time as we goe from ſignes vnto cauſes, and ſhew ſome manifeſt root or fountaine thereof common vnto all, wherby it may clearely appeare how it hath come to paſſe that ſo many haue beene ouerſeene. In which caſe ſurmiſes and ſleight probalilities will not ſerue, becauſe the vniuerſal conſent of men is the perfecteſt and ſtrongeſt in this kind which comprehendeth onely the ſignes and tokens of goodneſſe. Thinges caſuall doe varie, and that which a man doth but chance to thinke well of, cannot ſtill haue the like hap. Wherefore although we knowe not the cauſe, yet thus much we may know, that ſome neceſſary cauſe there is, whenſoeuer the iudgements of all men generally or for the moſt part runne one & the ſame way, eſpeally in matters of naturall diſcourſe. For of things neceſſarily & naturally done there is no more affirmed but this, [a] *They keepe eyther alwayes or for the moſt part one tenure.* The generall and perpetuall voyce of men is as the ſentence of God him ſelfe. [b] For that which all men haue at all times learned, nature her ſelfe muſt needes haue taught; and God being the author of nature, her voyce is but his inſtrument. By her from him we receiue whatſoeuer in ſuch ſort we learn. Infinite duties there are, the goodnes wherof is by this rule ſufficiently manifeſted, although we had no other warrant beſides to approue them. The Apoſtle S. Paul hauing ſpeech cõcerning the Heathen faith of thẽ, [c] *They are a law vnto thẽſelues.* His meaning is, that by force of the light of reaſõ, wherwith God illuminateth euery one which cõmeth into the world, mẽ being inabled to know truth from falſhood, and good from euill, do thereby learne in many things what the will of God is; which will himſelfe not reuealing by any extraordinary meanes vnto them, but they by naturall diſcourſe attaining the knowledge therof, ſeeme the makers of thoſe lawes which indeede are his, and they but only the finders of them out. A law therfore generally taken, is a directiue rule vnto goodnes of operation. The rule of diuine operations outward, is the definitiue appointmẽt of Gods owne wiſedome ſet down within himſelf. The rule of naturall agents that worke by ſimple neceſſity, is the determination of the wiſedome of God, known to God himſelfe the principall director of them, but not vnto thẽ that are directed to execute the ſame. The rule of naturall agents which worke after a ſort of their owne accord, as the beaſts do, is the iudgement of cõmon ſenſe or phancy concerning the ſenſible goodnes of thoſe obiects wherwith they are moued. The rule of ghoſtly or immateriall natures, as ſpirits & Angels, is their intuitiue intellectual iudgemẽt concerning the amiable beautie & high goodnes of that obiect, which with vnſpeakable ioy and delight, doth ſet them on worke. The rule of voluntary agents on earth is the ſentence that reaſon giueth cõcerning the goodnes of thoſe things which they are to do. And the ſentences which reaſon giueth are ſome more, ſome leſſe general, before it come to define in particular actiõs what is good. The maine principles of reaſõ are in thẽſelues apparẽt. For to make nothing euidẽt of it ſelfe vnto mans vnderſtãding were to take away al poſſibility of knowing any thing. And herein that of *Theophraſtus* is

[a] ἢ ἀεὶ ἢ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ ὡσαύτως ἀποβαίνει. Ariſt. Rhet. 1. cap. 39.

[b] Non poteſt error contingere vbi omnes idem opinantur. Moticat. in 1. Polit. Quicquid in omnibus individuis vnius ſpeciei communiter ineſt id cauſam cõmunem habeat oportet, quę eſt eorum individuorum ſpecies & natura. Idem. Quod a tota aliqua ſpecie fit vniuerſalis particulariſq; naturæ fit inſtinctu. Ficin. de Chriſt. relig. Si proficere cupis, primo firmé id verum puta quod ſana mens omniũ hominum atteſtatur. Cuſa. in compend. cap. 1. Non licet naturale vniuerſaleq; hominum iudicium falſum vanúmq; eſtimare. Teleſ. Οὐ γὰρ πᾶσι δοκεῖ τοῦτο εἶναι. Ὃ δὲ φαμεν. Ὃ δ' ἀναιρῶν ταύτην ἢ φύσιν οὐδὲν πλέον ἐρεῖ. Ariſt. Eth. 10. cap. 2.

[c] Rom. 2. 14.

Ἀνάγκη τῶν ζητοῦντες λόγον ἀναιροῦσι λόγον. Theoph. in Metaph.

true, *They that seeke a reason of all things do vtterly ouerthrow reason.* In euery kind of knowledge some such grounds there are, as that being proposed the mind doth presently embrace them as free from all possibilitie of error, cleare and manifest without proofe. In which kind axiomes or principles more generall are such as this, *That the greater good is to be chosen before the lesse.* If therefore it should be demaunded, what reason there is why the will of man, which doth necessarily shun harme and couet whatsoeuer is pleasant and sweete, should be commanded to count the pleasures of sinne gall, & notwithstanding the bitter accidents wherwith virtuous actions are compast, yet stil to reioyce and delight in them; surely this could neuer stand with reason, but that wisedome thus prescribing, groundeth her lawes vpon an infallible rule of comparison, which is, that small difficulties, when exceeding great good is sure to ensue; and on the other side momentanie benefites, when the hurt which they drawe after them is vnspeakable, are not at all to be respected. This rule is the ground whereupon the wisedome of the Apostle buildeth a law, inioyning patience vnto himself *The present lightnes of our affliction worketh vnto vs euen with aboundance vpon aboundance an eternall waight of glorie, while we looke not on the things which are seene, but on the thinges which are not seene. For the things which are seene are temporall, but the things which are not seene eternall:* Therefore Christianitie to be embraced, whatsoeuer calamities in those times it was accompained withall. Vpon the same ground our Sauiour proueth the law most reasonable, that doth forbid those crimes which mē for gaines sake fall into. For a man to winne the world, if it be with the losse of his soule, what benefite or good is it? Axiomes lesse generall, yet so manifest that they neede no further prose, are such as these, *God to be worshipped, Parents to be honored, Others to be vsed by vs as we our selues would by them.* Such things, as soone as they are alleaged, all men acknowledge to be good; they require no prose or furder discourse to be assured of their goodnesse. Notwithstanding whatsoeuer such principle there is, it was at the first found out by discourse, & drawne from out of the very bowels of heauen and earth. For we are to note, that thinges in the world are to vs discernable, not only so farre foorth as serueth for our vitall preseruation, but further also in a twofold higher respect. For first if all other vses were vtterly taken away; yet the mind of man being by nature speculatiue and delighted with contemplation in it selfe, they were to be knowne euē for meere knowledge and vnderstandings sake. Yea further besides this, the knowledge of euery the least thing in the whole world, hath in it a secōd peculiar benefite vnto vs, in as much as it serueth to minister rules, Canons, and lawes for men to direct those actions by, which wee properly terme humaine. This did the very Heathens themselues obscurely insinuate by making *Themis* which we call *Ius* or Right to be the daughter of heauen and earth. We knowe things eyther as they are in themselues, or as they are in mutuall relation one to another. The knowledge of that which man is in reference vnto him selfe, and other thinges in relation vnto man, I may iustly terme the mother of al those principles which are as it were edicts, statutes, and decrees in that law of nature, whereby humain actions are framed. First therefore hauing obserued that the best things, where they are not hindered, doe still produce the best operations (for which cause where many things are to concurre vnto one effect, the best is in all congruitie

2. Cor. 4. 17.

Matth. 16. 26.

of

of reaſon to guide the reſidue, that it preuayling moſt, the worke principally done by it may haue greateſt perfection) when hereupon we come to obſerue in our ſelues, of what excellencie our ſoules are in compariſon of our bodies, and the diuiner part in relation vnto the baſer of our ſoules; ſeeing that all theſe concurre in producing humaine actions: it cannot be well vnleſſe the chiefeſt doe commaunde and direct the reſt. The ſoule then ought to conduct the bodie, and the ſpirite of our mindes the ſoule. This is therefore the firſt lawe, whereby the higheſt power of the minde requireth generall obedience at the handes of all the reſt concurring with it vnto action. Touching the ſeuerall grand mandates which being impoſed by the vnderſtanding faculrie of the minde, muſt be obeyed by the will of man, they are by the ſame method founde out, whether they import our dutie towardes God or towardes man. Touching the one, I may not here ſtande to open by what degrees of diſcourſe the mindes, euen of meere naturall men, haue attayned to knowe, not onely that there is a God, but alſo what power, force, wiſedome, and other properties that God hath, and how all things depende on him. This being therefore preſuppoſed, from that knowne relation which God hath vnto vs [a] as vnto children, and vnto all good thinges as vnto effectes, whereof himſelfe is the [b] principall cauſe, theſe axiomes and lawes naturall concerning our dutie, haue ariſen, [c] *That in all thinges we goe about his ayde, is by prayer to be craued*, [d] *That he cannot haue ſufficient honour done vnto him, but the vtmoſt of that we can doe to honour him we muſt:* which is in effect the ſame that we read, [e] *Thou ſhalt loue the Lorde thy God with all thy heart, with all thy ſoule, and with all thy minde.* Which lawe our Sauiour doth terme the [f] *Firſt and the great Commaundement.* Touching the next, which as our Sauiour addeth, is like vnto this (he meaneth in amplitude and largeneſſe in as much as it is the root out of which all lawes of dutie to men-warde haue growne, as out of the former all offices of religion towardes God) the like naturall inducement hath brought men to knowe, that it is their dutie no leſſe to loue others then themſelues. For ſeeing thoſe things which are equall, muſt needes all haue one meaſure; if I cannot but wiſh to receiue all good, euen as much at euery mans hande as any man can wiſh vnto his owne ſoule: how ſhould I looke to haue any part of my deſire herein ſatisfyed, vnleſſe my ſelfe be carefull to ſatisfie the like deſire, which is vndoubtly in other men, we all being of one, and the ſame nature? To haue any thing offered them repugnant to this deſire muſt needes in all reſpects greeue them as much as me, ſo that if I doe harme, I muſt looke to ſuffer; there being no reaſon that others ſhould ſhew greater meaſure of loue to me, then they haue by me ſhewed vnto them. My deſire therefore to be loued of my equals in nature as much as poſſible may be, impoſeth vpon me a naturall dutie of bearing to them-ward fully the like affection. From which relation of equalitie betweene our ſelues & them that are as our ſelues, what ſeuerall rules and canons naturall reaſon hath drawne for direction of life, no man is ignorant, as namely, [g] *That becauſe we would take no harme, we muſt therefore doe none; That ſith wee would not be in any thing extreamelie dealt with, wee muſt our ſelues auoyde all extremitie in our dealinges; That from all violence and wroung wee are vtterly to abſtayne*, with ſuche like; which further to wade in woulde bee tedious, and to our preſent purpoſe

Ariſt. Polit. 1. cap. 5.

[a] Οὐδεὶς θεὸς νόσῳ ἀνθρώποις. Plat in Theæt.

[b] Ὁ πέλας θεὸς δοκεῖ τὸ αἴτιον πᾶσιν εἶναι καὶ ἀρχή. Ariſt. Metop. lib. 1. cap. 2.

[c] Ἀλλ' ὦ Σώκρατες τοῦτό γε δὴ πάντες ὅσοι καὶ βραχὺ σωφροσύνης μετέχουσιν ὀρθῇ πάσῃ ὁρμῇ καὶ μικρῷ καὶ μεγάλῳ προσαγμάτῳ θεὸν αἰεὶ προσκαλοῦσι. Plat. in Tim.

[d] Ariſt. Ethic. lib. 8 ca. ult.

[e] Deut. 6. 5.

[f] Math. 22. 38.

[g] Quod quis in ſe approbat in alio reprobare nō poſſe. l. in ęrenam C. deinof. teſt. Quod quiſq; iuris in alium ſtatu erit ipſum quoq; eodem vti debere. l. quod quiſque. Ab omni penitus iniuria atq; vi abſtinendū l. 1. §. 1. quod vi aut clam.

not altogether ſo neceſſarie, ſeeing that on theſe two generall heades alreadie mentioned all other ſpecialties are dependent. Wherefore the naturall meaſure wherby to iudge our doings, is the ſentence of reaſon, determining and ſetting downe what is good to be done. Which ſentence is either mandatory, ſhewing what muſt be doone; or els permiſſiue, declaring onely what may bee done; or thirdly admonitorie, opening what is the moſt conuenient for vs to doe. The firſt taketh place where the compariſon doth ſtande altogether betweene doing and not doing of one thing which in it ſelfe is abſolutely good or euill, as it had bene for *Ioſeph* to yeeld or not to yeeld to the impotent deſire of his lewd miſtreſſe, the one euill the other good ſimply. The ſecond is when of diuerſe thinges euill, all being not euitable, we are permitted to take one, which one ſauing only in caſe of ſo great vrgencie were not otherwiſe to be taken, as in the matter of diuorce amongſt the Iewes. The laſt when of diuers things good, one is principall and moſt eminent, as in their act who ſoulde their poſſeſſions and layd the price at the Apoſtles feete; which poſſeſſions they might haue retained vnto themſelues without ſinne; againe in the Apoſtle S. Paules owne choyce to maintaine himſelfe by his owne labour, whereas in lyuing by the Churches maintenance, as others did, there had beene no offence cõmitted. In goodnes therefore there is a latitude or extent, whereby it commeth to paſſe that euen of good actions ſome are better then other ſome, whereas otherwiſe one man could not excell another, but all ſhould be eyther abſolutely good, as hitting iumpe that indiuiſible point or Center wherein goodneſſe conſiſteth; or els miſſing it they ſhould be excluded out of the number of weldoers. Degrees of weldoing there could be none, except perhaps in the ſeeldomnes & oftennes of doing well. But the nature of goodneſſe being thus ample, a law is properly that which reaſon in ſuch ſort defineth to be good that it muſt be done. And the lawe of reaſon or humaine nature is that which men by diſcourſe of naturall reaſon haue rightly found out themſelues to be all for euer bound vnto in their actions. Lawes of reaſon haue theſe markes to be knowne by. Such as keepe them, reſemble moſt liuely in their voluntarie actions, that very maner of working which nature her ſelfe doth neceſſarily obſerue in the courſe of the whole world. The workes of nature are all behoouefull, beautifull, without ſuperfluitie or defect; euen ſo theirs, if they be framed according to that which the law of reaſon teacheth. Secondly thoſe lawes are inueſtigable by reaſon without the helpe of reuelation ſupernaturall and diuine. Finally in ſuch ſort they are inueſtigable, that the knowledge of them is generall, the worlde hath alwayes beene acquainted with them, according to that which one in *Sophocles* obſerueth concerning a branch of this lawe, *It is no childe of to dayes or yeſterdaies birth, but hath beene no man knoweth how long ſithence.* It is not agreed vpon by one, or two, or few, but by all: which we may not ſo vnderſtand, as if euery particular man in the whole world did knowe and confeſſe whatſoeuer the law of reaſon doth conteine, but this lawe is ſuch that being propoſed no man can reiect it as vnreaſonable and vniuſt. Againe there is nothing in it but anie man (hauing naturall perfection of wit, and ripenes of iudgement) may by labour and trauayle finde out. And to conclude, the generall principles thereof are ſuch, as it is not eaſie to finde men ignorant of them. Law rationall therefore,

Matth. 22. 40. On theſe two commaundements hangeth the whol law.

Gen. 39. 9.

Mar. 10. 4.

Act. 4. 37. Act. 5. 4.

2. Theſ. 3. 8.

οὐ γάρ τι νῦν γε κἀχθὲς ἀλλ' ἀεί ποτε ζῇ τοῦτο κοὐδείς οἶδεν ἐξ ὅτου φάνη. Soph. Anti.

fore, which men commonly vſe to call the law of nature, meaning thereby the law which humaine nature knoweth it ſelfe in reaſon vniuerſally bound vnto, which alſo for that cauſe may be termed moſt fitly the lawe of reaſon: this law, I ſay, comprehendeth all thoſe thinges which men by the light of their naturall vnderſtanding euidently know, or at leaſtwiſe may know, to be beſeeming or vnbeſeeming, vertuous or vitious, good or euill for them to doe. Now although it be true, which ſome haue ſaid, that whatſoeuer is done amiſſe, the law of nature and reaſon therby is tranſgreſt, becauſe euen thoſe offences which are by their ſpeciall qualities breaches of ſupernaturall lawes, do alſo, for that they are generally euill, violate in generall that principle of reaſon, which willeth vniuerſally to flye from euill: yet do we not therfore ſo far extend the law of reaſon, as to conteine in it all maner lawes whereunto reaſonable creatures are bound, but (as hath bene ſhewed) we reſtraine it to thoſe only duties, which all men by force of naturall wit either do or might vnderſtand to be ſuch duties as concerne all men. *Certaine halfwaking men there are* (as Saint *Auguſtine* noteth) *who neither altogether aſleepe in folly, nor yet throughly awake in the light of true vnderſtanding, haue thought that there is not at all any thing iuſt and righteous in it ſelfe: but looke wherewith nations are inured, the ſame they take to be right and iuſt. Whereupon their concluſion is, that ſeeing each ſort of people hath a different kind of right from other, and that which is right of it owne nature muſt be euery where one and the ſame, therefore in it ſelfe there is nothing right. Theſe good folke* (ſaith he, *that I may not trouble their wits with rehearſall of too many things*) *haue not looked ſo far into the world as to perceiue, that* Doe as thou wouldeſt be done vnto, *is a ſentence which all nations vnder heauen are agreed vpon. Referre this ſentẽce to the loue of God, and it extinguiſheth all heinous crimes: referre it to the loue of thy neighbour, and all grieuous wrongs it baniſheth out of the world.* Wherefore as touching the law of reaſon, this was (it ſeemeth) Saint *Auguſtines* iudgement, namely, that there are in it ſome things which ſtand as principles vniuerſally agreed vpon: and that out of thoſe principles, which are in themſelues euident, the greateſt morall duties we owe towards God or man, may without any great difficultie be concluded. If then it be heere demaunded, by what meanes it ſhould come to paſſe (the greateſt part of the law morall being ſo eaſie for all men to know) that ſo many thouſands of men notwithſtanding haue bene ignorant euen of principall morall duties, not imagining the breach of them to be ſinne: I denie not but lewde and wicked cuſtome, beginning perhaps at the firſt amongſt few, afterwards ſpreading into greater multitudes, and ſo continuing from time to time, may be of force euen in plaine things to ſmother the light of naturall vnderſtanding, becauſe men will not bend their wits to examine, whether things wherewith they haue bene accuſtomed, be good or euill. For examples ſake that groſſer kind of heatheniſh idolatrie, whereby they worſhipped the verie works of their owne hands, was an abſurditie to reaſon ſo palpable, that the Prophet *Dauid* comparing idols and idolators together, maketh almoſt no ods betweene them, but the one in a maner as much without wit and ſenſe as the other, *They that make them are like vnto them, and ſo are all that truſt in them.* That wherein an idolator doth ſeeme ſo abſurd and fooliſh, is by the Wiſeman thus expreſt, *He is not aſhamed to ſpeake vnto that which hath no life, he calleth on him that is weake for health, he prayeth for life vnto him which is dead, of him which*

Th. 1.2. q. 94. art. 3. Omnia peccata ſunt in vniuerſum contra rationem & naturæ legem. Aug. de ciu. dei. lib. 12. cap. 1. Omne vitium naturæ nocet ac per hoc contra naturam eſt. De doctr. Chriſt. lib. 3. cap. 14.

Pſal. 35. 18.

Sapi. 13. 17.

which hath no experience he requireth helpe, for his iourney he sueth to him which is not able to goe, for gaine and worke and successe in his affaires he seeketh furtherãce of him that hath
Sapi. 14. 12. *no maner of power.* The cause of which senseleſſe ſtupiditie is afterwards imputed to cuſtome. *When a father mourned grieuously for his sonne that was takẽ away suddainly, he made an image for him that was once dead, whom now he worshippeth as a God, ordeining to his seruãts ceremonies & sacrifices. Thus by processe of time this wicked custome preuailed, & was kept as a law*; the authority of Rulers, the ambition of craftſmen, and ſuch like means thruſting forward the ignorãt, and increaſing their ſuperſtition. Vnto this which the Wiſeman hath ſpoken, ſomewhat beſides may be added. For whatſoeuer we haue hitherto taught, or ſhall hereafter, cõcerning the force of mans naturall vnderſtanding, this we always deſire withall to be vnderſtood, that there is no kind of faculty or power in mã or any other creature, which can rightly performe the functions alotted to it, without perpetuall aid & concurrẽce of that ſupreme cauſe of all things. The benefit whereof as oft as we cauſe God in his iuſtice to withdraw, there cã no other thing follow, then that which the Apoſtle noteth, euen men indued with the light of reaſon to walk notwithſtãding
Ephe. 4. 17. *in the vanitie of their minde, hauing their cogitations darkned, & being ſtrangers frõ the life of God through the ignorãce which is in thẽ, becauſe of the hardnes of their harts.* And this cauſe is mentioned by the prophet *Eſay*, ſpeaking of the ignorãce of idolators, who ſee not how the manifeſt law of reaſon condemneth their groſſe
Eſay. 44. 19. 18 iniquitie & ſin. They haue not in thẽ, ſaith he, ſo much wit as to thinke, *ſhal I bow to the ſtock of a tree? All knowledge & vnderſtanding is taken frõ them. For God hath ſhut their eyes that they cannot ſee.* That which we ſay in this caſe of idolatry, ſerueth for all other things, wherin the like kind of generall blindnes hath preuailed againſt the manifeſt laws of reaſon. Within the compaſſe of which laws we do not only cõprehend whatſoeuer may be eaſily knowne to belong to the dutie of all mẽ, but euen whatſoeuer may poſſibly be knowne to be of that qualitie, ſo that the ſame be by *neceſſarie* conſequẽce deduced out of cleere and manifeſt principles. For if once we deſcend vnto probable collections what is conuenient for men, we are then in the territorie where free and arbitrarie determinations, the territorie where humane lawes take place, which lawes are after to be conſidered.

The benefit of keeping that law which reaſon teacheth. 9 Now the due obſeruation of this lawe which reaſon teacheth vs, cannot but be effectuall vnto their great good that obſerue the ſame. For we ſee the whole world and each part thereof ſo compacted, that as long as each thing performeth only that worke which is naturall vnto it, it thereby preſerueth both other things, and alſo it ſelfe. Contrariwiſe, let any principall thing, as the Sunne, the Moone, any one of the heauens or elemẽts, but once ceaſe or faile, or ſwarue, and who doth not eaſily conceiue, that the ſequeale therof would be ruine both to itſelfe, and whatſoeuer dependeth on it? And is it poſſible that man being not only the nobleſt creature in the world, but euen a very world in himſelfe, his tranſgreſſing the law of his nature ſhould draw no maner of harme after it? Yes, *tribulation and anguiſh vnto euery ſoule that doth euill.* Good doth followe vnto all things, by obſeruing the courſe of their nature, and on the contrary ſide euill by not obſeruing it: but not vnto naturall agents that good which wee call *Reward*, not that euill which wee properly tearme *Puniſhment*. The reaſon whereof is, becauſe amongſt creatures in this world, only mans obſeruation of the lawe of his nature is *Righteouſnes*, only mans tranſgreſſion *Sinne*.

And

And the reaſon of this is the difference in his manner of obſeruing or tranſgreſſing the lawe of his nature. He doth not otherwiſe then voluntarilie the one or the other. What we doe againſt our wills, or conſtrainedly, we are not properly ſaid to do it, becauſe the motiue cauſe of doing it is not in our ſelues, but carrieth vs, as if the winde ſhould driue a feather in the aire, we no whit furthering that whereby we are driuen. In ſuch caſes therefore the euill which is done, moueth compaſſion; men are pitied for it, as being rather miſerable in ſuch reſpect then culpable. Some things are likewiſe done by man, though not through outward force and impulſion, though not againſt, yet without their wills, as in alienation of minde, or any the like ineuitable vtter abſence of wit and iudgement. For which cauſe, no man did euer thinke the hurtfull actions of furious men and innocents to be puniſhable. Againe, ſome things we doe neither againſt nor without, and yet not ſimply and meerely with our wills, but with our wills in ſuch ſort moued, that albeit there be no impoſſibilitie but that we might, neuertheleſſe we are not ſo eaſily able to do otherwiſe. In this conſideration one euill deede is made more pardonable then another. Finally, that which we doe being euill, is notwithſtanding by ſo much more pardonable, by how much the exigence of ſo doing, or the difficultie of doing otherwiſe is greater: vnleſſe this neceſſitie or difficultie haue originallie riſen from our ſelues. It is no excuſe therefore vnto him, who being drunke, committeth inceſt, and alleageth that his wits were not his owne, in as much as himſelfe might haue choſen whether his wits ſhould by that meane haue bene taken from him. Now rewards and puniſhments do alwaies preſuppoſe ſome thing willingly done well or ill, without which reſpect though we may ſometimes receiue good or harme, yet then the one is only a benefite, and not a reward, the other ſimplie an hurt, not a puniſhment. From the ſundrie diſpoſitions of mans will, which is the roote of all his actions, there groweth varietie in the ſequele of rewards and puniſhments, which are by theſe and the like rules meaſured: *Take away the will, and all actes are equall: That which we doe not and would doe, is commonly accepted as done.* By theſe and the like rules mens actions are determined of and iudged, whether they be in their owne nature rewardable or puniſhable. Rewards and puniſhments are not receyued, but at the hands of ſuch as being aboue vs, haue power to examine and iudge our deedes. How men come to haue this authoritie one ouer another in externall actions, we ſhall more diligently examine in that which followeth. But for this preſent ſo much all do acknowledge, that ſith euery mans hart and conſcience doth in good or euill, euen ſecretly committed and knowne to none but it ſelfe, either like or diſallow itſelfe, and accordingly either reioyce, verie nature exulting (as it were) in certaine hope of reward, or elſe grieue (as it were) in a ſenſe of future puniſhment, neither of which can in this caſe be looked for from any other, ſauing only from him, who diſcerneth and iudgeth the verie ſecrets of all harts: therefore he is the only rewarder and reuenger of all ſuch actions, although not of ſuch actions only, but of all, whereby the lawe of nature is broken, whereof himſelfe is author. For which cauſe, the Romane lawes called the lawes of the twelue tables, requiring offices of inward affection, which the eye of man cannot reach vnto, threaten the neglecters of them with none but diuine puniſhment.

Voluntate ſublata omnem actum parem eſſe. l. fœdiſſimam C. de adult.

Bonam voluntatem plerunque pro facto reputari. l. ſi quis in teſtamen.

Diuos caſte adeunto, pietatem adhibento. Qui ſecus faxit, Deus ipſi vindex erit.

How reaſon doth leade men vnto the making of humane lawes whereby politique ſocieties are gouerned, and to agreement about lawes, whereby the ſellowſhip of communion of independent ſocieties ſtãdeth.

Εσί γαρ ὁ μαντεύονται πάντες φύσει κοινὸν δίκαιον καὶ ἄδικον, κἂν μηδεμία κοινωνία πρὸς ἀλλήλους ᾖ μηδὲ συνθήκη.
Ariſt. Rhet. 1.

10 That which hitherto we haue ſet downe, is (I hope) ſufficient to ſhewe their brutiſhnes, which imagine that religion and virtue are only as men will accompt of them, that we might make as much accompt, if we would, of the contrarie, without any harme vnto our ſelues, and that in nature they are as indifferent one as the other. We ſee then how nature it ſelfe teacheth lawes and ſtatutes to liue by. The lawes which haue bene hitherto mentioned, do bind men abſolutely, euen as they are mẽ, although they haue neuer any ſetled fellowſhip, neuer any ſolemne agreemẽt amongſt themſelues what to do, or not to do. But for as much as we are not by our ſelues ſufficient to furniſh ourſelues with competent ſtore of things needfull for ſuch a life as our nature doth deſire, a life fit for the dignitie of man: therefore to ſupply thoſe defects and imperfections, which are in vs liuing, ſingle, and ſolelie by our ſelues, we are naturally induced to ſeeke communion and fellowſhip with others. This was the cauſe of mens vniting themſelues at the firſt in politique ſocieties, which ſocieties could not be without gouernment, nor gouernment without a diſtinct kind of law from that which hath bene alreadie declared. Two foundations there are which beare vp publique ſocieties, the one, a naturall inclination, wherby all men deſire ſociable life & fellowſhip, the other an order expreſly or ſecretly agreed vpon, touching the manner of their vnion in liuing together. The later is that which we call the law of a common weale, the very ſoule of a politique body, the parts wherof are by law animated, held together, and ſet on worke in ſuch actions as the common good requireth. Lawes politique, ordeined for externall order and regiment amongſt men, are neuer framed as they ſhould be, vnleſſe preſuming the will of man to be inwardly obſtinate, rebellious, and auerſe from all obediẽce vnto the ſacred lawes of his nature; in a word, vnleſſe preſuming man to be in regard of his depraued minde little better then a wild beaſt, they do accordingly prouide notwithſtanding ſo to frame his outward actions, that they be no hinderance vnto the common good for which ſocieties are inſtituted: vnleſſe they doe this, they are not perfect. It reſteth therfore that we conſider how nature findeth out ſuch lawes of gouernmẽt as ſerue to direct euen nature depraued to a right end. All men deſire to leade in this world an happie life. That life is led moſt happily, wherein all virtue is exerciſed without impedimẽt or let. The Apoſtle in exhorting men to contentment, although they haue in this world no more then verie bare food and rayment, giueth vs thereby to vnderſtand, that thoſe are euen the loweſt of things neceſſarie, that if we ſhould be ſtripped of all thoſe things without which we might poſſibly be, yet theſe muſt be left, that deſtitution in theſe is ſuch an impedimẽt, as till it be remoued, ſuffereth not the mind of man to admit any other care. For this cauſe firſt God aſſigned *Adam* maintenance of life, and then appointed him a law to obſerue. For this cauſe after men begã to grow to a number: the firſt thing we reade they gaue thẽſelues vnto, was the tilling of the earth, and the feeding of cattle. Hauing by this meane whereon to liue, the principall actions of their life afterward are noted by the exerciſe of their religion. True it is that the kingdome of God muſt be the firſt thing in our purpoſes & deſires. But in as much as righteous life preſuppoſeth life, in as much as to liue virtuouſly it is impoſſible except we liue, therefore the firſt impediment, which naturally we endeuor to remoue, is penurie and want of things without which we car not liue. Vnto life many implements are neceſſarie; moe, if we ſeeke (as

1. Tim. 6. 8.

Gen. 1. 29.
Gen. 2. 17.
Gen. 4. 2.
Gen. 4. 26.

Math. 6. 33.

all

all men naturallie do) ſuch a life as hath in it ioy, comfort, delight and pleaſure. To this end we ſee how quickly ſundry artes Mechanical were found out in the verie prime of the world. As things of greateſt neceſſitie are always firſt prouided for, ſo things of greateſt dignitie are moſt accompted of by all ſuch as iudge rightly. Although therefore riches be a thing which euery man wiſheth, yet no man of iudgement can eſteeme it better to be rich, then wiſe, vertuous & religious. If we be both or either of theſe, it is not becauſe we are ſo borne. For into the world we come as empty of the one as of the other, as naked in mind as we are in body. Both which neceſſities of man had at the firſt no other helps and ſupplies, then only domeſticall; ſuch as that which the prophet implieth, ſaying, *Can a mother forget her child?* ſuch as that which the Apoſtle mentioneth, ſaying, *He that careth not for his owne is worſe then an Infidell:* ſuch as that concerning *Abraham, Abraham will commaund his ſonnes and his houſhold after him that they keepe the way of the Lord.* But neither that which we learne of our ſelues, nor that which others teach vs can preuaile, where wickednes & malice haue taken deepe roote. If therefore when there was but as yet one only family in the world, no meanes of inſtruction humane or diuine could preuent effuſion of bloud: how could it be choſen but that when families were multiplied and increaſed vpon earth, after ſeparation each prouiding for it ſelfe, enuy, ſtrife, cõtention & violence muſt grow amongſt thẽ? for hath not nature furniſht man with wit & valor, as it were with armor, which may be vſed as well vnto extreme euill as good? yea, were they not vſed by the reſt of the world vnto euill; vnto the contrarie only by *Seth, Enoch*, and thoſe few the reſt in that line? We all make complaint of the iniquitie of our times: not vniuſtly; for the dayes are euill. But compare them with thoſe times, wherin there were no ciuill ſocieties, with thoſe times wherein there was as yet no maner of publique regimẽt eſtabliſhed, with thoſe times wherin there were not aboue 8. perſons righteous liuing vpon the face of the earth: and we haue ſurely good cauſe to thinke that God hath bleſſed vs exceedingly, and hath made vs behold moſt happie daies. To take away all ſuch mutuall greeuances, iniuries, & wrongs, there was no way, but only by growing vnto compoſition & agreement amongſt thẽſelues, by ordeining ſome kind of gouernmẽt publike, and by yeelding themſelues ſubiect thereunto, that vnto whom they graunted authoritie to rule & gouerne, by them the peace, tranquilitie, and happy eſtate of the reſt might be procured. Men alwayes knew that when force and iniurie was offered, they might be defendors of themſelues; they knew that howſoeuer men may ſeeke their owne cõmoditie, yet if this were done with iniurie vnto others, it was not to be ſuffered, but by all men and by all good means to be withſtood; finally they knew that no man might in reaſon take vpon him to determine his owne right, and according to his owne determination proceede in maintenance therof, in as much as euery man is towards himſelfe and them whom he greatly affecteth partiall; and therfore that ſtrifes & troubles would be endleſſe, except they gaue their common conſent all to be ordered by ſome whom they ſhould agree vpon: without which conſent, there were no reaſon, that one man ſhould take vpon him to be Lord or Iudge ouer another; becauſe although there be according to the opinion of ſome very great and iudicious men a kind of naturall right in the noble, wiſe, and vertuous, to gouerne them which are of ſeruile diſpoſition; neuertheleſſe for manifeſtation of this their right, and mẽs more peaceable

Gen. 4. 20. 21. 22.
Eſay. 49. 15.
1. Tim. 5. 8.
Gen. 18. 19.
Gen. 4. 8.
Gen. 6. 5.
Gen. 5.
2. Pet. 2. 5.
Ariſt. Pol. l. 1. & 4.

able contentment on both ſides, the aſſent of them who are to be gouerned, ſeemeth neceſſarie. To fathers within their priuate families nature hath giuen a ſupreme power, for which cauſe we ſee throughout the world euen from the firſt foundation therof, all men haue euer bene taken as lords & lawfull kings in their own houſes. Howbeit ouer a whole grand multitude hauing no ſuch dependēcie vpō any one, and conſiſting of ſo many families, as euery politique ſocietie in the world doth, impoſſible it is that any ſhould haue compleat lawfull power but by conſent of men, or immediat appointment of God; becauſe not hauing the naturall ſuperioritie of fathers, their power muſt needs be either vſurped, & then vnlawfull; or if lawfull, then either graunted or conſented vnto by them ouer whom they exerciſe the ſame, or elſe giuen extraordinarily frō God, vnto whom all the world is ſubiect. It is no improbable opinion therefore which the Arch-philoſopher was of, that as the chiefeſt perſon in euery houſhold was always as it were a king, ſo when numbers of houſholds ioined themſelues in ciuill ſocietie together, kings were the firſt kind of gouernors amongſt them. Which is alſo as it ſeemeth the reaſon why the name of *Father* continued ſtill in them, who of fathers were made rulers; as alſo the ancient cuſtome of gouernors to do as *Melchiſedec*, and being kings to exerciſe the office of prieſts, which fathers did at the firſt, grew perhaps by the ſame occaſion. Howbeit not this the only kind of regiment that hath bene receiued in the world. The inconueniences of one kinde haue cauſed ſundry other to be deuiſed. So that in a word all publike regimēt of what kind ſoeuer ſeemeth euidently to haue riſen from deliberate aduice, conſultation, & compoſition betwene men, iudging it cōuenient & behoofull; there being no impoſſibilitie in nature conſidered by it ſelfe, but that men might haue liued without any publike regiment. Howbeit, the corruption of our nature being preſuppoſed, we may not deny but that the lawe of nature doth now require of neceſſitie ſome kinde of regiment, ſo that to bring things vnto the firſt courſe they were in, & vtterly to take away all kind of publike gouernmēt in the world, were apparātly to ouerturne the whole world. The caſe of mans nature ſtanding therfore as it doth, ſome kind of regiment the law of nature doth require; yet the kinds therof being many, nature tieth not to any one, but leaueth the choice as a thing arbitrarie. At the firſt when ſome certaine kinde of regiment was once approued, it may be that nothing was then further thought vpon for the maner of gouerning, but all permitted vnto their wiſdome and diſcretion which were to rule, [a] till by experiēce they found this for all parts verie inconuenient, ſo as the thing which they had deuiſed for a remedy, did indeede but increaſe the ſoare which it ſhould haue cured. They ſaw that to liue by one mans will, became the cauſe of all mens miſery. This conſtrained them to come vnto lawes, wherein all men might ſee their duties before hand, and know the penalties of tranſgreſſing them. [b] If things be ſimplie good or euill, and withall vniuerſallie ſo acknowledged, there needs no new law to be made for ſuch things. The firſt kind therefore of things appointed by lawes humane, conteineth whatſoeuer being in it ſelfe naturally good or euill, is notwithſtanding more ſecret then that it can be diſcerned by euery mans preſent conceipt, without ſome deeper diſcourſe and iudgement. In which diſcourſe, becauſe there is difficultie and poſſibilitie many ways to erre, vnleſſe ſuch things were ſet downe by lawes, many would be ignorāt of their duties which now are not, & many that know what they ſhould do, would neuerthe-

Ariſt. polit. lib. 1. cap. 3. Vide & Platonem in 3. de legibus.

[a] Cum premeretur initio multitudo ab ijs qui maiores opes habebant, ad vnum aliquem confugiebant virtute præſtantem, qui cum prohiberet iniuria tenuiores, æquitate conſtituenda ſummos cum infimis pari iure retinebat. Cum id minus contingeret leges ſunt inuentæ. Cic. off. lib. 2.

[b] Τὸ γονέας τιμᾶν καὶ φίλους εὖ ποιεῖν καὶ τοῖς ἐυεργέτας χάριν ἀποδιδόναι, ταῦτα καὶ τούτοις ὅμοια οὐ προστάξει τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὁ γεγραμμένος νόμος ποιεῖν, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἀγράφῳ καὶ κοινῷ νόμῳ κωλύεται. Ariſt. Rhet. ad Alex.

neuertheleſſe diſſemble it, and to excuſe them ſelues pretend ignorance & ſimplicitie which now they cannot. And becauſe the greateſt parte of men are ſuch as prefer their owne priuat good before all things, euen that good which is ſenſuall before whatſoeuer is moſt diuine, & for that the labor of doing good together with the pleaſure ariſing frō the cōtrarie doth make men for the moſt parte ſlower to the one & proner to the other, then that dutie preſcribed thē by lawe can preuaile ſufficientlie with them: therfore vnto laws that men do make for the benefit of mē it hath ſeemed alwaies needful to ad rewards which may more allure vnto good thē any hardnes deterreth from it, & puniſhments which maye more deterre frō euill then any ſweetnes therto allureth. Wherin as the generalitie is naturall, *Vertue rewardable and vice puniſhable*: ſo the particular determinatiō of the rewarde or puniſhment belongeth vnto them by whome lawes are made. Theſte is naturallye puniſhable, but the kinde of puniſhment is poſitiue, and ſuch lawful as men ſhall thinke with diſcretion conuenient by lawe to appointe. In laws that which is naturall bindeth vniuerſallie, that which is poſitiue not ſo. To let goe thoſe kind of poſitiue lawes which men impoſe vpon thē ſelues as by vow vnto God, contract with men, or ſuch like, ſome what it will make vnto our purpoſe a little more fully to cōſider what things are incident into the making of the poſitiue lawes for the gouerment of thē that liue vnited in publique ſocietie. Lawes do not only teach what is good but they inioyne it, they haue in thē a certain cōſtreining force. And to cōſtraine mē vnto any thing inconuenient doth ſeeme vnreaſonable. Moſt requiſite therfore it is that to deuiſe lawes which al men ſhalbe forced to obaye none but wiſe mē be admitted. Lawes are matters of principall conſequence, men of cōmon capacitie & but ordinary iudgmēt are not able (for how ſhould they?) to diſcerne what things are fitteſt for each kind and ſtate of regiment. We cannot be ignorant howe much our obedience vnto lawes dependeth vpō this pointe. Let a man though neuer ſo iuſtly oppoſe him ſelf vnto thē that are diſordered in their waies, & what one amongſt them commonly doth not ſtomacke at ſuch contradiction, ſtorme at reproofe, and hate ſuch as would reforme them? Notwithſtanding euen they which brooke it worſt that men ſhould tell them of their duties, when they are told the ſame by a lawe, thinke very wel & reaſonablie of it. For why? They preſume that the law doth ſpeake with al differencie, that the lawe hath no ſide reſpect to their perſons, that the lawe is as it were an oracle proceeded from wiſedome & vnderſtanding. Howbeit laws do not take their conſtreining force from the qualitie of ſuch as deuiſe them, but from that power which doth geue them the ſtrength of lawes. That which wee ſpake before concerning the power of gouerment muſt here be applyed vnto the power of making lawes whereby to gouerne, which power God hath ouer all, and by the naturall lawe whereunto hee hath made all ſubiect, the lawfull power of making lawes to commande whole politique ſocieties of men belongeth ſo properly vnto the ſame intire ſocieties, that for any Prince or potentate of what kinde ſoeuer vpon earth to exercile the ſame of him ſelfe and not either by expreſſe commiſſion immediatly and perſonally receyued from God, or els by authoritie deriued at the firſt from their conſent vpon whoſe perſons they impoſe lawes, it is no better then meere tyrannye. Lawes they are not therefore which publique approbation hath not made ſo. But approbation not only they giue who perſonally declare their aſſent by voice

Tanta eſt enim vis voluptatum vt & ignorantiam protelet in occaſionem & conſcientiam corrumpat in diſſimulationem. Tertul. lib. de Spectacul.

ſigne or act, but alſo whē others do it in their nams by right originally at the leaſt deriued from them. As in parliaments, Councels, & the like aſſemblies, although we be not perſonallie our ſelues preſent, notwithſtanding our aſſent is by reaſō of others agents there in our behalfe. And what we do by others, no reaſon but that it ſhould ſtand as our deed, no leſſe effectually to binde vs then if our ſelues had done it in perſon. In many things aſſent is geuen, they that giue it not imagining they do ſo, becauſe the manner of their aſſenting is not apparent. As for example, when an abſolute Monark commandeth his ſubiects that which ſeemeth good in his owne diſcretion, hath not his edict the force of a law, whether they approue or diſlike it? Againe that which hath beene receiued long ſithence and is by cuſtome now eſtabliſhed, we keepe as a law which we may not tranſgreſſe; yet what conſent was euer thereunto ſought or required at our hands? Of this pointe therfore we are to note, that ſith men naturally haue no ful and perfect power to commande whole politique multitudes of men; therefore vtterly without our conſent we could in ſuch ſort be at nō mans commandement liuing. And to be commanded we do conſent, when that ſocietie whereof we are parte hath at any time before conſented, without reuoking the ſame after by the like vniuerſall agreement. Wherefore as any mans deed paſt is good as long as him ſelfe continueth: ſo the act of a publique ſocietie of men done fiue hundreth yeares ſithence ſtandeth as theirs, who preſently are of the ſame ſocieties, becauſe corporations are immortall: we were then aliue in our predeceſſors, and they in their ſucceſſors do liue ſtill. Lawes therefore humaine of what kinde ſoeuer are auailable by conſent. If here it be demaunded howe it commeth to paſſe that this being common vnto all lawes which are made, there ſhoulde be found euen in good lawes ſo great varietie as there is: wee muſt note the reaſon hereof to bee, the ſundry particular endes whereunto the different diſpoſition of that ſubiect or matter, for which lawes are prouided, cauſeth them to haue eſpeciall reſpect in making lawes. A lawe there is mentioned amongſt the Græcians whereof *Pittacus* is reported to haue beene author: And by that lawe it was agreed, that he which being ouercome with drinke did then ſtrike anye man, ſhoulde ſuffer puniſhment double as much as if hee had done the ſame being ſober. No man coulde euer haue thought this reaſonable that had intended thereby onely to puniſh the iniury committed, according to the grauitie of the fact. For who knoweth not, that harme aduiſedly done is naturally leſſe pardonable, and therefore worthie of the ſharper puniſhment? But for as much as none did ſo vſually this way offende as men in that caſe, which they wittingly fell into, euen becauſe they woulde bee ſo much the more frelie outragious: it was for their publique good where ſuch diſorder was growne to frame a poſitiue lawe for remedie thereof accordingly. To this appertaine thoſe knowne lawes of making lawes, as that lawemakers muſt haue an eye to the place where, and to the men amongſt whome; that one kinde of lawes cannot ſerue for all kindes of regiment; that where the multitude beareth ſwaie, lawes that ſhall tende vnto preſeruation of that ſtate muſt make common ſmaller offices to goe by lot, for feare of ſtrife and deuiſion likely to ariſe; by reaſon that ordinary qualities ſuffiſing for diſcharge of ſuch offices they coulde not but by manye bee deſired and ſo with daunger contended for, and not miſſed without grudge and diſcontentment,

Ariſt. polit. lib. 2. c. vlt.

whereas

whereas at an vncertaine lot none can finde them ſelues greued on whomſoeuer it lighteth; contrariewiſe the greateſt, whereof but fewe are capable, to paſſe by popular election, that neither the people may enuie ſuch as haue thoſe honours, in as much as them ſelues beſtowe them; and that the cheifeſt maye bee kindled with deſire to exerciſe all partes of rare and beneficiall vertue, knowing they ſhall not looſe their labor by growing in fame and eſtimation amongſt the people: if the helme of cheife gouernment bee in the handes of a fewe of the welthyeſt, that then lawes prouiding for continuance thereof muſt make the puniſhment of contumelie and wrong offered vnto any of the common ſorte ſharpe and greeuous, that ſo the euill may bee preuented whereby the riche are moſt likely to bring them ſelues into hatred with the people, who are not wont to take ſo great offence when they are excluded from honors and offices, as whē their perſons are contumeliouſly troden vpon. In other kindes of regiment the like is obſerued concerning the difference of poſitiue lawes which to be euerie where the ſame is impoſſible and againſt their nature. Now as the learned in the lawes of this land obſerue, that our ſtatutes ſometimes are onely the affirmation or ratification of that which by common law was held before: ſo heere it is not to be omitted that generally all lawes humane, which are made for the ordering of politique ſocieties, be either ſuch as eſtabliſh ſome dutie whereunto all men by the law of reaſon did before ſtand bound; or els ſuch as make that a dutie now which before was none. The one ſort we may for diſtinctions ſake call *mixedly*, and the other *meerly* humane. That which plaine or neceſſarie reaſon bindeth men vnto may be in ſundry conſiderations expedient to be ratified by humane law: for example, if confuſion of blood in mariage, the libertie of hauing many wiues at once, or any other the like corrupt and vnreaſonable cuſtome doth happen to haue preuailed far and to haue gotten the vpper hand of right reaſon with the greateſt part, ſo that no way is left to rectifie ſuch foule diſorder without preſcribing by lawe the ſame thinges which reaſon neceſſarilie *doth* enforce but is not *perceyued* that ſo it doth, or if many be grown vnto that, which the apoſtle did lament in ſome, concerning whom he wryteth ſaying, that *Euen what things they naturally kuow, in thoſe very thinges as beaſts void of reaſon they corrupted them ſelues*; or if there be no ſuch ſpeciall accident, yet for as much as the common ſort are led by the ſwaye of their ſenſuall deſires, and therefore do more ſhun ſinne for the ſenſible euils which follow it amongſt men, then for any kinde of ſentence which reaſon doth pronounce againſt it: this verie thinge is cauſe ſufficient why duties belonging vnto ech kinde of vertue, albeit the law of reaſon teach them, ſhoulde notwithſtanding be preſcribed euen by humane law. Which lawe in this caſe wee terme *mixt*, becauſe the matter whereunto it bindeth, is the ſame which reaſon neceſſarily doth require at our handes, and from the law of reaſon it differeth in the maner of binding onely. For whereas men before ſtood bound in conſcience to doe as the law of reaſon teacheth, they are now by vertue of humane law become conſtrainable, and if they outwardly tranſgreſſe, puniſhable. As for lawes which are *meerly* humane, the matter of them is any thing which reaſon doth but probablie teach to be fit and conuenient, ſo that till ſuch time as law hath paſſed amongſt men about it, of it ſelfe it bindeth no man. One example whereof may be this. Landes are by humane

Staundf. pref. to the pleas of the Crowne.

Epis. Iud. v. 10. οἱ πολλοὶ ἀνάλογα μᾶλλον ἢ λόγῳ πεπαρχῦσι, καὶ ζημίαις ἢ τῷ κάλῳ. Ariſt. Ethi. lib. 10. cap. 10.

maine law in ſome places after the owners deceaſe diuided vnto al his children, in ſome all deſcendeth to the eldeſt ſonne. If the lawe of reaſon did neceſſarilie require but the one of theſe two to be done they which by lawe haue receyued the other ſhould be ſubiect to that heauie ſẽtence, which denounceth, againſt al
Eſa.10.1. that decree wicked, vniuſt, & vnreaſonable things, *woe*. Wheras now which ſoeuer be receyued there is no law of reaſon tranſgreſt; becauſe there is probable reaſon why either of them may be expedient, and for eyther of them more then probable reaſon there is not to be found. Lawes whether mixtlie or meerelie humaine are made by politique ſocieties: ſome, onely as thoſe ſocieties are ciuillie vnited; ſome, as they are ſpiritually ioyned and make ſuch a bodie as wee call the Church. Of lawes humaine in this later kind we are to ſpeake in the third booke following. Let it therfore ſuffice thus far to haue touched the force wherewith almightie God hath gratiouſly endued our nature, and thereby inabled the ſame to finde out both thoſe lawes which all men generally are foreuer bound to obſerue, and alſo ſuch as are moſt fit for their behoofe, who lead their liues in any ordered ſtate of gouernment. Now beſides that lawe which ſimplie concerneth men as men, and that which belongeth vnto them as they are men linked with others in ſome forme of politique ſocietie; there is a third kinde of lawe which toucheth all ſuch ſeuerall bodies politique, ſo far forth as one of them hath publique commerce with another. And this third is the *Lawe of nations*. Betweene men and beaſtes there is no poſſibilitie of ſociable communion, becauſe the welſpring of that communion is a naturall delight which man hath to transfuſe from him ſelfe into others, and to receyue from others into himſelfe eſpecially thoſe thinges wherein the excellencie of his kind doth moſt conſiſt. The chiefeſt inſtrument of humaine communion therefore is ſpeech, be-
Ariſt.pol.1.c.2. cauſe thereby we impart mutuallie one to another the conceiptes of our reaſonable vnderſtanding. And for that cauſe ſeing beaſtes are not hereof capable, for as much as with them we can vſe no ſuch conference, they being in degree, although aboue other creatures on earth to whome nature hath denied ſenſe, yet
Gen.2.20. lower then to be ſociable companions of man to whome nature hath giuen reaſon; it is of Adam ſaid that amongſt the beaſtes *He found not for him ſelfe any meete* companion. Ciuill ſociety doth more content the nature of man then any priuate kind of ſolitarie liuing, becauſe in ſocietie this good of mutuall participation is ſo much larger then otherwiſe. Here with notwithſtanding we are not ſatisfied, but we couet (if it might be) to haue a kind of ſocietie & fellowſhip euen with al mãkind. Which thing Socrates intending to ſignifie profeſſed him ſelf a
Cic.Tuſc.5.& 1.de legib. Citizen, not of this or that cõmon-welth, but of the world. And an effect of that very natural deſire in vs, (a manifeſt token that we wiſh after a ſort an vniuerſall fellowſhip with all men) appeareth by the wounderful delight men haue, ſome to viſit forrein countries, ſome to diſcouer natiõs not heard of in former ages, we all to know the affaires & dealings of other people, yea to be in league of amitie
1.Reg.10.1. with them: & this not onely for trafiques ſake, or to the end that when many are
2.Chr.9.1. cõfederated each may make other the more ſtrong, but for ſuch cauſe alſo is mo-
Math.13.42. ued the Qneene of Saba to viſit Salomon; & in a word becauſe nature doth pre-
Luk.11.31. ſume that how many mẽ ther are in the world, ſo many Gods as it were ther are, or at leaſt wiſe ſuch they ſhould be towards men. Touching lawes which are to

ſerue

serue men in this behalfe, euen as those lawes of reason which (man retayning his original integritie) had bene sufficient to direct each particular person in all his affaires & duties, are not sufficient but require the accesse of other lawes, now that man and his offspring are growne thus corrupt and sinfull; againe as those lawes of politie & regiment, which would haue serued men liuing in publique societie together with that harmelesse disposition which then they should haue had, are not able now to serue when mens iniquitie is so hardly restrained within any tolerable bounds: in like manner the nationall lawes of mutuall commerce betweene societies of that former and better qualitie might haue bene other then now, when nations are so prone to offer violence iniurie and wrong. Hereupon hath growne in euerie of these three kindes that distinction between *Primarie* & *Secundarie* lawes; the one grounded vpon sincere, the other built vpon depraued nature. Primarie lawes of nations are such as concerne embassage, such as belong to the courteous entertaynment of forreiners and strangers, such as serue for commodious trafique & the like. Secundarie lawes in the same kinde are such as this present vnquiet world is most familiarly acquainted with, I meane lawes of armes, which yet are much better known then kept. But what matter the lawe of nations doth containe I omit to search. The strength and vertue of that law is such that no particular nation can lawfully preiudice the same by any their seueral laws & ordinances, more then a man by his priuate resolutions the law of the whole common welth or state wherin he liueth. For as ciuill law being the act of a whole bodie politique doth therfore ouerrule each seuerall part of the same bodie: so there is no reason that any one common welth of it self should to the preiudice of another annihilate that whereupon the whole world hath agreed. For which cause the Lacedemonians forbidding all accesse of strangers into their coastes are in that respect both by Iosephus & Theodoret deseruedly blamed, as being enimies to that hospitalitie which for common humanities sake al the nations on earth should embrace. Now as ther is great cause of cõmunion, & consequently of laws for the maintainance of cõmunion, amongst nations: So amongst nations Christian the like in regarde euen of Christianitie hath bene alwaies iudged needfull. And in this kinde of correspondence amongst nations the force of generall councels doth stand. For as one & the same law diuine, wherof in the next place we are to speake, is vnto al Christã churches a rule for the cheifest thinges, by meanes whereof they al in that respect make one Church, as hauing all but *One Lord, one faith, and one baptisme*: So the vrgent necessitie of mutuall communion for preseruation of our vnitie in these thinges, as also for order in some other things cõuenient to be euery where vniformlie kept, maketh it requisit that the Church of God here on earth haue her lawes of spirituall commerce betweene Christian nations, lawes by vertue whereof all Churches may enioy freelie the vse of those reuerend Religions and sacred consultations which are termed councels generall. A thing whereof Gods owne blessed spirit was the author, a thing practised by the holy Apostles them selues, a thing alwaies afterwardes kept and obserued throughout the world, a thing neuer otherwise then most highly esteemed of, vntil pride ambition and tyrannie began by factious and vile endeuors to abuse that diuine inuentiõ vnto the furtherance of wicked purposes. But as the iust authoritie of ciuill courtes and Parliaments is not therefore to bee abolished, because sometime there is cunning vsed to frame them ac-

Iosephus lib. 2. contra Appion. Theod. lib. 9. de Sanand. Græc affect.

Eph. 4. 5.

Act. 15. 28.

cording to the priuate intents of men ouer-potent in the common welth: So the grieuous abuſe which hath bene of councels ſhould rather cauſe men to ſtudie how ſo gratious a thing may againe be reduced to that firſt perfection, then in regard of ſtaines and blemiſhes ſithens growing beheld for euer in exrreme diſgrace. To ſpeake of this matter as the cauſe requireth woulde require very long diſcourſe. All I will preſently ſay is this. Whether it be for the finding out of any thing whereunto diuine lawe bindeth vs, but yeat in ſuch ſorte that men are not thereof on all ſides reſolued; or for the ſetting downe of ſome vniforme iudgement to ſtand touching ſuch thinges, as being neither way matters of neceſſitie, are notwithſtanding offenſiue and ſcandalous when there is open oppoſition about them; be it for the ending of ſtrifes touching matters of Chriſtian beliefe, wherein the one part may ſeeme to haue probable cauſe or diſſenting from the other; or be it concerning matters of politie, order, and regiment in the Church; I nothing doubt but that Chriſtian mē ſhould much better frame themſelues to thoſe heauenly preceptes, which our Lorde and Sauiour with ſo great inſtancie gaue as concerning peace and vnitie, if we did all concurre in deſire to haue the vſe of auncient councels againe renued, rather then theſe proceedinges continued which either make all contentions endleſſe, or bring them to one onely determination and that of all other the worſe, which is by ſword. It followeth therefore that a newe foundation being laid we now adioyne hereunto that which commeth in the next place to be ſpoken of namely, wherefore God hath him ſelfe by ſcripture made knowne ſuch lawes as ſerue for direction of men.

Ioh. 14. 27.

Wherfore God hath by ſcripture further made knowne ſuch ſupernatu rall lawes as do ſerue for mens direction.

11. Al things (God only excepted) beſides the nature which they haue in thē ſelues receiued externally ſome perfectiō frō other things, as hath bene ſhewed. In ſo much as there is in the whole world no one thing great or ſmall but either in reſpect of knowledge or of vſe it may vnto our perfectiō adde ſomwhat. And whatſoeuer ſuch perfectiō ther is which our nature may acquire, the ſame wee properly terme our good; our ſoueraign *good* or *bleſſednes* that wherin the higheſt degree of al our perfection cōſiſteth, that which being once attained vnto there can reſt nothing further to be deſired. & therfore with it our ſouls are fully cōtent & ſatisfied, in that they haue they reioyce & thirſt for no more. wherfore of good things deſired ſome are ſuch that for thē ſelues we couet them not, but only becauſe they ſerue as inſtruments vnto that for which we are to ſeeke, of this ſorte are riches: another kind ther is which although we deſire for it ſelfe, as health & vertue & knowledge, neuertheleſſe they are not the laſt marke whereat we aime but haue their further end whereunto they are referred, ſo as in them we are not ſatisfied as hauing attained the vtmoſt we may, but our deſires doe ſtill proceed. Theſe things are linked and as it were chained one to another, we labour to eate, and we eate to liue, and we liue to do good, & the good which we do is as ſeede ſowne with reference vnto a future harueſt: But we muſt come at the length to ſome pauſe. For if euery thing were to bee deſired for ſome other without any ſtint, there could be no certaine end propoſed vnto our actions, we ſhould go on we know not whether, yea, whatſoeuer we do were in vaine, or rather nothing at all were poſſible to be done. For as to take away the firſt efficient of out being were to annihilate vtterly our perſons, ſo we cannot remoue the laſt finall cauſe of our working, but we ſhal cauſe whatſoeuer we worke to ceaſe. Therfore ſome

a Gal. 6. 8. Hee that ſoweth to the ſpirit ſhall of the ſpirit reape life euerlaſting.

thinge

thing ther muſt be deſired for it ſelfe ſimplie and for no other. That is ſimply for it ſelfe deſirable, vnto the nature wherof it is oppoſite & repugnant to be deſired with relation vnto any other. The oxe and the aſſe deſire their food, neither propoſe they vnto them ſelues any end wherfore, ſo that of them this is deſired for it ſelfe, but why? By reaſon of their imperfection which cannot otherwiſe deſire it; whereas that which is deſired ſimply for it ſelfe, the excellencie thereof is ſuch as permitteth it not in any ſorte to be referred to a further end. Now that which mā doth deſire with reuerence to a further end, the ſame he deſireth in ſuch meaſure as is vnto that end conuenient: but what he coueteth as good in it ſelfe, towardes that his deſire is euer infinite. So that vnleſſe the laſt good of all, which is deſired altogether for it ſelfe, be alſo infinite: we doe euill in making it our ende euen as they who placed their felicitie in wealth or honour or pleaſure or any thinge here attained, becauſe in deſiring any thing as our finall perfection which is not ſo, we do amiſſe. Nothing may be infinitly deſired but that good which in deed is infinite, for the better the more deſirable, that therefore moſt deſirable wherin ther is infinitie of goodnes, ſo that if any thing deſirable may be infinite, that muſt needes be the higheſt of all thinges that are deſired. No good is infinite but only God. therefore he our felicitie and bliſſe. Moreouer deſire tendeth vnto vniō with that it deſireth. If then in him we be bleſſed, it is by force of participation & coniunction with him. Againe, it is not the poſſeſſion of any good thing can make them happie which haue it, vnleſſe they inioye the thing wherewith they are poſſeſſed. Then are we happie therfore when fully we inioy God, as an obiect wherein the powers of our ſoules are ſatisfied euen with euerlaſting delight: ſo that although we be men, yet by being vnto God vnited we liue as it were the life of God. Happines therfore is that eſtate wherby we attaine, ſo far as poſſiblie may be attained, the full poſſeſſion of that which ſimply for it ſelfe is to be deſired, and containeth in it after an eminent ſorte the contentation of our deſires, the higheſt degree of all our perfection. Of ſuch perfection capable we are not in this life. For while we are in the world, ſubiect we are vnto ſundry * imperfections, griefs of body, defectes of minde, yea the beſt thinges we do are painefull, and the exerciſe of them greeuous being continued, without intermiſſion, ſo as in thoſe very actions, whereby we are eſpecially perfected in this life, wee are not able to perſiſt: forced we are with very wearines & that often to interrupt thē: which tediouſnes cannot fall into thoſe operations that are in the ſtate of bliſſe, when our vnion with God is complete. Complete vnion with him muſt be according vnto euery power and felicitie of our mindes apt to receaue ſo glorious an obiect. Capable we are of God both by vnderſtanding and will, by vnderſtanding as hee is that ſoueraigne truth, which comprehendeth the rich treaſures of all wiſdom; by will, as he is that ſea of goodnes, whereof who ſo taſteth ſhall thirſt no more. As the wilt doth now worke vpon that obiect by deſire, which is as it were a motion towards the end as yet vnobtained, ſo likewiſe vpon the ſame hereafter receiued it ſhall worke alſo by loue. *Appetitus inhiantis fit amor fruentis*, ſaith Saint Auguſtine. *The longing diſpoſition of them that thirſt is changed into the ſweete affection of them that taſt and are repleniſhed.* Whereas wee now loue the thing that is good, but good eſpecially in reſpect of benefit vnto vs; we ſhall then loue the thing that is good, only or principally for the goodnes of beautie in it ſelf. The ſoule being in this ſorte as it is actiue, perfected by loue of that infinite goood, ſhall, as it is receptiue

Vide Arist. Eth. 10. cap. 10. & Metaph. 12. ca. 6. & cap. 4. &. cap. 30.

[a] Μόνον ὦ Ασκλήπιε τὸ ὄνομα τῆ ἀγαθῆ ἐν ἀνθρώποις. τὸ ἔργον οὐδαμῶ. τὸ μὲν λίαν κακὸν ἐνδιδόν τὸ ἀγαθὸν ὄζει. Τὸ δ' ἐνδιδὸν ἀγαθὸν μόριον τῆ καλῆ τὸ ἐλάχιστον. Ἀδυνάτου ὄν τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐνδιδόναι καθαρεύειν τ' κακίας. Κἀγὼ δ' χάριν ἔχω πολλὴν θεῷ πολλὴν εἰς νῦν μοὶ βαλόντι ἐκεῖ τ' γνώσιος τὸ ἀγαθὸν ὅπη ἀδυνάτον ἔστιν αὐτὸ ἐν πολλῷ κείσομαι εἰδώς. ὁ γὰρ κόσμῳ πλήρωμά ὄζει τ' κακίας, ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν θεῖον. Mercur. Trismig. Aug. de trin. lib. 9. ca. vlt.

tiue, be alſo perfected with thoſe ſupernaturall paſſions of ioye peace & delight. All this endleſſe and euerlaſting. Which perpetuitie, in regard wherof our bleſſednes is termed *a crowne which withereth not*, doth neither depend vpon the nature of the thing it ſelfe, nor proceede from any natural neceſſitie that our ſoules ſhould ſo exerciſe them ſelues for euer in beholding and louing God, but from the will of God, which doth both freely perfect our nature in ſo high a degree & continue it ſo perfected. Vnder man no creature in the world is capable of felicitie & bliſſe; firſt, becauſe their cheifeſt perfection conſiſteth in that which is beſt for thē, but not in that which is ſimply beſt, as ours doth; ſecōdly, becauſe whatſoeuer externall perfection they tende vnto, it is not better then them ſelues, as ours is. How iuſt occaſiō haue we therefore euen in this reſpect with the Prophet to admire the goodnes of God; Lorde what is man that thou ſhouldeſt exalte him aboue the workes of thy hands, ſo far as to make thy ſelfe the inheritance of his reſt & the ſubſtance of his felicitie? Now if men had not naturally this deſire to be happie, how were it poſſible that all men ſhoulde haue it? All men haue. Therefore this deſire in man is naturall. It is not in our power not to do the ſame: how ſhould it then be in our power to doe it coldly or remiſly? So that our deſire being naturall is alſo in that degree of earneſtnes whereunto nothing can be added. And is it probable that God ſhould frame the hartes of all mē ſo deſirous of that which no man may obtaine? It is an axiome of nature that naturall deſire cannot vtterly be fruſtrate. This deſire of ours being natural ſhould be fruſtrate, if that which may ſatisfie the ſame were a thing impoſſible for man to aſpire vnto. Man doth ſeeke a triple perfection, firſt, a ſenſuall, cōſiſting in thoſe things which very life it ſelfe requireth either as neceſſary ſupplementes, or as beauties & ornaments therof; then an intellectuall, conſiſting in thoſe things which none vnderneth man is either capable of or acquainted with; laſtly a ſpirituall & diuine, conſiſting in thoſe things wherunto we tend by ſupernatural meanes here, but cannot here attaine vnto them. They that make the firſt of theſe three the ſcope of their whole life, are ſaid by the Apoſtle to haue no God, but onely their bellie, to bee earthly minded men. Vnto the ſecond they bend them ſelues, who ſeeke eſpecially to excell in all ſuch knowledge & vertue as doth moſt cōmend men. To this branch belongeth the law of morall & ciuill perfection. That there is ſomewhat higher then either of theſe two no other proofe doth neede, then the verie proceſſe of mans deſire, which being natural ſhould be fruſtrate if ther were not ſom farther thing wherin it might reſt at the length cōtented, which in the former it cannot do. For man doth not ſeeme to reſt ſatisfied either with fruition of that where with his life is preſerued, or with performance of ſuch actions as aduance him moſt deſeruedly in eſtimatiō; but doth further couet, yea often times manifeſtly purſue with great ſedulitie & earneſtnes that which cānot ſtand him in any ſtead for vitall vſe; that which exceedeth the reach of ſenſe, yea, ſomwhat aboue capacitie of reaſon, ſomwhat Eccleſiaſticall diuine & heauēly, which with hiddē exultatiō it rather ſurmiſeth then concey ueth; ſomwhat it ſeeketh and what that is directly it knoweth not, yet very intentiue deſire thereof doth ſo incite it, that all other knowne delightes and pleaſures are layde aſide, they geue place to the ſearch of this but onelye ſuſpected deſire. If the ſoule of man did ſerue onelye to geue him beinge in this life, then thinges appertayning vnto this life woulde content him, as wee ſee they doe other creatures: which creatures

inioying

Math. 25. The iuſt ſhall goe into life euerlaſting.
Math. 22. They ſhalbe as the Angels of God
2. Tim. 4. 8.
1. Pet. 1. 4.
Pſal. 8.
Comment in proem. 2. Metaph.
Phil. 3. 19.

inioying what they liue by, ſeeke no further, but in this contentation do ſhew a kind of acknowledgment, that there is no higher good which doth any way belong vnto them. With vs it is otherwiſe. For although the beuties, riches, honors, ſciences, virtues, and perfections of all men liuing were in the preſent poſſeſſion of one: yet ſomwhat beyond and aboue all this there would ſtill be ſought and earneſtly thirſted for. So that nature euen in this life doth plainly claime and call for a more diuine perfectiō, then eyther of theſe two that haue bene mentioned. This laſt and higheſt eſtate of perfection whereof we ſpeake is receiued of men in the nature of a [a] reward. Rewards doe alwaies preſuppoſe ſuch duties performed as are rewardable. Our naturall meanes therefore vnto bleſſednes are our workes: nor is it poſſible that nature ſhould euer finde any other way to ſaluation then onely this. But examine the workes which we doe and ſince the firſte foundation of the world what one can ſay, My wayes are pure? Seing then all fleſh is guiltie of that for which God hath threatned eternallie to puniſh, what poſſibilitie is there this way to be ſaued? There reſteth therefore eyther no way vnto ſaluation, or if any, then ſurely a way which is ſupernaturall, a way which could neuer haue entered into the heart of man as much as once to conceiue or immagine, if God him ſelfe had not reuealed it extraordinarilie. For which cauſe we terme it the myſterie or ſecret way of ſaluation. And therefore Saint Ambroſe in this matter appealeth iuſtly from man to God, [b] *Cæli myſterium doceat me Deus qui condidit, non homo qui ſeipſum ignorauit. Let God him ſelf that made me, let not man that knows not him ſelf be my inſtructor cōcerning the myſticall way to heauen.* [c] *Whē men of excellent wit* (ſaith Lact.) *had wholy betakē thē ſelues vnto ſtudie, after farewell bidden vnto all kinde as well of priuate as publique action, they ſpared no labour that might be ſpent in the ſearch of truth, holding it a thing of much more price to ſeeke and to find out the reaſon of all affaires as well diuine as humaine, then to ſticke faſt in the toyle of pyling vp riches and gathering together heapes of honors. Howbeit they both did faile of their purpoſe, and got not as much as to quite their charges; becauſe truth which is the ſecret of the moſt high God, whoſe proper handiworke al things are, cannot be compaſſed with that wit and thoſe ſenſes which are our owne. For God and man ſhould be very neere neighbours, if mans cogitations were able to take a ſurucy of the counſels and appointmentes of that maieſtie euerlaſting. Which being vtterly impoſſible, that the eye of man by it ſelfe ſhould looke into the boſome of diuine reaſon, God did not ſuffer him being deſirous of the light of wiſdome, to ſtray any longer vp & downe, and with booteleſſe expenſe of trauaile to wander in darknes that had no paſſage to get out by. His eyes at the length God did open, and beſtowe vpon him the knowledge of the truth by way of Donatiue, to the ende that man might both be clearely conuicted of folly, and being through error out of the way, haue the path that leadeth vnto immortalitie laide plaine before him.* Thus far *Lactantius Firmianus* to ſhew that God him ſelf is the teacher of the truth, wherby is made knowen the ſupernaturall way of ſaluation & law for them to liue in that ſhalbe ſaued. In the natural path of euerlaſting life the firſt beginning is that hability of doing good, which God in the day of mans creation indued him with; frō hence obediēce vnto the wil of his creator, abſolute righteouſnes & integrity in al his actiōs; & laſt of al the iuſtice of God rewarding the worthines of his deſerts with the crowne of eternall glory. Had Adam continued in his firſt eſtate, this had beene the way of life vnto him & all his poſteritie. Wherin I confeſſe notwithſtanding with

a Math. 5. 12. Reioyce and be glad for great is your Reward in heauen. Aug. de. doct Chriſt. cap. 6. Summa merces eſt vt ipſo perfruamur.

b Ambroſ. contra Sym.

c Magno & excellenti ingenio viri cum ſe doctrinæ penitus dedidiſſent, quicquid laboris poterat impendi (contemptis omnibus & priuatis & publicis actionibus) ad inquirendæ veritatis ſtudium contulerunt exiſtimantes multo eſſe preclarius humanarum diuinarumque rerū inueſtigare ac ſcire rationem, quam ſtruendis opibus aut cumulandis honōribus inhærere. Sed neque adepti ſūt id quod volebāt, & operam ſimul atque induſtriam perdiderunt, quia veritas, id eſt arcanū ſummi Dei qui fecit omnia, ingenio ac prōptis ſenſibus nō poteſt comprehēdi. Alioqui nihil inter deum hominemque diſtaret, ſi conſilia & diſpoſitiones illius maieſtatis æternæ cogitatio aſſequeretur humana. Quod quia fieri non potuit vt hominis perſe ipſum ratio diuina non teſceret, non eſt paſſus hominem Deus lumen ſapientiæ requirentem diutius aberrare, ac ſine vllo laboris effectu vagari per tenebras inextricabiles. Aperuit oculos eius aliquando, & notionem veritatis munus ſuum fecit, vt & humanam ſapientiam nullam eſſe monſtraret, & erranti ac vago viam conſequendæ immortalitatis oſtenderet. Lact. lib. 3. cap. 1.

with the [a] wittieſt of the Schoole diuines, that if we ſpeake of ſtrict iuſtice God could no way haue beene bounde to requite mans labors in ſo large and ample manner as humaine felicitie doth import: in as muchas the dignitie of this exceedeth ſo far the others value. But be it that God of his great liberalitie had determined in lieu of mans endeuors to beſtow the ſame, by the rule of that iuſtice which beſt beſeemeth him, namelie the iuſtice of one that requiteth no thing mincingly, but all with preſſed and heaped and euen ouer-inlarged meaſure: yet coulde it neuer hereupon neceſſarilie be gathered that ſuch iuſtice ſhoulde adde to the nature of that reward the propertie of euerlaſting continuance; ſith poſſeſſion of bliſſe, though it ſhould be but for a moment, were an aboundant retribution. But we are not now to enter into this conſideration how gratious and bountifull our good God might ſtill appeare in ſo rewarding the ſonnes of men, albeit they ſhould exactly performe what ſoeuer dutie their nature bindeth them vnto. Howſoeuer God did propoſe this reward, we that were to be rewarded muſt haue done that which is required at our hands; we fayling in the one, it were in nature an impoſſibility that the other ſhould be looked for. The light of nature is neuer able to finde out any way of obtayning the reward of bliſſe, but by performing exactly the duties and workes of righteouſnes. From ſaluation therefore and life all fleſh being excluded this way, behold how the wiſedome of God hath reuealed a way myſticall and ſupernaturall, a way directing vnto the ſame ende of life by a courſe which groundeth it ſelfe vpon the guiltines of ſinne, and through ſinne deſert of condemnation and death. For in this waye the firſt thing is the tender compaſſion of God reſpecting vs drowned and ſwallowed vp in myſerie; the next is redemption out of the ſame by the pretious death and merit of a mightie Sauiour, which hath witneſſed of himſelf ſaying [b] *I am the way*, the way that leadeth vs from miſerie into bliſſe. This ſupernaturall way had God in himſelfe prepared before all worldes. The way of ſupernaturall dutie which to vs he hath preſcribed, our Sauiour in the Goſpell of Saint Iohn doth note, terming it by an excellencie the worke of God: [c] *This is the worke of God that ye beleeue in him whome he hath ſent.* Not that God doth require nothing vnto happines at the handes of men ſauing onely a naked beliefe (for hope and Charitie we may not exclude) but that without beliefe all other things are as nothing, and it the ground of thoſe other diuine virtues. Concerning faith the principall obiect whereof is that eternall veritie which hath diſcouered the treaſures of hidden wiſedome in Chriſt; concerning hope the higheſt obiect whereof is that euerlaſting goodnes which in Chriſt doth quicken the dead; concerning charitie the finall obiect whereof is that incomprehenſible bewtie which ſhineth in the countenance of Chriſt the ſonne of the liuing God; concerning theſe vertues, the firſt of which beginning here with a weake apprehenſiō of things not ſene, endeth with the intuitiue viſiō of God in the world to come; the ſecond beginning here with a trembling expectation of thinges far remoued and as yet but onely heard of, endeth with reall and actuall fruition of that which no tongue can expreſſe; the third beginning here with a weake inclynation of heart towardes him vnto whome wee are not able to aproch, endeth with endleſſe vnion, the miſterie wherof is higher then the reach of the thoughts of men; concerning that faith hope and charitie without which there

[a] Scot. lib. 4. Sent. diſt. 49. 6 Loquendo de ſtricta iuſtitia, Deus nulli noſtrum propter quæcunque merita eſt debitor perfectionis reddendæ tam intenſæ, propter immoderatū exceſſum illius perfectionis vltra illa merita. Sed eſto quod ex liberalitate ſua determinaſſet meritis conferre actum tam perfectum tanquam præmium, tali quidem iuſtitia qualis decet eum, ſcilicet ſupererogantis in præmijs: tamen non ſequitur ex hoc neceſſario quod per illam iuſtitiam ſit reddenda perfectio perennis tanquam præmium; imo aboundans fieret retributio in beatitudine vnius momenti.

[b] Iohn. 14. 6.

[c] Iohn. 6. 29

there can be no ſaluation; was there euer any mention made ſauing only in that lawe which God him ſelfe hath from heauen reuealed? Ther is not in the world a ſyllable muttered with certaine truth concerning any of theſe three, more then hath beene ſupernaturally receyued from the mouth of the eternall God. Lawes therefore concerning theſe thinges are ſupernaturall, both in reſpect of the maner of deliuering them which is diuine, and alſo in regard of the thinges deliuered which are ſuch as haue not in nature any cauſe frō which they flow, but were by the voluntarie appointment of God ordeined beſides the courſe of nature to rectifie natures obliquitie withall.

12 [a] When ſupernaturall duties are neceſſarily exacted, naturall are not reiected as needleſſe. The lawe of God therefore is though principally deliuered for inſtruction in the one, yet fraught with precepts of the other alſo. The ſcripture is fraught euen with lawes of nature. In ſo much that [b] Gratian defining naturall right (whereby is meant the right which exacteth thoſe generall duties, that concerne men naturally euen as they are men) termeth naturall right that which the bookes of the lawe and the Goſpell do containe. Neither is it vaine that the ſcripture aboundeth with ſo great ſtore of lawes in this kinde. For they are either ſuch as we of our ſelues coulde not eaſily haue found out, and then the benefit is not ſmall to haue them redily ſet downe to our handes, or if they be ſo cleare and manyfeſt that no man indued with reaſon can lightly be ignorant of them, yet the ſpirite as it were borrowing them from the ſchoole of nature as ſeruing to proue thinges leſſe manyfeſt, and to induce a perſwaſion of ſomwhat which were in it ſelfe more hard and darke, vnleſſe it ſhoulde in ſuch ſorte bee cleared, the very applying of them vnto caſes particular is not without moſt ſingular vſe and profite manye waies for mens inſtruction. Beſides, be they plaine of them ſelues or obſcure, the euidence of Gods owne teſtimonie added vnto the naturall aſſent of reaſon concerning the certainetie of them, doth not a little comforte and confirme the ſame. Wherefore in as much as our actions are conuerſant about thinges beſet with many circumſtances, which cauſe men of ſundrie wits to be alſo of ſundry iudgemēts concerning that which ought to be done: requiſite it cannot but ſeme the rule of diuine law ſhould herein helpe our imbecillitie, that we might the more infalliblie vnderſtand what is good & what euill. The firſt principles of the law of nature are eaſie, hard it were to finde men ignorant of them: but concerning the duty which natures lawe doth require at the handes of men in a number of thinges particular, ſo [c] far hath the naturall vnderſtanding euen of ſundry whole nations bene darkned, that they haue not diſcerned no not groſſe iniquitie to bee ſinne. Againe, being ſo prone as we are to fawne vpon our ſelues, and to be ignorant as much as may be of our owne deformities, without the feeling ſenſe whereof we are moſt wretched, euen ſo much the more, becauſe not knowing thē we cannot as much as deſire to haue them taken away: how ſhould our feſtred ſores be cured, but that God hath deliuered a law as ſharpe as the two edged ſword, pearcing the very cloſeſt and moſt vnſearchable corners of the hart which the lawe of nature can hardly, humaine lawes by no meanes poſſible reach vnto? Hereby wee knowe euen ſecret concupiſence to bee ſinne, and are made fearefull to offende though it bee but in a wandering cogitation. Finally of thoſe thinges

a The cauſe why ſo many naturall or rational lawes are ſet downe in holy ſcripture.

Ius naturale eſt quod in lege & Euangelio continetur. p. 1. d. 1.

b Ioſephus lib. ſecundo cōtra Appio. Lacedæmonii quomodo non ſunt ob inhoſpitalitatem reprehendendi ſædumque neglectum nuptiarum? Eheuſes vero & Thebani ob coitum cum maſculis plane impudentem & contra naturā, quem recte & vtiliter exercere putabant? Cumque hæc omnino perpetrarent, etiam ſuis legibus miſcuere. vide. Th. 12. q. 49. 4. 5. 6. Lex naturæ ſic corrupta fuit apud Germanos vt latrocinium non reputarent peccatum. Auguſt. aut quiſquis author eſt lib. de quæſt. nou. & vet. teſt. quis neſciat quid bonæ vitæ conueniat, aut ignoret quia quod ſibi fieri non vult aliis minime debeat facere? At vero vbi naturalis lex euanuit oppreſſa conſuetudine delinquendi tunc oportuit manifeſtari ſcriptis, vt dei iudicium omnes audirent, non quod penitus oblitterata eſt, ſed quia maxima eius authoritate caterat concupiſcentia. Data ergo lex eſt vt quæ ſciebantur authoritatem haberent, & quæ latere cæperant manifeſtarentur.

c tebant, idololatriæ ſtudebatur, timor dei in terris non erat, fornicatio operabatur, circa rem proximi auida

which

which are for direction of all the partes of our life needfull, and not impoſſible to be diſcerned by the light of nature it ſelfe, are there not many which fewe mens naturall capacitie, and ſome which no mans hath beene able to finde out? They are, ſaith Saint Auguſtine, but a few and they indued with great ripenes of wit and iudgement, free from all ſuch affaires as might trouble their meditations, inſtructed in the ſharpeſt and the ſubtleſt poyntes of learning, who haue, and that verie hardlie, beene able to finde out but onely the immortalitie of the ſoule. The reſurrection of the fleſh what man did euer at any time dreame of, hauing not heard it otherwiſe then from the ſchoole of nature? Whereby it appeareth how much we are bound to yeelde vnto our creator the father of all mercy eternall thankes, for that he hath deliuered his lawe vnto the world, a lawe wherin ſo many thinges are laid open cleere and manyfeſt; as a light which otherwiſe would haue bene buried in darknes, not without the hazard, or rather not with the hazard, but with the certaine loſſe of infinite thouſandes of ſoules moſt vndoubtedly now ſaued. We ſee therefore that our ſoueraigne good is deſired naturally; that God the author of that naturall deſire had appointed naturall meanes whereby to fulfill it; that man hauing vtterly diſabled his nature vnto thoſe meanes hath had other reuealed from God, and hath receaued from heauen a lawe to teach him how that which is deſired naturally muſt now ſupernaturally be attained; finallie we ſee that becauſe thoſe later exclude not the former quite and cleane as vnneceſſarie, therefore together with ſuch ſupernaturall duties as could not poſſiblie haue beene otherwiſe knowne to the worlde, the ſame lawe that teacheth them, teacheth alſo with them ſuch naturall duties as coulde not by light of nature eaſilie haue bene knowne.

The benefite of hauing diuine lawes written.

13 In the firſt age of the world God gaue lawes vnto our fathers, and by reaſon of the number of their daies their memories ſerued in ſteed of bookes; wherof the manyfolde imperfections and defects being knowne to God, hee mercifully relieued the ſame by often putting them in minde of that whereof it behoued them to be ſpecially mindefull. In which reſpect we ſee how many times one thing hath bene iterated vnto ſundrie euen of the beſt and wiſeſt amongſt them. After that the liues of men were ſhortned, meanes more durable to preſerue the lawes of God from obliuion and corruption grewe in vſe, not without preciſe direction from God himſelfe. Firſt therefore of Moyſes it is ſaid, that he *wrote all the wordes of God*; not by his owne priuat motion and deuiſe: for God taketh this act to him ſelfe, *I haue written*. Further more were not the Prophetes following commanded alſo to do the like? Vnto the holy Euangeliſt Saint Iohn how often expreſſe charge is giuen, *Scribe, write theſe thinges*? Concerning the reſt of our Lordes diſciples the wordes of S. Auguſtine are, *Quicquid ille de ſuis factis & dictis nos legere voluit hoc ſcribendum illis tanquã ſuis manibus imperauit*. Now although we do not deny it to be a matter meerely accidentall vnto the lawe of God to be written; although writing bee not that which addeth authoritie and ſtrength thereunto; finallie though his lawes do require at our handes the ſame obedience howſoeuer they be deliuered; his prouidẽce notwithſtanding which hath made principall choice of this waye to deliuer them, who ſeeth not what cauſe we haue to admire and magnifie? The ſingular benefite that hath growne vnto the world by receyuing the lawes of God, euen by his owne appoyntment committed

Exod. 24. Deut. 31.

Apoc. 1. 11. & 14. 13.

Aug. lib. 1. de conſ. Euang. cap. vlt.

committed vnto writing, we are not able to eſteeme as the value thereof deſerueth. When the queſtion therefore is, whether we be now to ſeeke for any reuealed law of God otherwhere then only in the ſacred ſcripture, whether we doe now ſtand bound in the ſight of God to yeeld to traditions vrged by the Church of *Rome* the ſame obedience and reuerence we doe to his written lawe, honoring equallie and adoring both as Diuine: our anſwere is, no. They that ſo earneſtly pleade for the authoritie of Tradition, as if nothing were more ſafely conueyed then that which ſpreadeth it ſelfe by report, and deſcendeth by relation of former generations vnto the ages that ſucceede, are not all of them (ſurely a myracle it were if they ſhould be) ſo ſimple, as thus to perſwade them ſelues; howſoeuer if the ſimple were ſo perſwaded, they could be content perhaps very well to enioy the benefite, as they accompt it, of that common error. What hazard the truth is in when it paſſeth through the hands of report, how maymed and deformed it becommeth; they are not, they cannot poſſibly be ignorant. Let them that are indeed of this mind conſider but only that little of things Diuine, which the [a] Heathen haue in ſuch ſort receyued. How miſerable had the ſtate of the Church of God bene long ere this, if wanting the ſacred ſcripture we had no record of his lawes, but only the memorie of man receyuing the ſame by report and relation from his predeceſſors? By ſcripture it hath in the wiſedome of God ſeemed meete to deliuer vnto the world much but perſonally expedient to be practiſed of certaine men; many deepe and profound points of doctrine, as being the maine originall ground whereupon the precepts of dutie depend; many prophecies the cleere performance whereof might confirme the world in beliefe of things vnſeene; many hiſtories to ſerue as looking glaſſes to behold the mercie, the truth, the righteouſnes of God towards all that faithfullie ſerue, obey and honor him; yea, many intire meditations of pietie to be as paternes and preſidents in caſes of like nature; many things needfull for explication, many for application vnto particular occaſions, ſuch as the prouidence of God from time to time hath taken to haue the ſeuerall bookes of his holie ordinance written. Be it then that together with the principall neceſſarie lawes of God there are ſundrie other things written, whereof we might happely be ignorant, and yet be ſaued: What? ſhall we hereupon thinke them needleſſe? ſhall we eſteeme them as riotous branches wherewith we ſometimes behold moſt pleaſant vines ouergrown? Surely no more then we iudge our hands, or our eyes ſuperfluous, or what part ſoeuer, which if our bodies did want, we might notwithſtãding any ſuch defect reteine ſtill the complete being of men. As therfore a complete man is neither deſtitute of any part neceſſary, and hath ſome partes wherof though the want could not depriue him of his eſſence, yet to haue them ſtandeth him in ſingular ſtead in reſpect of the ſpeciall vſes for which they ſerue: in like ſort all thoſe writings which conteine in them the lawe of God, all thoſe venerable bookes of ſcripture, all thoſe ſacred tomes and volumes of holie writ, they are with ſuch abſolute perfection framed, that in them there neither wãteth any thing, the lacke whereof might depriue vs of life; nor any thing in ſuch wiſe aboundeth, that as being ſuperfluous, vnfruitfull, and altogether needleſſe, wee ſhould thinke it no loſſe or daunger at all if we did want it.

14 Although the ſcripture of God therefore be ſtored with infinite varietie

[a] I mean thoſe hiſtorical matters cõcerning the anciẽt ſtate of the firſt world, the deluge, the ſonns of Noah, the children of Iſraels deliuerance out of Aegypt, the life & doings of Moſes their Captaine, with ſuch like: the certaine truth whereof deliuered in holy ſcripture, is of the Heathen which had thẽ only by report, ſo intermingled with fabulous vanities, that the moſt which remaineth in them to be ſeene, is the ſhew of darke and obſcure ſteps, where ſome part of the truth hath gone.

The ſufficiencie of ſcripture vnto the end for which it was inſtituted.

Vtrum cognitio ſupernaturalis neceſſaria viatori ſit ſufficienter tradita in ſacra ſcriptura.

This queſtion propoſed by Scotus, is affirmatiuely concluded.

of matter in all kinds, although it abound with all ſorts of lawes, yet the principal intent of ſcripture is to deliuer the lawes of duties ſupernaturall. Oftentimes it hath bene in very ſolemne maner diſputed, whether all things neceſſary vnto ſaluation be neceſſarilie ſet downe in the holie ſcriptures or no. If we define that neceſſarie vnto ſaluation, whereby the way to ſaluation is in any ſort made more playne, apparent, and eaſye to be knowne; then is there no part of true philoſophie, no arte of accompt, no kinde of ſcience rightly ſo called, but the ſcripture muſt conteyne it. If onely thoſe things be neceſſarye, as ſurely none elſe are, without the knowledge and practiſe whereof it is not the will and pleaſure of God to make any ordinarie graunt of ſaluation, it may be notwithſtanding, and oftentimes hath bene demaunded, how the bookes of holie ſcripture conteyne in them all neceſſarie things, when of things neceſſarie the verie chiefeſt is to knowe what bookes wee are bound to eſteeme holie, which poynt is confeſt impoſſible for the ſcripture it ſelfe to teach. Whereunto wee may anſwere with truth, that there is not in the world any Arte or Science, which propoſing vnto it ſelfe an ende (as euery one doth ſome ende or other) hath bene therefore thought defectiue, if it haue not deliuered ſimplie whatſoeuer is needfull to the ſame ende: but all kindes of knowledge haue their certaine boundes and limits; each of them preſuppoſeth many neceſſarye things learned in other ſciences and knowne before hand. He that ſhould take vpon him to teach men how to be eloquent in pleading cauſes, muſt needes deliuer vnto them whatſoeuer precepts are requiſite vnto that end, otherwiſe he doth not the thing which he taketh vpon him. Seeing then no man can pleade eloquentlie, vnleſſe he be able firſt to ſpeake, it followeth that habilitie of ſpeech is in this caſe a thing moſt neceſſarie. Notwithſtanding euery man would thinke it ridiculous, that he which vndertaketh by writing to inſtruct an Orator, ſhould therefore deliuer all the precepts of Grammar, becauſe his profeſſion is to deliuer precepts neceſſarye vnto eloquent ſpeech, yet ſo, that they which are to receyue them be taught before hand, ſo much of that which is thereunto neceſſarye as comprehendeth the skill of ſpeaking. In like ſort, albeit ſcripture do profeſſe to conteyne in it all things which are neceſſarye vnto ſaluation, yet the meaning cannot be ſimplye of all things that are neceſſarye, but all things that are neceſſarye in ſome certaine kinde or forme; as all things that are neceſſarye, and eyther could not at all, or could not eaſily be knowne by the light of naturall diſcourſe; all things which are neceſſarye to be knowne that we may be ſaued, but knowne with preſuppoſall of knowledge concerning certaine principles whereof it receaueth vs already perſwaded, and then inſtructeth vs in all the reſidue that are neceſſarie. In the number of theſe principles one is the ſacred authoritie of ſcripture. Being therefore perſwaded by other meanes that theſe ſcriptures are the oracles of God, them ſelues do then teach vs the reſt, and laye before vs all the duties which God requireth at our hands as neceſſary vnto ſaluation. Further, there hath bene ſome doubt likewiſe, whether *conteining in ſcripture* do import expreſſe ſetting downe in plaine tearmes, or elſe *comprehending* in ſuch ſort that by reaſon we may from thence cõclude all things which are neceſſary. Againſt the former of theſe two conſtructions, inſtance hath ſundrie wayes bene geuen. For our beliefe in the Trinitie, the Coeternitie of the Sonne

of

of God with his Father, the proceeding of the Spirit from the Father and the Sonne, the dutie of baptizing infants, theſe with ſuch other principall points, the neceſſitie wherof is by none denied, are notwithſtanding in ſcripture no where to be found by expreſſe literall mention, only deduced they are out of ſcripture by collection. This kind of comprehẽſion in ſcripture being therfore receyued, ſtill there is doubt how far we are to proceed by collection before the full and complete meaſure of things neceſſarie be made vp. For let vs not thinke that as long as the world doth indure, the wit of man ſhal be able to ſound the bottome of that which may be concluded out of the ſcripture, eſpecially if things conteined by collection do ſo far extend, as to draw in whatſoeuer may be at any time out of ſcripture but probablie and coniecturallie ſurmiſed. But let neceſſary collection be made requiſite, and we may boldlie denye that of all thoſe things which at this day are with ſo great neceſſitie vrged vpon this Church vnder the name of reformed Church diſcipline, there is any one which their bookes hetherto haue made manifeſt to be conteyned in the ſcripture. Let them if they can alleage but one properly belonging to their cauſe, and not common to them and vs, and ſhewe the deduction thereof out of ſcripture to be neceſſarie. It hath bene alreadie ſhewed how all things neceſſarie vnto ſaluation in ſuch ſort as before we haue maintained, muſt needes be poſſible for men to knowe, and that many things are in ſuch ſort neceſſarie, the knowledge whereof is by the light of nature impoſſible to be attained. Whereupon it followeth that eyther all fleſh is excluded from poſſibilitie of ſaluation, which to thinke were moſt barbarous, or elſe that God hath by ſupernaturall meanes reuealed the way of life ſo far forth as doth ſuffice. For this cauſe God hath ſo many times and wayes ſpoken to the ſonnes of men. Neither hath he by ſpeech only, but by writing alſo inſtructed and taught his Church. The cauſe of writing hath bene to the end that things by him reuealed vnto the world might haue the longer continuance, and the greater certaintie of aſſurance, by how much that which ſtandeth on record hath in both thoſe reſpects preeminence aboue that which paſſeth from hand to hand, and hath no pennes but the toongs, no bookes but the eares of men to record it. The ſeuerall bookes of ſcripture hauing had each ſome ſeuerall occaſion and particular purpoſe which cauſed them to be written, the contents thereof are according to the exigence of that ſpeciall ende whereunto they are intended. Hereupon it groweth that euerie booke of holie ſcripture doth take out of all kinds of truth, [a] naturall, [b] hiſtoricall, [c] forreine, [d] ſupernaturall, ſo much as the matter handled requireth. Now for as much as there hath bene reaſon alleaged ſufficient to conclude, that all things neceſſarie vnto ſaluation muſt be made knowne, and that God himſelfe hath therefore reuealed his will, becauſe otherwiſe men could not haue knowne ſo much as is neceſſarie, his ſurceaſing to ſpeake to the world ſince the publiſhing of the Goſpell of Ieſus Chriſt, and the deliuerie of the ſame in writing, is vnto vs a manifeſt token that the way of ſaluation is now ſufficiently opened, and that wee neede no other meanes for our full inſtruction, then God hath alreadye furniſhed vs withall. The mayne driſte of the whole newe Teſtament is that which Saint *Iohn* ſetteth downe as the purpoſe of his owne hiſtorie, *Theſe things are written, that yee might believe that Ieſus is Chriſt the Sonne of God, and that in believing yee* Iohn.20.31.

[a] Eph.5.30.
[b] 2.Tim.3.8.
[c] Tit.1.12.
[d] 2.Pet.2.4.

might haue life through his name. The drift of the old that which the Apoſtle
2.Tim.3.15. mentioneth to *Timothie, The holie Scriptures are able to make the wiſe vnto ſaluation.* So that the generall end both of olde and newe is one, the difference betweene them conſiſting in this, that the old did make wiſe by teaching ſaluation through Chriſt that ſhould come, the newe by teaching that Chriſt the Sauiour is come, and that Ieſus whome the Iewes did crucifie, and whome God did rayſe agayne from the dead is he. When the Apoſtle therefore affyrmeth vnto *Timothie*, that the old was able to make him wiſe to ſaluation, it was not his meaning that the old alone can do this vnto vs which liue ſithence the publication of the newe. For he ſpeaketh with preſuppoſall of the doctrine of Chriſt knowne alſo vnto *Timothie*, and therefore firſt it is ſayd, *Continue thou in thoſe things which thou haſt learned and art perſwaded, knowing of whome*
2.Tim.3.14. *thou haſt bene taught them.* Againe thoſe ſcriptures he graunteth were able
Verſe. 15. to make him wiſe to ſaluation; but he addeth, *through the faith which is in Chriſt.* Wherefore without the doctrine of the newe Teſtament teaching that Chriſt hath wrought the redemption of the world, which redemption the old did foreſhewe he ſhould worke, it is not the former alone which can on our behalfe performe ſo much as the Apoſtle doth auouch, who preſuppoſeth this when he magnifieth that ſo highlie. And as his words concerning the bookes of auncient ſcripture doe not take place but with preſuppoſall of the Goſpell of Chriſt embraced: ſo our owne wordes alſo when wee extoll the complete ſufficiencie of the whole intire bodie of the ſcripture, muſt in like ſorte be vnderſtoode with this caution, that the benefite of natures light be not thought excluded as vnneceſſarie, becauſe the neceſſitie of a diuiner light is magnifyed. There is in ſcripture therefore no defect, but that any man what place or calling ſoeuer hee holde in the Church of God, may haue thereby the light of his naturall vnderſtanding ſo perfected, that the one being relieued by the other, there can want no part of needfull inſtruction vnto any good worke which God himſelfe requireth, be it naturall or ſupernaturall, belonging ſimplie vnto men as men, or vnto men as they are vnited in whatſoeuer kinde of ſocietie. It ſufficeth therefore that nature and ſcripture doe ſerue in ſuch full ſort, that they both ioyntly and not ſeuerallye eyther of them be ſo complete, that vnto euerlaſting felicitie wee neede not the knowledge of any thing more then theſe two, may eaſily furniſh our mindes with on all ſides, and therefore they which adde traditions as a part of ſupernaturall neceſſarye truth, haue not the truth, but are in error. For they only pleade, that whatſoeuer God reuealeth as neceſſarie for all Chriſtian men to doe or belieue, the ſame we ought to embrace, whether wee haue receyued it by writing or otherwiſe, which no man denyeth, when that which they ſhould confirme, who clayme ſo great reuerence vnto traditions, is, that the ſame traditions are neceſſarily to be acknowledged diuine and holye. For wee doe not reiect them only becauſe they are not in the Scripture, but becauſe they are neyther in Scripture, nor can otherwiſe ſufficiently by any reaſon be proued to be of God. That which is of God, and may be euidently proued to be ſo, we denie not but it hath in his kinde, although vnwritten, yet the ſelfe ſame force and authoritie with the

written

written lawes of God. It is by ours acknowledged *that the Apoſtles did in euerie Church inſtitute and ordeyne ſome rites and cuſtomes ſeruing for the ſeemelines of Church regiment, which rites and cuſtomes they haue not committed vnto writing.* Thoſe rites and cuſtomes being knowne to be Apoſtolicall, and hauing the nature of things changeable, were no leſſe to be accompted of in the Church then other things of the like degree, that is to ſay, capable in like ſort of alteration, although ſet downe in the Apoſtles writings. For both being knowne to be Apoſtolicall, it is not the maner of deliuering them vnto the Church, but the author from whome they proceede which doth giue them their force and credit.

VVhitakerus aduerſus Bellarmin quæſt. 6. cap. 6.

15 Lawes being impoſed either by each man vpon him ſelfe, or by a publique ſocietie vpon the particulars thereof, or by all the nations of men vpon euerie ſeuerall ſocietie, or by the Lord him ſelfe vpon any or euerie of theſe, there is not amongſt theſe foure kindes any one but containeth ſundrie both naturall and poſitiue lawes. Impoſſible it is but that they ſhould fall into a number of groſſe errors, who only take ſuch lawes for poſitiue, as haue bene made or inuented of men, and holding this poſition hold alſo, that all poſitiue and none but poſitiue lawes are mutable. Lawes naturall do alwayes binde, lawes poſitiue not ſo, but only after they haue bene expreſſlie and wittinglie impoſed. Lawes poſitiue there are in euerie of thoſe kindes before mentioned. As in the firſt kinde the promiſes which we haue paſt vnto men, and the vowes we haue made vnto God, for theſe are lawes which we tye our ſelues vnto, and till we haue ſo tyed our ſelues they binde vs not. Lawes poſitiue in the ſecond kinde are ſuch as the ciuill conſtitutions peculiar vnto each particular common weale. In the third kind the lawe of Heraldie in warre is poſitiue, and in the laſt all the iudicials which God gaue vnto the people of *Iſraell* to obſerue. And although no lawes but poſitiue be mutable, yet all are not mutable which be poſitiue. Poſitiue lawes are either permanēt or elſe changeable, according as the matter it ſelfe is concerning which they were firſt made. Whether God or man be the maker of them, alteration they ſo far forth admit, as the matter doth exact. Lawes that concerne ſupernaturall duties, are all poſitiue, and either cōcerne men ſupernaturallie as men, or elſe as parts of a ſupernaturall ſocietie, which ſocietie we call the Church. To concerne men as men ſupernaturallie is to concerne them as duties which belong of neceſſitie to all, and yet could not haue bene knowne by any to belong vnto them, vnleſſe God had opened them him ſelfe, in as much as they do not depend vpon any naturall ground at all out of which they may be deduced, but are appointed of God to ſupplie the defect of thoſe naturall wayes of ſaluation, by which we are not now able to attaine thereunto. The Church being a ſupernaturall ſocietie, doth differ from naturall ſocieties in this, that the perſons vnto whome we aſſociate our ſelues, in the one are men ſimplye conſidered as men, but they to whome wee be ioyned in the other, are God, Angels, and holie men. Againe the Church being both a ſocietie and a ſocietie ſupernaturall, although as it is a ſocietie it haue the ſelfe ſame originall grounds which other politique ſocieties haue, namely, the naturall inclination which all men haue vnto ſociable life, and conſent to ſome certaine bond of aſſociation, which bond is

Of lawes poſitiue conteined in ſcripture, the mutabilitie of certaine of them, and the generall vſe of ſcripture.

the lawe that appointeth what kinde of order they ſhall be aſſociated in: yet vnto the Church as it is a ſocietie ſupernaturall this is peculiar, that part of the bond of their aſſociation which belong to the Church of God, muſt be a lawe ſupernaturall, which God himſelfe hath reuealed concerning that kinde of worſhip which his people ſhall doe vnto him. The ſubſtance of the ſeruice of God therefore, ſo far forth as it hath in it any thing more then the lawe of reaſon doth teach, may not be inuented of men, as it is amongſt the Heathens, but muſt be receiued from God himſelfe, as alwayes it hath bene in the Church, ſauing only when the Church hath bene forgetfull of her dutie. Wherefore to end with a generall rule concerning all the lawes which God hath tyed men vnto: thoſe lawes diuine that belong whether naturallie or ſupernaturallie either to men as men, or to men as they liue in politique ſocietie, or to men as they are of that politique ſocietie which is the Church, without any further reſpect had vnto any ſuch variable accident as the ſtate of men and of ſocieties of men and of the Church it ſelfe in this world is ſubiect vnto, all lawes that ſo belong vnto men, they belong for euer, yea, although they be poſitiue lawes, vnleſſe being poſitiue God him ſelfe which made them alter them. The reaſon is, becauſe the ſubiect or matter of lawes in generall is thus farre foorth conſtant: which matter is that for the ordering whereof lawes were inſtituted, and being inſtituted are not chaungeable without cauſe, neither can they haue cauſe of chaunge, when that which gaue them their firſt inſtitution, remayneth for euer one and the ſame. On the other ſide lawes that were made for men or ſocieties or Churches, in regarde of theyr being ſuch as they doe not alwayes continue, but may perhaps be cleane otherwiſe a while after, and ſo may require to be otherwiſe ordered then before: the lawes of God him ſelfe which are of this nature, no man indued with common ſenſe will euer denye to be of a different conſtitution from the former, in reſpect of the ones conſtancie, and the mutabilitie of the other. And this doth ſeeme to haue bene the verie cauſe why Saint *Iohn* doth ſo peculiarlie tearme the doctrine that teacheth ſaluation by Ieſus Chriſt, *Euangelium æternum*, *an eternall Goſpell*, becauſe there can be no reaſon wherefore the publiſhing thereof ſhould be taken away, and any other in ſtead of it proclaymed, as long as the world doth continue; where as the whole lawe of rites and Ceremonies, although deliuered with ſo great ſolemnitie, is notwithſtanding cleane abrogated, in as much as it had but temporarie cauſe of Gods ordeyning it. But that wee may at the length conclude this fyrſt generall introduction vnto the nature and originall birth as of all other lawes, ſo likewiſe of thoſe which the ſacred Scripture conteyneth, concerning the author whereof, euen infidels haue confeſſed, that he can neyther erre nor deceiue; albeit about things eaſie and manifeſt vnto all men by common ſenſe there needeth no higher conſultation, becauſe as a man whoſe wiſedome is in waighty affayres admired, would take it in ſome diſdaine to haue his counſell ſolemnely asked about a toye, ſo the meanneſſe of ſome things is ſuch that to ſearch the Scripture of God for the ordering of them were to derogate from the reuerende authoritie and dignitie of the Scripture, no leſſe then they doe by whom Scriptures are in ordinarie talke very idly applyed

Eſa.29.13. Their feare towards me was taught by the precept of men.

Apoc.14.6.

Κομιδῇ ἄρα ὁ θεὸς ἀτλεὴς καὶ ἀλαθὴς ἐν τε ἔργῳ καὶ ἐν λόγῳ, καὶ ὔτε αὐτὸς μεθίσταται, ὔτε ἄλλους ἐξαπατᾷ, ὔτε κατὰ φαντασίας ὔτε κατὰ λόγους ὔτε κατὰ σημεῖων συμπλοκὰς οὐδ' ὑπαρ οὐδ' ὄναρ. Plat. in fine. 2. Polit.

plyed vnto vayne and childiſh trifles: yet better it were to be ſuperſtitious, then prophane; to take from thence our direction euen in all thinges great or ſmall, then to wade through matters of principall waight and moment, without euer caring what the lawe of God hath, eyther for or againſt our diſſeignes. Concerning the cuſtome of the very Paynimes, thus much *Strabo* witneſſeth, [a] *Men that are ciuill doe leade their liues after one common lawe appointinge them what to doe. For that otherwiſe a multitude ſhould with harmony amongeſt themſelues, concurre in the doing of one thing (for this is ciuillie to liue) or that they ſhould in any ſort menage communitie of life, it is not poſsible. Nowe lawes or ſtatutes are of two ſortes. For they are eyther receiued from Gods, or elſe from men. And our auncient predeceſſors did ſurely moſt honour and reuerence that which was from the Gods; for which cauſe conſultation with Oracles was a thing very vſuall and frequent in their times.* Did they make ſo much account of the voyce of their Gods, which in truth were no Gods: and ſhall we neglect the pretious benefite of conference with thoſe Oracles of the true and liuing God, whereof ſo great ſtore is left to the Church, and wherunto there is ſo free, ſo plaine, and ſo eaſie acceſſe for all men? [b] *By thy Commaundements* (this was *Dauids* confeſſion vnto God) *thou haſt made me wiſer then mine enimies.* Againe, *I haue had more vnderſtanding then all my teachers, becauſe thy teſtimonies are my meditation.* What paynes would not they haue beſtowed in the ſtudy of theſe bookes, who trauayled ſea and lande to gaine the treaſure of ſome fewe dayes talke with men, whoſe wiſedome the worlde did make any reckoning of? [c] That little which ſome of the Heathens did chance to heare, concerning ſuch matter as the ſacred Scripture plentifully conteyneth, they did in wonderfull ſort affect; their ſpeeches as oft as they make mention thereof are ſtrange, and ſuch as themſelues could not vtter as they did other thinges, but ſtill acknowledged that their wits which did euery where elſe conquer hardnes, were with profoundnes heere ouermatched. Wherefore ſeeing that God hath indued vs with ſenſe to the ende that wee might perceiue ſuch things as this preſent life doth neede, and with reaſon leaſt that which ſenſe can not reach vnto, being both now and alſo in regard of a future eſtate hereafter neceſſary to be knowne, ſhould lye obſcure; finally with the heauenly ſupport of [d] propheticall reuelation, which doth open thoſe hidden myſteries that reaſon could neuer haue beene able to finde out, or to haue knowne the neceſſitie of them vnto our euerlaſting good: vſe we the pretious giftes of God vnto his glory and honour that gaue them, ſeeking by all meanes to know what the will of our God is, what righteous before him, in his ſight what holy, perfect, and good, that we may truely and faithfully doe it.

16 Thus farre therefore we haue endeuoured in part to open, of what nature and force lawes are, according vnto their ſeuerall kindes; the lawe which God with himſelfe hath eternally ſet downe to follow in his owne workes; the law which he hath made for his creatures to keepe, the law of naturall and neceſſarie agents; the law which Angels in heauen obey; the lawe whereunto by the light of reaſon men finde themſelues bound in that they are men; the lawe which they make by compoſition for multitudes and politique ſocieties of men to be guided by; the lawe which belongeth vnto each nation; the lawe that concerneth the fellowſhip of all; and laſtly the lawe which God himſelfe hath

[a] Πολιτικοὶ ὄντες ἀπὸ κοινοῦ νόμου ζῶσιν. Ἄλλως γὰρ οὐχ οἷόντε τοὺς πολλοὺς ἓν τι καὶ ταὐτὸ ποιεῖν ἁρμοσίως ἀλλήλοις, ὅ ἐστι τῷ ὄντι ζῆν. Τὰ δὲ νόμιμα διττά. ἢ γὰρ παρὰ θεῶν ἢ παρὰ ἀνθρώπων. Καὶ οἱ γε ἀρχαῖοι τὰ θεῖα τῶν θείων ἐπιστεύοντο μᾶλλον καὶ ἐσέμνυνον, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ χρησιμοὶ ἐγίνοντο καὶ τότε πολύς. Strab. Geogr. lib. 16.

[b] Pſa. 119. 98.

[c] Vide Orphei carmina. ὧν γὰρ νοῦς ἀπόλλει πάντα πρὸς ταῦτ' ἡ περιττεία φθάνει. Philo de Mos.

[d] A concluſion ſhewing how all this belongeth to the cauſe in queſtion.

hath ſupernaturally reuealed. It might peraduenture haue beene more popular and more plauſible to vulgar eares, if this firſt diſcourſe had beene ſpent in extolling the force of lawes, in ſhewing the great neceſſitie of them when they are good, and in aggrauating their offence by whom publique lawes are iniuriouſly traduced. But for as much as with ſuch kind of matter the paſſions of men are rather ſtirred one way or other, then their knowledge any way ſet forwarde vnto the tryall of that whereof there is doubt made; I haue therefore turned aſide from that beaten path and choſen though a leſſe eaſie, yet a more profitable way in regard of the end we propoſe. Leaſt therefore any man ſhould meruayle whereunto all theſe thinges tend, the driſt and purpoſe of all is this, euen to ſhow in what maner as euery good and perfect gift, ſo this very gift of good and perfect lawes is deriued from the father of lightes; to teach men a reaſon why iuſt and reaſonable lawes are of ſo great force, of ſo great vſe in the world; and to enforme their mindes with ſome methode of reducing the lawes whereof there is preſent controuerſie vnto their firſt originall cauſes, that ſo it may be in euery particular ordinance thereby the better diſcerned, whether the ſame be reaſonable iuſt and righteous or no. Is there any thing which can eyther be throughly vnderſtoode, or ſoundly iudged of, till the very firſt cauſes and principles from which originally it ſpringeth bee made manifeſt? If all partes of knowledge haue beene thought by wiſe men to bee then moſt orderly deliuered and proceeded in, when they are drawne to their firſt originall; ſeeing that our whole queſtion concerneth the qualitie of Eccleſiaſticall lawes, let it not ſeeme a labour ſuperfluous that in the entance thereunto all theſe ſeuerall kindes of lawes haue beene conſidered, in as much as they all concurre as principles, they all haue their forcible operations therein, although not all in like apparent and manifeſt maner. By meanes whereof it commeth to paſſe that the force which they haue is not obſerued of many. Eaſier a great deale it is for men by law to be taught what they ought to doe, then inſtructed how to iudge as they ſhould do of law; the one being a thing which belongeth generally vnall, the other ſuch as none but the wiſer and more iudicious ſort can performe. Yea, the wiſeſt are alwayes touching this point the readieſt to acknowledge, that ſoundly to iudge of a law is the waightieſt thing which any man can take vpon him. But if we will giue iudgement of the lawes vnder which wee liue, firſt let that law eternall be alwayes before our eyes, as being of principall force and moment to breede in religious mindes a dutifull eſtimation of all lawes, the vſe & benefite whereof we ſee; becauſe there can be no doubt but that lawes apparently good, are (as it were) thinges copied out of the very tables of that high euerlaſting law, euen as the booke of that law hath ſayd concerning it ſelfe, *By me Kinges raigne, and* by me *Princes decree iuſtice*. Not as if men did behold that booke, and accordingly frame their lawes, but becauſe it worketh in them, becauſe it diſcouereth and (as it were) readeth it ſelfe to the world by them when the lawes which they make are righteous. Furthermore although we perceiue not the goodnes of lawes made, neuertheleſſe ſith thinges in themſelues may haue that which we peraduenture diſcerne not; ſhould not this breede a feare in our hearts, how we ſpeake or iudge in the worſe part concerning that, the vnaduiſed diſgrace whereof may be no meane diſhonour to him, towards whom we

Iam. 1. 17.

Arist. Phyſ. li. 1. ca. 1.

Arist. Eth. 10. τὸ κρῖναι, ορθῶς μάγιστον. Intelligit de legum qualitate iudicium.

Prou. 8. 15.

we profeſſe all ſubmiſſion and awe? Surely there muſt be very manifeſt iniquitie in lawes, againſt which we ſhall be able to iuſtifie our contumelious inuectiues. The chiefeſt roote whereof, when we vſe them without cauſe, is ignorance how lawes inferiour are deriued from that ſupreme or higheſt law. The firſt that receiue impreſſion from thence are naturall agents. The law of whoſe operations might be happily thought leſſe permanent, when the queſtion is about lawes for humaine actions, but that in thoſe very actions which moſt ſpiritually and ſupernaturally concerne men, the rules and axiomes of naturall operations haue their force. What can be more immediate to our ſaluation thē our perſwaſion concerning the lawe of Chriſt towardes his Church? What greater aſſurance of loue towards his Church, thē the knowledg of that myſticall vnion whereby the Church is become as neere vnto Chriſt, as any one part of his fleſh is vnto other? That the Church being in ſuch ſort his, he muſt needs protect it, what proofe more ſtrong, then if a manifeſt law ſo require, which law it is not poſſible for Chriſt to violate? And what other law doth the Apoſtle for this alleage, but ſuch as is both common vnto Chriſt with vs, and vnto vs with other things naturall, *No man hateth his owne fleſh, but doth loue and cheriſh it?* The axiomes of that lawe therefore, whereby naturall agentes are guided, haue their vſe in the morall, yea, euen in the ſpirituall actions of men, and conſequently in all lawes belonging vnto men howſoeuer. Neither are the Angels themſelues, ſo farre ſeuered from vs in their kind and manner of working, but that, betweene the law of their heauenly operations and the actions of men in this our ſtate of mortalitie, ſuch correſpondence there is, as maketh it expedient to know in ſome ſort the one, for the others more perfect direction. Would Angels acknowledge themſelues fellow ſeruants with the ſonnes of men, but that both hauing one Lord, there muſt be ſome kind of lawe which is one and the ſame to both, whereunto their obedience being perfecter, is to our weaker both a paterne and a ſpurre? Or would the Apoſtles ſpeaking of that which belongeth vnto Saintes, as they are linked together in the bond of ſpirituall ſocietie, ſo often make mention how Angels therewith are delighted, if in thinges publiquely done by the Church we are not ſomewhat to reſpect what the Angels of heauen doe? Yea, ſo farre hath the Apoſtle S. Paule proceeded, as to ſignifie, that euen about the outward orders of the Church which ſerue but for comlineſſe, ſome regard is to be had of Angels, who beſt like vs, when wee are moſt like vnto them in all partes of decent demeanor. So that the law of Angels we cannot iudge altogether impertinent vnto the affayres of the Church of God. Our largenes of ſpeech how men doe finde out what thinges reaſon bindeth them of neceſſitie to obſerue, and what it guideth them to chooſe in things which are left as arbitrary; the care we haue had to declare the different nature of lawes which ſeuerally concerne all men, from ſuch as belong vnto men eyther ciuilly or ſpiritually aſſociated, ſuch as pertaine to the fellowſhip which nations, or which Chriſtian nations haue amongſt themſelues, and in the laſt place ſuch as concerning euery or any of theſe, God himſelfe hath reuealed by his holy word; all ſerueth but to make manifeſt that as the actions of men are of ſundry diſtinct kindes, ſo the lawes thereof muſt accordingly be diſtinguiſhed. There are in men operations ſome naturall, ſome rationall, ſome ſupernaturall, ſome

Eph. 5. 29.

Apoc. 19. 10.

1. Pet. 1. 12.
Eph. 3. 10.
1. Tim. 5. 21.

1. Cor. 11. 10.

ſome politique, ſome finally Eccleſiaſticall. Which if we meaſure not ech by his owne proper law, whereas the things themſelues are ſo different; there will be in our vnderſtanding and iudgement of them confuſion. As that firſt error ſheweth wheron our oppoſites in this cauſe haue grounded themſelues. For as they rightly maintaine, that God muſt be glorified in all thinges, and that the actions of men cannot tend vnto his glorie, vnleſſe they be framed after his law: So it is their error to thinke that the only law which God hath appointed vnto men in that behalfe is the ſacred Scripture. By that which we worke naturally,
Pſ.148.7.8.9. as when we breath, ſleepe, mooue, we ſet forth the glory of God as naturall agents doe, albeit we haue no expreſſe purpoſe to make that our end, nor any aduiſed determination therein to follow a law, but do that we doe, (for the moſt part) not as much as thinking thereon. In reaſonable and morall actions ano-
Rom.1.21. ther law taketh place, a law by the obſeruation whereof we glorifie God in ſuch ſort, as no creature els vnder man is able to doe, becauſe other creatures haue not iudgement to examine the quality of that which is done by them, and therfore in that they doe, they neyther can accuſe nor approue themſelues. Men do
Rom.2.15. both, as the Apoſtle teacheth, yea, thoſe men which haue no written lawe of God to ſhow what is good or euill, carrie written in their hearts the vniuerſall law of mankind, the law of reaſon, whereby they iudge as by a rule which God hath giuen vnto all men for that purpoſe. The lawe of reaſon doth ſomewhat direct men how to honour God as their Creator, but how to glorifie God in ſuch ſort as is required, to the end he may be an euerlaſting Sauiour, this we are taught by diuine law, which law both aſcertayneth the truth and ſupplyeth vnto vs the want of that other law. So that in morall actions, diuine lawe helpeth exceedingly the law of reaſon to guide mans life, but in ſupernaturall it alone guideth. Proceede we further, let vs place man in ſome publicke ſocietie with others, whether Ciuill or Spirituall: and in this caſe there is no remedie but we muſt adde yet a further law. For although euen here likewiſe the lawes of nature and reaſon be of neceſſary vſe, yet ſomewhat ouer and beſides them is neceſſary, namely humaine and poſitiue law, together with that law which is of commerce betweene grand ſocieties the law of nations and of nations Chriſtian. For which cauſe the law of God hath likewiſe ſayd, *Let euery ſoule be ſubiect*
Rom.13.1. *to the higher powers*. The publique power of all ſocieties is aboue euery ſoule contayned in the ſame ſocieties. And the principall vſe of that power is to giue lawes vnto all that are vnder it, which lawes in ſuch caſe we muſt obey, vnleſſe there be reaſon ſhewed which may neceſſarily enforce that the lawe of reaſon or of God, doth enioyne the contrarie. Becauſe except our owne priuate, and but probable reſolutions be by the lawe of publique determinations ouerruled, we take away all poſſibilitie of ſociable life in the worlde. A plainer example whereof then our ſelues we cannot haue. How commeth it to paſſe that we are at this preſent day ſo rent with mutuall contentions, and that the Church is ſo much troubled about the politie of the Church? No doubt if men had beene willing to learne how many lawes their actions in this life are ſubiect vnto, and what the true force of ech law is, all theſe controuerſies might haue dyed the very day they were firſt brought forth. It is both commonly ſayd, and truely, that the beſt men otherwiſe are not alwayes the beſt in regard of ſocietie. The

reaſon

reaſon wherof is for that the law of mens actions is one, if they be reſpected only as men; and another, when they are conſidered as parts of a politique body. Many men there are, then whom nothing is more commendable when they are ſingled. And yet in ſocietie with others none leſſe fit to anſwere the duties which are looked for at their handes. Yea, I am perſwaded, that of them with whom in this cauſe we ſtriue, there are whoſe betters amongſt men would bee hardly found, if they did not liue amongeſt men, but in ſome wilderneſſe by themſelues. The cauſe of which, their diſpoſition ſo vnframable vnto ſocieties wherein they liue is, for that they diſcerne not aright what place and force theſe ſeuerall kindes of lawes ought to haue in all their actions. Is there queſtion eyther concerning the regiment of the Church in generall, or about conformitie betweene one Church and another, or of ceremonies, offices, powers, iuriſdictions in our owne Church? Of all theſe thinges they iudge by that rule which they frame to themſelues with ſome ſhow of probabilitie, and what ſeemeth in that ſort conuenient, the ſame they thinke themſelues bound to practiſe; the ſame by all meanes they labour mightily to vpholde, whatſoeuer any law of man to the contrary hath determined they weigh it not. Thus by following the law of priuate reaſon, where the law of publique ſhould take place, they breede diſturbance. For the better inuring therefore of mens mindes with the true diſtinction of lawes and of their ſeuerall force, according to the different kind and qualitie of our actions, it ſhall not peraduenture be amiſſe to ſhew in ſome one example how they all take place. To ſeeke no further, let but that be conſidered then which there is not any thing more familiar vnto vs, our food. What thinges are food, and what are not we iudge naturally by ſenſe, neyther neede we any other law to be our director in that behalfe then the ſelfe ſame which is common vnto vs with beaſtes. But when wee come to conſider of food, as of a benefite which God of his bounteous goodnes hath prouided for all things liuing, the law of reaſon doth here require the dutie of thankefulneſſe at our handes, towards him at whoſe hands we haue it. And leaſt appetite in the vſe of foode, ſhould leade vs beyond that which is meete, we owe in this caſe obedience to that law of reaſon, which teacheth mediocritie in meates and drinkes. The ſame things diuine law teacheth alſo, as at large we haue ſhewed it doth all partes of morall dutie, whereunto we all of neceſſitie ſtande bound, in regarde of the life to come. But of certaine kinds of food the Iewes ſometime had, and we our ſelues likewiſe haue a myſticall, religious, and ſupernaturall vſe, they of their Paſchall lambe and oblations, we of our bread and wine in the Euchariſt; which vſe none but diuine law could inſtitute. Now as we liue in ciuill ſocietie, the ſtate of the commonwealth wherein we liue, both may and doth require certaine lawes concerning food; which lawes, ſauing onely that we are members of the common wealth where they are of force, we ſhould not neede to reſpect as rules of action, whereas now in their place and kind they muſt be reſpected and obeyed. Yea, the ſelfe ſame matter is alſo a ſubiect wherein ſometime Eccleſiaſticall lawes haue place, ſo that, vnleſſe wee will be authors of confuſion in the Church, our priuate diſcretion, which otherwiſe might guide vs a contrary way, muſt here ſubmit it ſelfe to be that way guided, which the publike iudgement of the Church hath thought better.

Πολλοὶ γὰρ ἐν μὲ τοῖς οἰκείοις τῆ ἀρετῆ δωῶαν χρῆσθαι· ἐν ᾧ τοῖς πρὸς ἕτερον ἀδυνατοῦσι. Arist. Eth. 5. cap. 3.

Iob. 34. 3.

Ps. 145. 15, 16.

In

In which case that of *Zonaras* concerning fastes may be remembred. *Fastinges are good, but let good things be done in good and conuenient maner. He that transgresseth in his fasting the orders of the holy fathers,* the positiue lawes of the Church of Christ, must be plainely tolde, *that good thinges doe loose the grace of their goodnesse, when in good sort they are not performed.* And as here mens priuate phancies must giue place to the higher iudgement of that Church which is in authority a mother ouer them: so the very actions of whole Churches haue in regard of commerce and fellowship with other Churches beene subiect to lawes concerning food, the contrarie vnto which lawes had else beene thought more conuenient for them to obserue, as by that order of abstinence from strangled and bloud may appeare; an order grounded vpon that fellowship which the Churches of the Gentiles had with the Iewes. Thus we see how euen one and the selfe same thing is vnder diuers considerations conueyed through many lawes, and that to measure by any one kind of law all the actions of men were to confound the admirable order, wherein God hath disposed all lawes, ech as in nature, so in degree distinct from other. Wherefore that here we may briefely end, of lawe there can be no lesse acknowledged, then that her seate is the bosome of God, her voyce the harmony of the world, all thinges in heauen and earth doe her homage, the very least as feeling her care, and the greatest as not exempted from her power, but Angels and men and creatures of what condition so euer, though ech in different sort and maner, yet all with vniforme consent, admirng her as the mother of their peace and ioy.

ὅτι δὺ καλὸν τὸ καλὸν, ὅταν μὴ καλῶς γίνῃ. Zonaras in can. Apost. 66.

Act. 15. 20.

The ſecond Booke,

Concerning their firſt poſition who *vrge reformation in the Church of England:*

Namely,

That *Scripture is the onely rule of all things which in this life maybe doneby men.*

The matter contayned in this ſecond Booke.

1 *AN anſwere to their firſt proofe brought out of ſcripture Prou.2.9.*
2 *To their ſecond. 1.Cor.10.31.*
3 *To their third. 1.Tim.4.5.*
4 *To their fourth. Rom.14.23.*
5 *To their proofes out of fathers, who diſpute negatiuely from the authoritie of holie ſcripture.*
6 *To their proofe by the ſcriptures cuſtome of diſputing from diuine authoritie negatiuely.*
7 *An examination of their opinion concerning the force of argumentes taken from humaine authoritie for the ordering of mens actions and perſwaſions.*
8 *A declaration what the truth is in this matter.*

AS that which in the title hath beene propoſed for the matter whereof we treat, is onely the Eccleſiaſticall law whereby we are gouerned; So neyther is it my purpoſe to maintaine any other thing then that which therin truth and reaſon ſhall approoue. For concerning the dealinges of men who adminiſter gouernment, and vnto whom the execution of that law belongeth, they haue their iudge who ſitteth in heauen, and before whoſe tribunall ſeat they are accomptable for whatſoeuer abuſe or corruption which (being worthily miſliked in this Church) the want eyther of care or of conſcience in them hath bred. We are no Patrones of thoſe things therfore, the beſt defence whereof is ſpeedie redreſſe & amendment. That which is of God we defend, to the vttermoſt of that habilitie which he hath giuen: that which is otherwiſe, let it wither euen in the roote from whence it hath ſprong. Wherefore all theſe abuſes being ſeuered and ſet apart, which riſe from the corruption of men and not from the lawes thēſelues: come we to thoſe things which in the very whole intier forme of our Church-politie

haue beene (as we perſwade our ſelues) iniuriouſly blamed by them, who endeuour to ouerthrow the ſame, and in ſtead therof to eſtabliſh a much worſe; onely through a ſtrong miſconceipt they haue, that the ſame is grounded on diuine authoritie. Now whether it be that through an earneſt longing deſire to ſee things brought to a peaceable end, I do but imagin the matters, whereof we contend, to be fewer then indeed they are, or els for that in truth they are fewer when they come to be diſcuſt by reaſon, then otherwiſe they ſeeme, when by heat of contention they are deuided into many ſlipps, and of euery branch an heape is made: ſurely, as now we haue drawne them together, chooſing out thoſe thinges which are requiſite to be ſeuerally all diſcuſt, and omitting ſuch meane ſpecialties as are likely (without any great labour) to fall afterwardes of themſelues; I knowe no cauſe why either the number or the length of theſe controuerſies ſhould diminiſh our hope of ſeeing them end with concord and loue on all ſides; which of his infinite loue and goodnes the father of all peace and vnitie graunt. Vnto which ſcope that our endeuour may the more directly tend, it ſeemeth fitteſt that firſt thoſe thinges bee examined, which are as ſeedes from whence the reſt that enſue haue growne. And of ſuch the moſt generall is that, wherewith we are here to make our entrance; a queſtion not mooued (I thinke) any where in other Churches, and therefore in ours the more likely to be ſoone (I truſt) determined. The rather, for that it hath grown from no other roote, then only a deſire to enlarge the neceſſarie vſe of the word of God; which deſire hath begotten an error enlarging it further then (as we are perſwaded) ſoundnes of truth will beare. For whereas God hath left ſundry kindes of lawes vnto men, and by all thoſe lawes the actions of men are in ſome ſort directed: they hold that one onely lawe, the ſcripture, muſt be the rule to direct in all thinges, euen ſo farre as to the *taking vp of a ruſh or ſtrawe*. About which point there ſhould not neede any queſtion to growe, and that which is growne might preſently ende, if they did yeelde but to theſe two reſtraints: the firſt is, not to extende the actions whereof they ſpeake ſo lowe as that inſtance doth import of taking vp a ſtraw, but rather keepe themſelues at the leaſt, within the compaſſe of morall actions, actions which haue in them vice or vertue; the ſecond, not to exact at our hands for euery action the knowledge of ſome place of ſcripture out of which we ſtand bound to deduce it, as by diuerſe teſtimonies they ſeeke to enforce, but rather as the truth is, ſo to acknowledge, that it ſufficeth if ſuch actions be framed according to the lawe of reaſon; the generall axiomes, rules, and principles of which law being ſo frequent in holy ſcripture, there is no let but in that regard, euen out of ſcripture ſuch duties may be deduced by ſome kinde of conſequence (as by long circuit of deduction it may be that euen all truth out of anie truth may be concluded) howbeit no man bound in ſuch ſort to deduce all his actions out of ſcripture, as if eyther the place be to him vnknowne, whereon they may be concluded, or the reference vnto that place not preſently conſidered of, the action ſhall in that reſpect be condemned as vnlawfull. In this we diſſent, and this we are preſently to examine.

T.C.l.1.p.59. & 60.

The firſt pretended proofe of the firſt poſition

1 In all parts of knowledge rightly ſo termed things moſt generall are moſt ſtrong: Thus it muſt be, in as much as the certaintie of our perſwaſion touching particulars

particulars dependeth altogether vpon the credite of thoſe generalities out of which they growe. Albeit therefore euery cauſe admit not ſuch infallible euidence of proſe, as leaueth no poſſibilitie of doubt or ſcruple behind it; yet they who claime the generall aſſent of the whole world vnto that which they teach, and doe not feare to giue very hard and heauy ſentence vpon as many as refuſe to embrace the ſame, muſt haue ſpeciall regard that their firſt foundations and grounds be more then ſclender probabilities. This whole queſtion which hath beene mooued about the kinde of Church regiment, we could not but for our owne reſolutions ſake, endeuour to vnrip and ſift; following therein, as neere as we might, the conduct of that iudiciall method which ſerueth beſt for inuention of truth. By meanes whereof hauing found this the head theoreme of all their diſcourſes, who pleade for the change of Eccleſiaſticall gouernement in England, namely, *That the Scripture of God is in ſuch ſort the rule of humaine actions, that ſimply whatſoeuer we doe, and are not by it directed thereunto, the ſame is ſinne*; we hold it neceſſarie that the proofes hereof be waighed. Be they of waight ſufficient or otherwiſe it is not ours to iudge and determine: onely what difficulties there are which as yet withhold our aſſent, till we be further and better ſatisfied, I hope no indifferent amongeſt them will ſcorne or refuſe to heare. Firſt therefore whereas they alleage *that wiſedome* doth teach men *euery good way*; and haue thereupon inferred, that no way is good in any kind of action, vnleſſe wiſedom do by ſcripture leade vnto it: ſee they not plainely how they reſtraine the manifold wayes which wiſedome hath to teach men by, vnto one only way of teaching, which is by ſcripture? The boundes of wiſedome are large, and within them much is contayned. Wiſedome was *Adams* inſtructor in Paradiſe: wiſdom indued the fathers, who liued before the law, with the knowledg of holy things: by the wiſedome of the law of God, *Dauid* attayned to excell others in vnderſtanding; & *Salomon* likewiſe to excell *Dauid* by the ſelfe ſame wiſedom of God teaching him many thinges beſides the law. The waies of well-doing are in nũber euen as many as are the kindes of voluntary actions: ſo that whatſoeuer we do in this world and may doe it ill, we ſhew our ſelues therein by well doing to be wiſe. Now if wiſedome did teach men by ſcripture not onely all the wayes that are right and good in ſome certaine kind, according to that of [a] S. Paule concerning the vſe of ſcripture; but did ſimply without any maner of exception, reſtraint, or diſtinction teach euery way of doing wel; there is no art but ſcripture ſhould teach it becauſe euery art doth teach the way how to do ſome thing or other well. To teach men therfore wiſedome profeſſeth, and to teach thẽ euery good way: but not euery good way by one way of teaching. Whatſoeuer either mẽ on earth, or the Angels of heauen do know, it is as a drop of that vnemptiable fountaine of wiſdom, which wiſdom hath diuerſly imparted her treaſures vnto the world. As her waies are of ſundry kinds, ſo her maner of teaching is not meerely one and the ſame. Some things ſhe openeth by the ſacred bookes of Scripture; ſome things by the glorious works of nature: with ſome things ſhe inſpireth thẽ frõ aboue by ſpirituall

out of ſcripture. Prou. 2. 9. T.C. l. 1. p. 20. *Iſay that the word of God containeth whatſoeuer things can fall into any part of mans life. For ſo Salomon ſayth in the 2. chap. of the Prouerbes, My ſonne, if thou receiue my wordes & then thou ſhalt vnderſtand iuſtice, and iudgement, & equitie, and euery good way.*

Pſal. 119. 99.

[a] 2. Tim. 3. 16. *The whole Scripture is giuen by inſpiration of God, and is profitable to teach, to improue, to correct, and to inſtruct in righteouſnes, that the man of God may be abſolute being made perfect vnto all good workes.* He meaneth all and only thoſe good workes, which belong vnto vs as we are men of God, and which vnto ſaluation are neceſſary. Or if we vnderſtand by men of God, Gods Miniſters, there is not required in them an vniuerſall skill of euery good worke or way, but an habilitie to teach whatſoeuer men are bound to doe that they may be ſaued. And with this kind of knowledge the ſcripture ſufficeth to furniſh them as touching matter.

influence, in ſome thinges ſhe leadeth and trayneth them onely by worldly experience and practiſe. We may not ſo in any one ſpeciall kind admire her that we diſgrace her in any other, but let all her wayes be according vnto their place and degree adored.

The ſecond proofe out of Scripture, 1. Cor. 10. 31. T. C. l. 1. p. 26. *S. Paul ſayth that whether we eat or drink or whatſoeuer we do, we muſt do it to the glory of God. But no man can glorifie God in any thing but by obedience; and there is no obedience but in reſpect of the commaundement and word of God: Therefore it followeth that the word of God directeth a man in all his actions.*

2 That *all things be done to the glorie of God*, the bleſſed Apoſtle (it is true) exhorteth. The glorie of God is the admirable excellencie of that vertue diuine, which being made manifeſt, cauſeth men and Angels to extoll his greatnes, and in regard thereof to feare him. By being glorifyed it is not meant that he doth receiue any augmentation of glory at our hands, but his name we glorifie when we teſtifie our acknowledgement of his glorie. Which albeit we moſt effectually do by the vertue of obedience: neuertheleſſe it may be perhaps a queſtion, whether S. Paule did meane that we ſinne as oft as euer we goe about any thing, without an expreſſe intent and purpoſe to obey God therein. He ſayth of himſelfe, *I do in all things pleaſe all men, ſeeking not mine owne commoditie but* rather the good *of many, that they may be ſaued.* Shall it hereupon be thought that S. Paule did not moue eyther hand or foot, but with expreſſe intent euen therby to further the common ſaluation of men? We moue, we ſleepe, we take the cuppe at the hand of our freind, a number of thinges we oftentimes doe, only to ſatisfie ſome naturall deſire, without preſent expreſſe, and actuall reference vnto any commaundement of God. Vnto his glory euen theſe things are done which we naturally performe, and not onely that which morally and ſpiritually we doe. For by euery effect proceeding from the moſt concealed inſtincts of nature his power is made manifeſt. But it doth not therefore follow that of neceſſitie we ſhall ſinne, vnleſſe we expreſſely intend this in euery ſuch particular. But be it a thing which requireth no more then onely our generall preſuppoſed willingneſſe to pleaſe God in all thinges; or be it a matter wherein we can not ſo glorifie the name of God as we ſhould without an actuall intent to doe him in that particular ſome ſpeciall obedience: yet for any thing there is in this ſentence alleaged to the contrarie, God may be glorified by obedience, and obeyed by performance of his will, and his will be performed with an actuall intelligent deſire to fulfill that lawe which maketh knowne what his will is, although no ſpeciall clauſe or ſentence of Scripture be in euery ſuch action ſet before mens eyes to warrant it. For ſcripture is not the onely lawe whereby God hath opened his will touching all thinges that may be done, but there are other kindes of lawes which notifie the will of God, as in the former booke hath beene prooued at large: Nor is there any law of God, whereunto he doth not accompt our obedience his glorie. *Doe therefore all thinges vnto the glorie of God* (ſayth the Apoſtle) *be inoffenſiue both to Iewes and Grecians and the Church of God, euen as I pleaſe all men in all thinges, not ſeeking mine owne commoditie, but manies that they may be ſaued.* In the leaſt thing done diſobediently towardes God, or offenſiuelie againſt the good of men, whoſe benefite wee ought to ſeeke for as for our owne, we plainely ſhew, that we doe not acknowledge God to be ſuch as indeede he is, and conſequently that we glorifie him not. This the bleſſed Apoſtle teacheth: but doth any Apoſtle teach, that we cannot glorifye God otherwiſe, then onely in doing what we finde that God in Scripture commaundeth vs to doe? The Churches diſperſed amongeſt the

Heathen

Heathen in the Eaſt part of the world, are by the Apoſtle S. Peter exhorted, to haue their *conuerſation honeſt amongeſt the Gentilles, that they which ſpake euill of them as of euill doers, might by the good workes which they ſhould ſee, glorifie God in the day of viſitation.* As long as that which Chriſtians did was good, and no way ſubiect vnto iuſt reproofe; their vertuous conuerſation was a meane to worke the Heathens conuerſion vnto Chriſt. Seeing therefore this had beene a thing altogether impoſſible, but that infidels themſelues did diſcerne, in matters of life and conuerſation, when beleeuers did well, and when otherwiſe; when they glorified their heauenly father, and when not: it followeth that ſome thinges wherein God is glorifyed, may be ſome other way knowne, then onely by the ſacred Scripture; of which Scripture the Gentiles being vtterly ignorant, did notwithſtanding iudge rightly of the qualitie of Chriſtian mens actions. Moſt certaine it is that nothing, but onely ſinne doth diſhonour God. So that to glorifie him in all thinges, is to doe nothing whereby the name of God may be blaſphemed; nothing whereby the ſaluation of Iew or Grecian or any in the Church of Chriſt may be let or hindered; nothing whereby his lawe is tranſgreſt. But the queſtion is, whether onely Scripture doe ſhewe whatſoeuer God is glorified in.

1. Pet. 2. 12.

Rom. 2. 24.

1. Cor. 10. 32.

Rom. 2. 23.

3 And though meates and drinkes be ſaid to be ſanctified by the worde of God, and by prayer: yet neither is this a reaſon ſufficient to prooue, that by ſcripture we muſt of neceſſitie be directed in euerie light and common thing which is incident into any part of mans life. Onely it ſheweth that vnto vs the worde, that is to ſay, the Goſpell of Chriſt, hauing not deliuered any ſuch difference of thinges cleane and vncleane, as the lawe of Moſes did vnto the Iewes; there is no cauſe but that we may vſe indifferently all thinges, as long as we do not (like ſwine) take the benefite of them, without a thankefull acknowledgement of his liberalitie and goodnes, by whoſe prouidence they are inioyed: and therfore the Apoſtle gaue warning before hand to take heede of ſuch as ſhould inioyne to *abſtaine from meates, which God hath created to be receiued, with thankes-giuing by them which beliue and knowe the truth. For euerie creature of God is good, and nothing to be refuſed, if it be receiued with thankeſgiuing, becauſe it is ſanctified by the worde of God and prayer.* The Goſpell by not making many thinges vncleane, as the lawe did, hath ſanctified thoſe thinges generally to all, which particularlie each man vnto him ſelf muſt ſanctifie by a reuerend and holie vſe: which will hardlie be drawne ſo far, as to ſerue their purpoſe, who haue imagined the word in ſuch ſort to ſanctifie all thinges, that neither foode can be taſted, nor rayment put on, nor in the world any thing done, but this deed muſt needes be ſinne in them, which do not firſt knowe it appointed vnto them by ſcripture before they do it.

The third ſcripture prof. 1. Tim 4. 5. *And that which S. Paul ſayde of meates and drinkes that they are ſanctified vnto vs by the word of God, the ſame is to be vnderſtanded of all things elſ whatſoeuer we haue the vſe of* T. C. l. 1. p. 26.

1. Tim. 4.

4 But to come vnto that which of all other things in ſcripture is moſt ſtood vpon, that place of S. Paule, they ſay, is *of all other moſt cleare, where ſpeaking of thoſe thinges which are called indifferent, in the ende he concludeth, that whatſoeuer is not of fayth, is ſinne. But fayth is not but in reſpect of the worde of God. Therefore whatſoeuer is not done by the worde of God is ſinne.* Whereunto wee aunſwere, that albeit the name of fayth being properly and ſtrictlie taken, it muſt needes haue reference vnto ſome vttered worde, as the obiect of beliefe:

The fourth Scripture-proofe. Rom. 14. 23. T. C. lib. 1. p. 17.

neuertheleſſe, ſith the ground of credite is the credibilitie of thinges credited; and things are made credible, eyther by the knowne condition and qualitie of the vtterer, or by the manifeſt likelihood of truth which they haue in thēſelues; hereupon it riſeth, that whatſoeuer we are perſwaded of, the ſame we are generally ſayd to beleeue. In which generalitie the obiect of fayth may not ſo narrowly be reſtrayned, as if the ſame did extend no further then to the only ſcriptures of God. *Though* (ſayth our Sauiour) *ye beleeue not me, beleeue my workes, that ye may know and beleeue that the father is in me and I in him. The other Diſciples ſayd vnto* Thomas, *we haue ſeene the Lord*; but his aunſwere vnto them was, *Except I ſee in his handes the print of the nayles, and put my finger into them, I will not beleeue.* Can there be any thing more plaine, then that which by theſe two ſentences appeareth, namely, that there may be a certaine beliefe groūded vpon other aſſurance then Scripture; any thing more cleare, then that we are ſayd not onely to beleeue the thinges which we knowe by anothers relation, but euen whatſoeuer we are certainly perſwaded of, whether it be by reaſon or by ſenſe? For as much therefore as [a] it is graunted, that S. Paule doth meane nothing elſe by *Fayth*, but only *a full perſwaſion that that which we doe is well done*; againſt which kinde of fayth or perſwaſion as S. *Paule* doth count it ſinne to enterpriſe any thing, [b] ſo likewiſe ſome of the very Heathen haue taught, as *Tullie, that nothing ought to be done whereof thou doubteſt whether it be right or wrong, whereby it appeareth that euen thoſe which had no knowledge of the word of God did ſee much of the equitie of this which the Apoſtle requireth of a Chriſtian man:* I hope we ſhall not ſeeme altogether vnneceſſarily to doubt of the ſoundneſſe of their opinion, who thinke ſimply that nothing but onely the worde of God, can giue vs aſſurance in any thing wee are to doe, and reſolue vs that we doe well. For might not the Iewes haue beene fully perſwaded that they did well to thinke (if they had ſo thought) that in Chriſt God the father was, although the only ground of this their fayth, had beene the wonderfull workes they ſaw him do? Might not, yea, did not Thomas fully in the end perſwade him ſelfe, that he did well to thinke that bodie, which now was rayſed, to be the ſame which had beene crucified? That which gaue *Thomas* this aſſurance was his ſenſe, *Thomas becauſe thou haſt ſeene, thou beleeueſt*, ſayth our Sauiour. What ſcripture had *Tully* for his aſſurance? Yet I nothing doubt but that they who alleage him, thinke he did well to ſet downe in writing a thing ſo conſonant vnto truth. Finally we all beleeue that the Scriptures of God are ſacred, and that they haue proceeded from God; our ſelues we aſſure that wee doe right well in ſo beleeuing. We haue for this point a demonſtration ſound and infallible. But it is not the worde of God which doth or poſſible can aſſure vs, that wee doe well to thinke it his worde. For if any one booke of Scripture did giue teſtimonie to all; yet ſtill that Scripture which giueth credite to the reſt, would require another Scripture to giue credite vnto it: neither

Pſal. 19 8. Apoc. 3. 14. 2. Cor. 1. 18.

Ioh. 10. 38.

Ioh. 20. 25.

Ioh. 20. 29.

[a] And if any will ſay, that S. Paule meaneth there a full πληροφορίαν and perſwaſion that that which he doth is well done, I graunt it. But from whence can that ſpring but from faith? how can we perſwade and aſſure our ſelues that we doe well, but whereas wee haue the word of God for our warrant? T. C. lib. 1. cap. 27.

[b] What alſo that ſome euen of thoſe Heathen men haue taught, that nothing ought to be done, whereof thou doubteſt whether it be right or wrong? Whereby it appeareth, that euen thoſe which had no knowledge of the worde of God, did ſee much of the equitie of this which the Apoſtle requireth of a Chriſtian man: and that the chiefeſt difference is, that where they ſent men for the difference of good and euill to the light of reaſon, in ſuch thinges the Apoſtle ſendeth them to the Schoole of Chriſt in his worde, which onely is able through fayth to giue them aſſurance and reſolution in their doings. T. C. lib. 1. pag. 60.

neither could we euer come vnto any pauſe whereon to reſt our aſſurance this way, ſo that vnleſſe beſides ſcripture there were ſome thing which might aſſure vs that we do well, we could not thinke we do well, no not in being aſſured that ſcripture is a ſacred and holie rule of well doing. On which determination we might be contented to ſtay our ſelues without further proceeding herein, but that we are drawne on into larger ſpeech by reaſon of their ſo great earneſtnes, who beate more and more vpon theſe laſt alleaged words, as being of all other moſt pregnant. Whereas therefore they ſtill argue, that *whereſoeuer faith is wanting, there is ſinne*, and *in euerie action not commaunded, faith is wanting, Ergo, in euery action not commaunded there is ſinne*: I would demaund of them, firſt for as much as the nature of things indifferent is neither to be commaunded nor forbidden, but left free and arbitrarie: how there can be any thing indifferent, if for want of faith ſinne be committed, when any thing not commaunded is done. So that of neceſſitie they muſt adde ſomewhat, and at leaſtwiſe thus ſet it downe: In euery action not commanded of God or permitted with approbation, faith is wanting, and for want of faith there is ſinne. The next thing we are to enquire is, what thoſe things be which God permitteth with approbation, and how we may knowe them to be ſo permitted. When there are vnto one ende ſundrie meanes, as for example, for the ſuſtenance of our bodies many kindes of foode, many ſorts of rayment to cloath our nakednes, and ſo in other things of like condition: here the end it ſelfe being neceſſarie, but not ſo any one meane thereunto; neceſſary that our bodies ſhould be both fed and cloathed, howbeit no one kind of foode or rayment neceſſary; therefore we hold theſe things free in their owne nature and indifferent. The choice is left to our owne diſcretion, except a principall bond of ſome higher dutie remoue the indifferencie that ſuch things haue in themſelues. Their indifferencie is remoued, if either we take away our owne libertie, as *Ananias* did, for whome to haue ſould or held his poſſeſſions it was indifferent, till his ſollemne vow and promiſe vnto God had ſtrictly bound him one onely way: or if God himſelfe haue preciſely abridged the ſame, by reſtraining vs vnto, or by barring vs from ſome one or moe things of many, which otherwiſe were in themſelues altogether indifferent. Many faſhions of Prieſtly attire there were, whereof *Aaron* & his ſonnes might haue had their free choice without ſinne, but that God expreſſie tied them vnto one. All meates indifferent vnto the Iewe, were it not that God by name excepted ſome, as ſwines fleſh. Impoſſible therefore it is we ſhould otherwiſe thinke, then that what things God doth neither commaund nor forbid, the ſame he permitteth with approbation either to be done or left vndone. *All things are lawfull vnto me*, ſayth the Apoſtle, ſpeaking, as it ſeemeth, in the perſon of the Chriſtian Gentile for maintenance of libertie in things indifferent: whereunto his anſwere is, that neuertheleſſe *All things are not expedient*; in things indifferent there is a choice, they are not alwayes equallie expedient. Now in things although not commaunded of God, yet lawfull becauſe they are permitted, the queſtion is, what light ſhall ſhew vs the conueniencie which one hath aboue another. For anſwere, their finall determination is, that *whereas the Heathen did ſend men for the difference of good and euill to the light of reaſon, in ſuch things the Apoſtle ſendeth vs to the ſchoole of Chriſt in his word, which only is able through faith to giue vs*

T.C.li.2.p.53.

Act.5.

Exod.28.4.43. Leuit.11.

1.Cor.6.12.

aſſurance

aſſurance and reſolution in our doings. Which word *Only*, is vtterly without poſſibilitie of euer being proued. For what if it were true concerning things indifferent, that vnleſſe the word of the Lord had determined of the free vſe of them, there could haue bene no lawfull vſe of them at all, which notwithſtanding is vntrue, becauſe it is not the Scriptures ſetting downe ſuch things as indifferent, but their not ſetting downe as neceſſarie that doth make them to be indifferent: yet this to our preſent purpoſe ſerueth nothing at all. We inquire not now whether any thing be free to be vſed, which ſcripture hath not ſet downe as free: but concerning things knowne and acknowledged to be indifferent, whether particularlie in chooſing any one of them before another we ſinne, if any thing but ſcripture direct vs in this our choice. When manie meates are ſet before me, all are indifferent, none vnlawfull, I take one as moſt conuenient. If ſcripture require me ſo to do, then is not the thing indifferent, becauſe I muſt do what ſcripture requireth. They are all indifferent, I might take any, ſcripture doth not require of me to make any ſpeciall choice of one: I doe notwithſtanding make choice of one, my diſcretion teaching me ſo to do. A hard caſe, that hereupon I ſhould be iuſtly condemned of ſinne. Nor let any man thinke, that following the iudgement of naturall diſcretion in ſuch caſes, we can haue no aſſurance that we pleaſe God. For to the author and God of our nature, how ſhall any operation proceeding in naturall ſort be in that reſpect vnacceptable? The nature which himſelfe hath giuen to worke by, he cannot but be delighted with, when we exerciſe the ſame any way without commaundement of his to the contrarie. My deſire is to make this cauſe ſo manifeſt, that if it were poſſible, no doubt or ſcruple concerning the ſame might remayne in any mans cogitation. Some truthes there are, the varietie whereof time doth alter: as it is now true that Chriſt is riſen from the dead, which thing was not true at ſuch time as Chriſt was liuing on earth, and had not ſuffered. It would be knowne therefore, whether this which they teach concerning the ſinfull ſtaine of all actions not commanded of God, be a truth that doth now appertaine vnto vs only, or a perpetuall truth, in ſuch ſort, that from the firſt beginning of the world vnto the laſt conſummation thereof, it neither hath bene, nor can be otherwiſe. I ſee not how they can reſtraine this vnto any perticular time, how they can thinke it true now and not alwayes true, that in euery action not commanded there is for want of faith ſinne. Then let them caſt backe their eyes vnto former generations of men, and marke what was done in the prime of the world. *Seth*, *Enoch*, *Noah*, *Sem*, *Abraham*, *Iob*, and the reſt that liued before any ſyllable of the lawe of God was written, did they not ſinne as much as we doe in euery action not commaunded? That which God is vnto vs by his ſacred word, the ſame he was vnto them by ſuch like meanes as *Eliphaz* in *Iob* deſcribeth. If therefore we ſinne in euery action which the ſcripture commandeth vs not, it followeth that they did the like in all ſuch actions as were not by reuelation from heauen exacted at their hands. Vnleſſe God from heauen did by viſion ſtill ſhewe them what to do, they might do nothing, not eate, not drinke, not ſleepe, not moue. Yea, but euen as in darkenes candle light may ſerue to guide mens ſteps, which to vſe in the daye were madnes; ſo when God had once deliuered his lawe in writing, it may be they are of opinion, that then it muſt needes be ſinne for men to doe any thing

Iob. 4. 19.

which

which was not there commanded them to do, whatſoeuer they might do before. Let this be graunted, and it ſhall hereupon plainely enſue, either that the light of ſcripture once ſhining in the world, all other light of nature is therewith in ſuch ſort drowned, that now we need it not, neither may we longer vſe it; or if it ſtand vs in any ſtead, yet as *Ariſtotle* ſpeaketh of men whome nature hath framed for the ſtate of ſeruitude, ſaying, *They haue reaſon ſo far forth as to conceiue when others direct them*, but little or none in directing them ſelues by them ſelues, ſo likewiſe our naturall capacitie and iudgement muſt ſerue vs only for the right vnderſtanding of that which the ſacred ſcripture teacheth. Had the Prophets who ſucceeded *Moſes*, or the bleſſed Apoſtles which followed them, bene ſetled in this perſwaſion, neuer would they haue taken ſo great paines in gathering together naturall arguments, thereby to teach the faithfull their duties. To vſe vnto them any other motiue then *Scriptum eſt*, *Thus it is written*, had bene to teach them other grounds of their actions then ſcripture, which I graunt they alleage commonly but not only. Only ſcripture they ſhould haue alleaged had they bene thus perſwaded, that ſo far forth we do ſinne, as we do any thing otherwiſe directed then by ſcripture. Saint *Auguſtine* was reſolute in points of Chriſtianitie to credit none, how godly and learned ſoeuer he were, vnleſſe he confirmed his ſentence by the ſcriptures, *or by ſome reaſon not contrarie to them*. Let them therefore with Saint *Auguſtine* reiect and condemne that which is not grounded either on the ſcripture, or on ſome reaſon not contrarie to ſcripture, and we are readie to giue them our hands in token of friendlie conſent with them.

Ariſt. Pol. 1.

Auguſt. Ep. 19.

5 But againſt this it may be obiected, and is, that the Fathers doe nothing more vſually in their bookes, then drawe arguments from the ſcripture negatiuely in reproofe of that which is euil, *Scriptures teach it not, auoid it therefore*, theſe diſputes with the Fathers are ordinarie, neither is it hard to ſhew that the Prophets themſelues haue ſo reaſoned. Which arguments being ſound and good, it ſhould ſeeme that it cannot be vnſound or euill to hold ſtill the ſame aſſertion againſt which hitherto we haue diſputed. For if it ſtand with reaſon thus to argue, Such a thing is not taught vs in ſcripture, therefore we may not receaue or allowe it; how ſhould it ſeeme vnreaſonable to thinke, that whatſoeuer we may lawfully do, the ſcripture by commanding it muſt make it lawfull? But how far ſuch arguments do reach, it ſhall the better appeare by conſidering the matter wherein they haue bene vrged. Firſt therefore this we conſtantlie denie, that of ſo manie teſtimonies as they are able to produce for the ſtrength of negatiue arguments, any one doth generally (which is the point in queſtion) condemne either all opinions as falſe, or all actions as vnlawfull, which the ſcripture teacheth vs not. The moſt that can be collected out of them is only, that in ſome caſes a negatiue argument taken from ſcripture is ſtrong, whereof no man indued with iudgement can doubt. But doth the ſtrength of ſome negatiue argument proue this kinde of negatiue argument ſtrong, by force whereof all things are denied which ſcripture affirmeth not, or all things which ſcripture preſcribeth not, condemned? The queſtion betweene vs is concerning matter of action, what things are lawfull or vnlawfull for men to do. The ſentences alleaged out of the Fathers are as peremptorie and as large in euery reſpect for matter of opinion as of action: which argueth that in truth they neuer meant any other-

The firſt aſſertion indeuoured to be proued by the vſe of taking arguments negatiuely from the authoritie of Scripture: which kind of diſputing is vſuall in the Fathers.

wiſe

wiſe to tye the one then the other vnto ſcripture, both being thereunto equallie tyed, as far as each is required in the ſame kinde of neceſſitie vnto ſaluation. If therefore it be not vnlawfull to know and with full perſwaſion to belieue much more then ſcripture alone doth teach, if it be againſt all ſenſe and reaſon to condemne the knowledge of ſo many artes and ſciences as are otherwiſe learned then in holie ſcripture, notwithſtanding the manifeſt ſpeeches of auncient Catholike fathers, which ſeeme to cloſe vp within the boſome thereof all maner good and lawfull knowledge; wherefore ſhould their words be thought more effectuall to ſhew that we may not in deedes and practiſe, then they are to proue that in ſpeculation and knowledge we ought not to goe any farther then the ſcripture? Which ſcripture being giuen to teach matters of beliefe no leſſe then of action, the Fathers muſt needs be, and are euen as plaine againſt credit, beſides the relation, as againſt practiſe without the iniunction of the ſcripture.

Auguſt.contr. liter. petil. li. 3. cap. 6. Saint *Auguſtine* hath ſayd, *Whether it be queſtion of Chriſt, or whether it be queſtion of his Church, or of what thing ſoeuer the queſtion be; I ſay not if we, but if an Angell from heauen ſhall tell vs any thing beſide that you haue receyued in the ſcripture vnder the Lawe and the Goſpell, let him be accurſed.* In like ſort *Tertullian, We may not giue our ſelues this libertie to bring in any thing of our will, nor chooſe any thing that other men bring in of their will; we haue the Apoſtles themſelues for authors, which themſelues brought nothing of their owne will, but the diſcipline which they receyued of Chriſt they deliuered faithfully vnto the people.*

Tertull. de preſcrip. aduerſ.

T.C.l.2.p.81. In which place, the name of diſcipline importeth not as they who alleage it would faine haue it conſtrued, but as any man who noteth the circumſtance of the place, and the occaſion of vttering the words, will eaſily acknowledge, euen the ſelfe ſame thing it ſignifieth which the name of doctrine doth, and as well might the one as the other there haue bene vſed. To helpe them farther, doth not Saint *Ierome* after the ſelfeſame maner diſpute, *We beleeue it not becauſe we reade it not?* Yea, *We ought not ſo much as to knowe the things which the booke of the Law containeth not,* ſayth Saint *Hilarie.* Shall we herevpon then conclude that we may not take knowledge of, or giue credit vnto any thing, which ſenſe or experience or report or art doth propoſe, vnleſſe we finde the ſame in ſcripture? No, it is too plaine that ſo farre to extend their ſpeeches, is to wreſt them againſt their true intent and meaning. To vrge any thing vpon the Church requiring therevnto that religious aſſent of Chriſtian beliefe, wherewith the words of the holie Prophets are receiued, to vrge any thing as part of that ſupernaturall and Celeſtiallie reuealed truth which God hath taught, and not to ſhewe it in ſcripture, this did the ancient Fathers euermore thinke vnlawfull, impious, execrable. And thus as their ſpeeches were meant, ſo by vs they muſt be reſtrained. As for thoſe alleaged words of *Cyprian, The chriſtian religion ſhall finde, that out of this ſcripture, rules of all doctrines haue ſproong, and that from hence doth ſpring and hether doth returne whatſoeuer the Eccleſiaſticall diſcipline doth cõteine:* ſurely this place would neuer haue bin brought forth in this cauſe, if it had bene but once read ouer in the author himſelfe out of whome it is cited. For the words are vttered concerning that one principall commaundement of loue, in the honor whereof he ſpeaketh after this ſort:

Auguſtine *ſayth, Whether it be queſtion of Chriſt, or whether it be queſtion of his Church, &c.*
And leaſt the anſwerer ſhould reſtraine the generall ſaying of Auguſtine *vnto the doctrine of the Goſpell, ſo that he woulde thereby ſhut out the diſcipline; euen* Tertullian *himſelfe before he was imbrued with the Hereſie of* Montanus, *geueth teſtimonie vnto the diſcipline in theſe words,* We may not giue our ſelues. &c.

Hieron. contra Heluid.

Hilar. in Pſal. 132.

T.C.l.2.p.8. *Let him heare what* Cyprian *ſayth. The Chriſtian Religion (ſaith he) ſhall find that &c.*

Surely

Surely this commaundement contayneth the Lawe and the Prophets, and in this one word, is the abridgement of all the volumes of ſcripture. This nature and reaſon and the authoritie of thy word, O Lord, doth proclayme, this we haue heard out of thy mouth, herein the perfection of all religion doth conſiſt. This is the firſt commandement and the laſt: this being written in the booke of life, is (as it were) an euerlaſting leſſon both to men and Angels. Let Chriſtian religion reade this one word, and meditate vpon this commaundement, and out of this ſcripture it ſhall find the rules of all learning to haue ſprung, and from hence to haue riſen, and hither to returne, whatſoeuer the Eccleſiaſticall diſcipline containeth, and that in all things it is vaine and booteleſſe which charitie confirmeth not. Was this a ſentence (trow you) of ſo great force to proue that ſcripture is the only rule of all the actions of men? Might they not hereby euen as well proue, that one commaundement of ſcripture is the only rule of all things, and ſo exclude the reſt of the ſcripture, as now they doe all meanes beſides ſcripture? But thus it fareth when too much deſire of contradiction cauſeth our ſpeech rather to paſſe by number, then to ſtay for waight. Well, but *Tertullian* doth in this caſe ſpeake yet more plainely: *The ſcripture*, ſayth he, *denieth what it noteth not*: which are indeed the words of *Tertullian*. But what? the ſcripture reckoneth vp the Kings of *Iſraell*, and amongſt thoſe Kings *Dauid*: the ſcripture reckoneth vp the ſonnes of *Dauid*, and amongſt thoſe ſonnes *Salomon*. To proue that amongſt the Kings of *Iſraell* there was no *Dauid* but only one, no *Salomon* but one in the ſonnes of *Dauid*, *Tertullians* argument will fitlie proue. For in as much as the ſcripture did propoſe to recken vp all, if there were moe it would haue named them. In this caſe *the ſcripture doth denie the thing it noteth not*. Howbeit, I could not but thinke that man to doe me ſome peece of manifeſt iniurie, which would hereby faſten vpon me a generall opinion, as if I did thinke the ſcripture to denie the verie raigne of King *Henry* the eyght, becauſe it no where noteth that any ſuch King did raigne. *Tertullians* ſpeech is probable concerning ſuch matter as he there ſpeaketh of. There was, ſaith *Tertullian*, no ſecond *Lamech* like to him that had two wiues; the ſcripture denieth what it noteth not. As therefore it noteth one ſuch to haue bene in that age of the world; ſo had there bene moe, it would by likelihood as well haue noted many as one. What infer we now hereupon? *There was no ſecond Lamech; the ſcripture denieth what it noteth not*. Were it conſonant vnto reaſon to diuorce theſe two ſentences, the former of which doth ſhew how the later is reſtrained, and not marking the former to conclude by the later of them, that ſimplie whatſoeuer any man at this day doth thinke true, is by the ſcripture denied, vnleſſe it be there affirmed to be true? I wonder that a cauſe ſo weake and feeble hath bene ſo much perſiſted in. But to come vnto thoſe their ſentences wherein matters of action are more apparantly touched, the name of *Tertullian* is as before, ſo here againe pretended, who writing vnto his wife two bookes, and exhorting her in the one to liue a widdow, in caſe God before her ſhould take him vnto his mercie: and in the other, if ſhe did marrie, yet not to ioyne her ſelfe to

Vere hoc mandatum legem complectitur & Prophetas, & in hoc verbo omnium ſcripturarum volumina coarctantur. Hoc natura, hoc ratio, hoc, Domine, verbi tui clamat authoritas, hoc ex ore tuo audiuimus, hic inuenit conſummationem omnis religio. Primum eſt hoc mandatum & vltimum, hoc in libro vita conſcriptum indeficientem & hominibus & Angelis exhibet lectionem. Legat hoc vnum verbum & in hoc mandato meditetur chriſtiana religio, & inueniet ex HAC ſcriptura omnium doctrinarum regulas emanaſſe, & huic naſci & huc reuerti quicquid eccleſiaſtica continet diſciplina, & in omnibus irritum eſſe & friuolum quicquid dilectio non confirmat.

Tertul. lib. de Monog. T.C.l.2.p.81. *And in another place* Tertullian *ſayth that the ſcripture denieth that which it noteth not.*

T.C.l.2.p.80. *And that in indifferent things it is not enough that they be not againſt the word, but that they be according to the word, it may appeare by other places, where he ſayth, that whatſoeuer pleaſeth not the Lord, diſpleaſeth him, and with hurt is receyued. lib.2. ad Vxorem.*

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an infidell, as in those times some widowes Christian had done for the aduancement of their estate in this present world, he vrgeth verie earnestly Saint *Paules* words, *only in the Lord*: whereupon he demaundeth of them that thinke they may do the contrarie, what scripture they can shewe where God hath dispensed and graunted licence to doe against that which the blessed Apostle so strictly doth inioyne. And because in defence it might perhaps be replyed, seeing God doth will that couples which are married when both are infidels, if either partie chaunce to be after conuerted vnto Christianitie, this should not make separation betweene them, as long as the vnconuerted was willing to reteine the other, on whome the grace of Christ had shined: wherefore then should that let the making of mariage, which doth not dissolue mariage being made? after great reasons shewed why God doth in Conuerts being married allowe continuance with infidels, and yet disallow that the faithfull whē they are free should enter into bonds of wedlocke with such, concludeth in the end concerning those women that so marrie, *They that please not the Lord, do euen thereby offend the Lord, they doe euen thereby throwe themselues into euill*: that is to say, while they please him not by marrying in him, they doe that whereby they incurre his displeasure, they make an offer of them selues into the seruice of that enemie with whose seruants they linke them selues in so neere a bond. What one syllable is there in all this, preiudiciall any way to that which we hold? for the words of *Tertullian* as they are by them alleaged, are two wayes misunderstood, both in the former part, where that is extended generally to *all things* in the newter gender, which he speaketh in the feminine gender of womens persons: and in the later, where *receiued with hurt*, is put in stead of *wilfull incurring that which is euill*. And so in summe *Tertullian* doth neither meane nor say as is pretended, *Whatsoeuer pleaseth not the Lord displeaseth him, and with hurt is receyued*, but *Those women that please not the Lord* by their kind of marrying, *doe euen thereby offend the Lord, they doe euen thereby throwe themselues into euill*. Somewhat more shewe there is in a second place of *Tertullian*, which notwithstanding, when we haue examined it, will be found as the rest are. The Romane Emperors custome was at certaine solemne times to bestowe on his souldiers a Donatiue, which Donatiue they receyued, wearing garlands vpon their heads. There were in the time of the Emperors *Seuerus* and *Antoninus* many, who being souldiers, had bene conuerted vnto Christ, and notwithstanding continued still in that militarie course of life. In which number, one man there was amongst all the rest, who at such a time comming to the Tribune of the armie to receaue his Donatiue, came but with a garland in his hand, and not in such sort as others did. The Tribune offended hereat demaundeth, what this great singularitie should meane. To whom the souldier, *Christianus sum, I am a Christian*. Many there were so besides him, which yet did otherwise at that time; whereupon grew a question, whether a Christian souldier might herein do as the vnchristian did, and weare

Qua domino non placent, eatenus Dominum offendunt, eatenus Malo se inferunt.

T. C. l. 2. p. 81.

And to come yet neerer, Where hee disputeth against the wearing of crowne or garland (which is indifferent of it selfe) to those which obiecting asked, where the scripture saith that a man might not weare a crowne; he answereth by asking where the scripture saith that they may weare? And vnto them replying that it is permitted which is not forbidden, he answereth, that it is forbidden which is not permitted. Whereby appeareth, that the argument of the scriptures negatiuely holdeth, not only in the doctrine and ecclesiasticall discipline, but euen in matters arbitrarie and variable by the aduise of the Church. Where it is not enough that they be not forbidden, vnlesse there be some word which doth permit the vse of them: it is not enough that the scripture speaketh not against them, vnlesse it speake for them: and finallie where it displeaseth the Lord which pleaseth him not; wee must of necessitie haue the word of his mouth to declare his pleasure.

weare as they wore. Many of them which were very ſound in chriſtian beliefe, did rather commend the zeale of this man, then approue his action. *Tertullian* was at the ſame time a *Montaniſt*, and an enemie vnto the Church for condemning that propheticall Spirit, which *Montanus* and his followers did boaſt they had receyued, as if in them Chriſt had performed his laſt promiſe; as if to them he had ſent the Spirit that ſhould be their perfecter and finall inſtructer in the myſteries of Chriſtian truth. Which exulceration of mind made him apt to take all occaſions of contradiction. Wherefore in honor of that action, and to gall their mindes who did not ſo much commend it, he wrote his booke *De corona militis*, not diſſembling the ſtomacke wherewith he wrote it. For firſt the man he commendeth as one more conſtant then the reſt of his bretheren, *Who preſumed*, ſayth he, *that they might well enough ſerue two Lords.* Afterwards choller ſomewhat more riſing within him, he addeth, *It doth euen remaine that they ſhould alſo deuiſe how to rid them ſelues of his martyrdomes, towardes the prophecies of whoſe holie ſpirit, they haue alreadie ſhewed their diſdaine. They mutter that their good and long peace is now in hazard. I doubt not but ſome of them ſend the Scriptures before, truſſe vp bagge and baggage, make them ſelues in a readines, that they may flye from Citie to Citie. For that is the only point of the Goſpell which they are carefull not to forget. I knowe euen their Paſtors verie well what men they are, in peace Lions, Harts in time of trouble and feare.* Now theſe men, ſayth *Tertullian*, *They muſt be aunſwered where we doe finde it written in ſcripture* that a Chriſtian man may not weare a garland. And as mens ſpeeches vttered in heate of diſtempered affection haue often times much more egernes then waight; ſo he that ſhall marke the proofes alleaged, and the anſwers to things obiected in that booke, will now and then perhaps eſpie the like imbecillitie. Such is that argument whereby they that wore on their heads garlands, are charged as tranſgreſſors of natures lawe, and guiltie of ſacrilege againſt God the Lord of nature, in as much as flowers in ſuch ſort worne, can neyther be ſmelt nor ſeene well by thoſe that weare them: and God made flowers ſweete and bewtifull, that being ſeene and ſmelt vnto, they might ſo delight. Neither doth *Tertullian* bewraie this weakenes in ſtriking only, but alſo in repelling their ſtrokes with whome he contendeth. They aske ſayth he, *What ſcripture is there which doth teach that we ſhould not be crowned? And what ſcripture is there which doth teach that we ſhould? For in requiring on the contrarie part the aide of ſcripture, they doe giue ſentence before hand that their part ought alſo by ſcripture to be aided.* Which anſwere is of no great force. There is no neceſſitie, that if I confeſſe I ought not to doe that which the ſcripture forbiddeth me, I ſhould thereby acknowledge my ſelfe bound to doe nothing which the ſcripture commaundeth me not. For many inducements beſides ſcripture may lead me to that, which if ſcripture be againſt, they all geue place, and are of no value; yet otherwiſe are ſtrong and effectuall to perſwade. Which thing himſelfe well enough vnderſtanding, and being not ignorant that ſcripture in many things doth neither commaund nor forbid, but vſe ſilence; his reſolution in fine is, that in the Church a number of things are ſtrictlie obſerued, wherof no lawe of ſcripture maketh mention one way or other; that of things once receyued and confirmed by vſe, long vſage is a lawe ſufficient; that in ciuill affaires when there is no other lawe, cuſtome it ſelfe doth ſtand for lawe; that in as much as law doth

Tert. de corona militis.

ſtand vpon reaſon, to alleage reaſon ſerueth as well as to cite ſcripture; that whatſoeuer is reaſonable, the ſame is lawfull whoſoeuer is author of it; that the authoritie of Cuſtome is great; finallie that the cuſtome of Chriſtians was then and had bene a long time not to weare garlands, and therfore that vndoubtedly they did offend, who preſumed to violate ſuch a cuſtome by not obſeruing that thing, the verie inueterate obſeruation whereof was a lawe ſufficient to bind all men to obſerue it, vnleſſe they could ſhew ſome higher law, ſome law of ſcripture to the cõtrarie. This preſuppoſed, it may ſtand then very well with ſtrength and foundnes of reaſon, euen thus to anſwere; *Whereas they aske what ſcripture forbiddeth them to weare a garland, we are in this caſe rather to demaund what ſcripture commaundeth them. They cannot heere alleage that it is permitted which is not forbidden them: no, that is forbidden them which is not permitted.* For long receyued Cuſtome forbidding them to doe as they did (if ſo be it did forbid them) there was no excuſe in the world to iuſtifie their acte, vnleſſe in the ſcripture they could ſhew ſome lawe, that did licence them thus to breake a receyued cuſtome. Now whereas in all the bookes of *Tertullian* beſides there is not ſo much found as in that one, to proue not only that we may do, but that we ought to do ſundrie things which the ſcripture commaundeth not; out of that verie booke theſe ſentences are brought to make vs belieue that *Tertullian* was of a cleane contrarie minde. We cannot therefore hereupon yeeld, we cannot graunt, that hereby is made manifeſt the argument of ſcripture negatiuely to be of force, not only in doctrine and eccleſiaſticall diſcipline, but euen in matters arbitrarie. For *Tertullian* doth plainely hold euen in that booke, that neither the matter which he intreateth of was arbitrarie but neceſſarie, in as much as the receaued cuſtome of the Church did tye and binde them not to weare garlands as the Heathens did; yea, and further alſo he reckoneth vp particularlie a number of things, whereof he expreſly concludeth; *Harum & aliarum eiuſmodi diſciplinarum ſi legem expoſtules ſcripturarum, nullam inuenies*; which is as much as if he had ſayd in expreſſe words, Many things there are which concerne the diſcipline of the Church and the duties of men, which to abrogate and take away the ſcriptures negatiuely vrged may not in any caſe perſwade vs, but they muſt be obſerued, yea, although no ſcripture be found which requireth any ſuch thing. *Tertullian* therefore vndoubtedly doth not in this booke ſhew himſelfe to be of the ſame minde with them by whome his name is pretended.

The firſt aſſertion endeuoured to be confirmed by the ſcriptures cuſtome of diſputing from diuine authoritie negatiuely.

6 But ſith the ſacred ſcriptures themſelues afford oftentimes ſuch arguments as are taken from diuine authoritie both one way and other, *The Lord hath commaunded, therefore it muſt be*; And againe in like ſort, *He hath not, therefore it muſt not be*; ſome certaintie concerning this point ſeemeth requiſite to be ſet downe. God him ſelfe can neither poſſibly erre, nor leade into error. For this cauſe his teſtimonies, whatſoeuer he affirmeth, are alwaies truth and moſt infallible certaintie. Yea further, becauſe the things that proceed frõ him are perfect without any manner of defect or maime; it cannot be but that the words of his mouth are abſolute, and lack nothing which they ſhould haue, for performance of that thing whereunto they tend. Whereupon it followeth that the end being known whereunto he directeth his ſpeech, the argument euen negatiuely is euer more ſtrõg & forcible cõcerning thoſe things that are apparãtly requiſit vnto the ſame

1. Iohn. 2. 5. God is light, and there is in him no darkenes at all.

Hebr. 6. 18. It is impoſſible that God ſhould lye. Num. 23. 19. God is not as man that he ſhould lye.

ſame end. As for example, God intending to ſet downe ſundrie times that which in Angels is moſt excellent, hath not any where ſpoken ſo highly of them as he hath of our Lorde and Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt; therefore they are not in dignitie equall vnto him. It is the Apoſtle Saint *Paules* argument. The purpoſe of God was to teach his people, both vnto whome they ſhould offer ſacrifice, and what ſacrifice was to be offered. To burne their ſonnes in fire vnto *Baal* he did not commaund them, he ſpake no ſuch thing, neyther came it into his minde: therefore this they ought not to haue done. Which argument the Prophet *Ieremie* vſeth more then once, as being ſo effectuall and ſtrong, that although the thing hee reproueth were not only not commaunded but forbidden them, and that expreſſlie; yet the Prophet chooſeth rather to charge them with the fault of making a lawe vnto them ſelues, then with the crime of tranſgreſſing a lawe which God had made. For when the Lorde hath once himſelfe preciſely ſet downe a forme of executing that wherein wee are to ſerue him, the fault appeareth greater to doe that which we are not, then not to doe that which wee are commaunded. In this wee ſeeme to charge the Lawe of God with hardnes only, in that with fooliſhnes; in this wee ſhewe our ſelues weake and vnapt to be doers of hys wyll, in that wee take vppon vs to be controllers of his wiſedome; in this wee fayle to performe the thing which God ſeeth meete, conuenient and good, in that wee preſume to ſee what is meete and conuenient better then God himſelfe. In thoſe actions therefore the whole forme whereof God hath of purpoſe ſet downe to be obſerued, wee may not otherwiſe doe then exactlie as hee hath preſcribed; in ſuch things negatiue arguments are ſtrong. Agayne, with a negatiue argument *Dauid* is preſſed concerning the purpoſe he had to build a Temple vnto the Lord; *Thus ſayth the Lorde, thou ſhalt not build me an houſe to dwell in. Whereſoeuer I haue walked with all Iſraell, ſpake I one word to any of the Iudges of Iſraell, whome I commaunded to feede my people, ſaying, Why haue yee not built me an houſe?* The Iewes vrged with a negatiue argument touching the ayde which they ſought at the handes of the King of Aegypt, *Woe to thoſe rebellious children* (ſayth the Lorde) *which walke forth to goe downe into Aegypt, and haue not asked counſell at my mouth, to ſtrengthen themſelues with the ſtrength of Pharao.* Finally, the league of *Ioſhua* with the *Gabeonites* is likewyſe with a negatiue argument touched. It was not as it ſhoulde be: And why? The Lorde gaue them not that aduiſe; *They ſought not counſell at the mouth of the Lorde.* By the vertue of whiche examples, if any man ſhall ſuppoſe the force of negatiue arguments approued, when they are taken from Scripture in ſuch ſort as wee in this queſtion are preſſed there-with, they greatly deceyue themſelues. For vnto whiche of all

T.C.l.1.p.43. *It is not hard to ſhew that the Prophets haue reaſoned negatiuely. As when in the perſon of the Lord the Prophet ſayth, Whereof I haue not ſpoken, Ierem.19.5. and, Which neuer entered into my hart, Iere.7.31.32. and as he condemneth them becauſe They haue not asked councell at the mouth of the Lord, Eſay.30.2. And it may be ſhewed, that the ſame kind of argument hath bene vſed, in things which are not of the ſubſtance of ſaluation or damnation, and whereof there was no commaundement to the contrarie (as in the former there was Leuit.18.21. & 20.3. Deut.17.16) In Ioſua the children of Iſrael are charged by the Prophet that they asked not counſell of the mouth of the Lorde when they entered into couenant with the Gabeonites, Ioſh.9.14. And yet that couenant was not made contrarie vnto any commandement of God. Moreouer we reade that when Dauid had taken this counſell to build a temple vnto the Lord, albeit the Lord had reuealed before in his word that there ſhould be ſuch a ſtanding place, where the arke of the couenant and the ſeruice ſhould haue a certaine abiding: and albeit there was no word of God which forbad Dauid to build the Temple: yet the Lord (with commendation of his good affection & zeale he had to the aduancement of his glorie) concludeth againſt Dauids reſolution to build the Temple, with this reaſon, namely, that he had geuen no commaundement of this who ſhould build it. 1.Chron.17.6.*

Leuit.18.21. & 20.3. Deut.18.10.

1.Chro.17.6.

Eſay.30.1.

Ioſh.9.14.

theſe was it ſaid, that they had done amiſſe in purpoſing to doe, or in doing any thing at all which *the Scripture* commanded them not? Our queſtion is, whether all be ſinne which is done without direction by ſcripture, and not whether the *Iſraelites* did at any time amiſſe by following their owne mindes, without asking counſell of God. No, it was that peoples ſingular priuiledge, a fauour which God vouchſafed them aboue the reſt of the world, that in the affayres of their eſtate, which were not determinable one way or other by the ſcripture, him ſelfe gaue them extraordinarily direction and counſell as oft as they ſought it at his hands. Thus God did firſt by ſpeech vnto *Moſes*; after by *Vrim* and *Thummim* vnto Prieſts, laſtly by dreames and viſions vnto Prophets, from whome in ſuch caſes they were to receyue the anſwere of God. Concerning *Ioſua* therefore
Num. 27. 21. thus ſpake the Lord vnto *Moſes* ſaying, *He ſhall ſtand before Eleazar the Prieſt, who ſhall aske counſell for him by the iudgement of Vrim before the Lord*: whereof had *Ioſua* bene mindfull, the fraud of the *Gabeonits* could not ſo ſmoothlie haue paſt vneſpied till there was no helpe. The *Iewes* had Prophets to haue reſolued them from the mouth of God himſelfe, whether Egyptian aides ſhould profit them yea or no: but they thought them ſelues wiſe enough, and him vnworthie to be of their Counſell. In this reſpect therefore was their reproofe, though ſharp, yet iuſt, albeit there had bene no charge preciſely geuen them that they ſhould alwayes take heed of *Egypt*. But as for *Dauid*, to thinke that he did euill in determining to build God a temple, becauſe there was in ſcripture no commandement that he ſhould build it, were very iniurious: the purpoſe of his hart was religious and godlie, the acte moſt worthie of honor and renowne, neither could
1. Chron. 17. *Nathan* chooſe but admire his vertuous intent, exhort him to goe forward, and beſeech God to proſper him therein. But God ſaw the endleſſe troubles which *Dauid* ſhould be ſubiect vnto during the whole time of his regiment, and therefore gaue charge to differre ſo good a worke till the dayes of tranquillitie and peace, wherein it might without interruption be performed. *Dauid* ſuppoſed that it could not ſtand with the dutie which he owed vnto God, to ſet him ſelfe in an houſe of Cedar trees, and to behold the arke of the Lords Couenant vnſetled. This opinion the Lord abateth, by cauſing *Nathan* to ſhew him plainely, that it ſhould be no more imputed vnto him for a fault, then it had bene vnto the Iudges of *Iſraell* before him, his caſe being the ſame which theirs was, their times not more vnquiet then his, not more vnfit for ſuch an action. Wherefore concerning the force of negatiue arguments ſo taken from the authoritie of ſcripture as by vs they are denyed, there is in all this leſſe then nothing. And touching that which vnto this purpoſe is borrowed frō the controuerſies ſometime handled betweene *M. Harding*, and the worthieſt Diuine that Chriſtendome hath bred for the ſpace of ſome hūdreds of yeres, who being brought vp together in one Vniuerſitie, it fell out in them which was ſpoken of two others, [a] *They learned in the ſame, that which in cōtrary Camps they did practiſe*. Of theſe two the one obiecting that with vs arguments taken from authoritie negatiuely are ouer common, the

T. C. l. 2. p. 50. *M. Harding reproacheth the B. of Saliſburie with this kind of reaſoning, Vnto whom the B. anſwereth, The argument of authoritie negatiuely, is taken to be good whenſoeuer proofe is taken of Gods word, and is vſed not only by vs, but alſo by many of the Catholique Fathers. A little after, he ſheweth the reaſon why the argument of authoritie of the ſcripture negatiuely is good, namely, for that the word of God is perfect. In another place vnto M. Harding caſting him in the teeth with negatiue arguments, he alleageth places out of Irenæus, Chryſoſtom, Leo, which reaſoned negatiuely of the authoritie of the ſcriptures. The places which he alleageth be very full and plaine in generalitie, without any ſuch reſtraint as the Aduertiſer imagineth, as they are there to be ſeene.*

[a] *Vell. Patere. Iugurtha ac Marius ſub eodē Africano militātes in iſdē caſtris diuicere quæ poſtea in cōtrarijs facerent.*

the Biſhops anſwere hereunto is, that, *This kind of argument is thought to be good, whenſoeuer proofe is taken of Gods word, and is vſed not only by vs, but alſo by Saint Paule, and by many of the Catholique Fathers. Saint Paule ſaith, God ſaid not vnto Abraham, In thy ſeeds all the nations of the earth ſhall be bleſſed, but in thy ſeede which is Chriſt, and thereof he thought he made a good argument. Likewiſe ſaith Origen, The bread which the Lord gaue vnto his diſciples, ſaying vnto them, Take and eate, he differred not, nor commaunded to be reſerued till the next day. Such arguments Origen and other learned Fathers thought to ſtand for good, whatſoeuer miſliking Maiſter Harding hath found in them. This kinde of proofe is thought to hold in Gods commaundements, for that they be full and perfect, and God hath ſpeciallie charged vs, that we ſhould neither put to them, nor take fro them: and therefore it ſeemeth good vnto them that haue learned of Chriſt, Vnus eſt magiſter veſter Chriſtus, and haue heard the voice of God the Father from heauen, Ipſum audite. But vnto them that add to the word of God what them liſteth, and make Gods will ſubiect vnto their will, and breake Gods commaundements for their awne traditions ſake, vnto them it ſeemeth not good.* Againe, the Engliſh Apologie alleaging the example of the *Greekes* how they haue neither priuate Maſſes, nor mangled Sacraments, nor Purgatories, nor pardons, it pleaſeth Maiſter *Harding* to ieſt our the matter, to vſe the help of his wits where ſtrength of truth failed him, and to anſwer with ſcoffing at negatiues. The Biſhops defence in this caſe is, *The auncient learned Fathers hauing to deale with impudent heretiques, that in defence of their errors auouched the iudgement of all the old Biſhops and Doctors that had bene before them, and the generall conſent of the primitiue and whole vniuerſall Church, and that with as good regard of truth, and as faithfullie as you do now, the better to diſcouer the ſhameleſſe boldnes and nakednes of their doctrine, were oftentimes likewiſe forced to vſe the negatiue, and ſo to driue the ſame heretiques as we do you, to proue their affirmatiues, which thing to do it was neuer poſsible. The auncient father Irenæus thus ſtayed him ſelfe, as we do by the negatiue, Hoc neque prophetæ predicauerunt, neq; Dominus docuit, neq; apoſtoli tradiderunt. This thing neither did the prophets publiſh, nor our Lord teach, nor the Apoſtles deliuer. By a like negatiue Chryſoſtome ſaith, This tree neither Paule planted, nor Apollo watered, nor God increaſed. In like ſort Leo ſaith, What needeth it to beleeue that thing that neither the Lawe hath taught, nor the Prophets haue ſpoken, nor the Goſpell hath preached, nor the Apoſtles haue deliuered? And againe, How are the new deuiſes brought in that our Fathers neuer knewe? S. Auguſtine hauing reckned vp a great number of the Biſhops of Rome, by a generall negatiue ſaith thus, In all this order of ſucceſſion of Biſhops there is not one Biſhop found that was a Donatiſt. S. Gregorie being himſelfe a Biſhop of Rome, and writing againſt the title of vniuerſall Biſhop, ſaith thus, None of all my predeceſſors euer conſented to vſe this vngodly title, No Biſhop of Rome euer tooke vpon him this name of Singularitie. By ſuch negatiues, M. Harding, we reproue the vanitie and noueltie of your religion; we tell you none of the catholique auncient learned Fathers either Greeke or Latine euer vſed either your priuate Maſſe, or your halfe communion, or your barbarous vnknowne prayers. Paul neuer planted them, Apollo neuer watered them, God neuer increaſed them, they are of your ſelues, they are not of God.* In all this there is not a ſyllable which any way croſſeth vs. For concerning arguments negatiue euen taken from humane authoritye, they are heere prooued to be in ſome caſes verie ſtrong and forcible. They are not in our eſtimation idle reproofes, when the authors of needleſſe innouations are oppoſed with ſuch negatiues, as that of *Leo*, *How are theſe*

Art. 1. Diuiſ. 29. Gal. 3.

Orig. in Leuit. ho. 5.

Math. 13.

Math. 17.

Defen. par. 5. ca. 15. diuiſ. 1.

Lib. 1. cap. 1.

De incomp. nat. Dei hom. 3.

Epiſt. 93. ca. 12

Epiſt. 97. ca. 3.

Epiſt. 165.

Lib. 4. ep. 32.

new deuiſes brought in which our fathers neuer knew? When their graue and reuerend ſuperiours do recken vp vnto them, as *Auguſtine* did vnto the *Donatiſts*, large Cataloges of Fathers wondered at for their wiſedome, pietie, and learning, amongſt whome for ſo many ages before vs, no one did euer ſo thinke of the Churches affaires, as now the world doth begin to be perſwaded, ſurely by vs they are not taught to take exception hereat, becauſe ſuch arguments are negatiue. Much leſſe, when the like are taken frō the ſacred authoritie of ſcripture, if the matter itſelfe do beare them. For in truth the queſtion is not, whether an argumēt from ſcripture negatiuely may be good, but whether it be ſo generally good, that in all actions men may vrge it. The Fathers I graunt do vſe verie generall and large tearmes, euen as *Hiero* the King did in ſpeaking of *Archimedes*, *From hence forward whatſoeuer Archimedes ſpeaketh, it muſt be believed.* His meaning was not that *Archimedes* could ſimply in nothing be deceyued, but that he had in ſuch ſort approued his skill, that he ſeemed worthie of credit for euer after in matters appertaining vnto the ſcience he was skilfull in. In ſpeaking thus largely it is preſumed, that mens ſpeeches will be taken according to the matter whereof they ſpeake. Let any man therefore that caryeth indifferencie of iudgement; peruſe the Biſhops ſpeeches, and conſider well of thoſe negatiues concerning ſcripture, which he produceth out of *Irenæus*, *Chriſoſtome*, and *Leo*, which three are choſen from amongſt the reſidue, becauſe the ſentences of the others (euen as one of theirs alſo) do make for defence of negatiue arguments taken from humane authoritie and not from diuine only. They mention no more reſtraint in the one then in the other: yet I thinke them ſelues will not hereby iudge, that the Fathers tooke both to be ſtrong, without reſtraint vnto any ſpeciall kinde of matter wherein they held ſuch arguments forcible. Nor doth the Biſhop either ſay or proue any more, then that an argument in ſome kinds of matter may be good, although taken negatiuely from ſcripture.

Their opinion cōcerning the force of arguments taken from humane authoritie for the ordering of mens actiōs or perſwaſions

T.C.l.1.p.25. *When the queſtion is of the authoritie of a man, it holdeth neither affirmatiuely nor negatiuely. The reaſon is, becauſe the infirmitie of man can neither attaine to the perfection of any thing whereby hee might ſpeake all things that are to be ſpoken of it, neither yet be free from error in thoſe things which he ſpeaketh or giueth out. And therefore this argument neither affirmatiuely nor negatiuely compelleth the hearer, but only inducēth him to ſome liking or diſliking of that for which it is brought, and is rather for an Orator to perſwade the ſimpler ſort then for a diſputer to enforce him that is learned.*

7 An earneſt deſire to drawe all things vnto the determination of bare and naked ſcripture, hath cauſed here much paines to be taken in abating the eſtimation and credit of man. Which if we labour to maintaine as farre as truth and reaſon will beare, let not any thinke that we trauaile about a matter not greatly needfull. For the ſcope of all their pleading againſt mans authoritie is, to ouerthrowe ſuch orders, lawes, and conſtitutions in the Church, as depending thereupon if they ſhould therfore be taken away, would peraduenture leaue neither face nor memorie of Church to continue long in the world, the world eſpecially being ſuch as now it is. That which they haue in this caſe ſpoken, I would for breuities ſake let paſſe, but that the drift of their ſpeech being ſo dangerous, their words are not to be neglected. Wherfore to ſay that ſimplie an argument taken from mans authoritie doth hold no way, neither affirmatiuely nor negatiuely, is hard. By a mans authoritie we here vnderſtād, the force which his word hath for th'aſſurance of an others mind that buildeth vpon it, as the Apoſtle ſomewhat did vpon their report of the houſe of *Cloe*, and the Samaritanes in a matter of farre greater moment vpon the report of a ſimple woman.

1.Cor.1.11.

For

For ſo it is ſayd in S. Iohns Goſpell, *Many of the Samaritans of that Citie beleiued in him for the ſaying of the woman which teſtified, He hath told me all thinges that euer I did.* The ſtrength of mans authoritie is affirmatiuely ſuch that the waightieſt affayres in the world depend thereon. In iudgement and iuſtice are not hereupon proceedings grounded? Sayth not the law that *in the mouth of two or three witneſſes euery word ſhalbe confirmed?* This the law of God would not ſay, if there were in a mans teſtimonie no force at all to prooue any thing. And if it be admitted that in matter of fact there is ſome credite to be giuen to the teſtimonie of man, but not in matter of opinion and iudgement; we ſee the contrary both acknowledged and vniuerſally practiſed alſo throughout the world. The ſentences of wiſe and expert men were neuer but highly eſteemed. Let the title of a mans right be called in queſtion; are we not bold to relie and build vpon the iudgement of ſuch as are famous for their skill in the lawes of this land? In matter of ſtate the waight many times of ſome one mans authoritie is thought reaſon ſufficient, euen to ſway ouer whole nations. And this not onely with the ſimpler ſort, but the learneder and wiſer we are, the more ſuch argumentes in ſome caſes preuayle with vs. The reaſon why the ſimpler ſort are moued with authoritie is the conſcience of their owne ignorance, whereby it commeth to paſſe that hauing learned men in admiration, they rather feare to diſlike them, then know wherefore they ſhould allow and follow their iudgements. Contrariwiſe with them that are skilfull authoritie is much more ſtrong and forcible, becauſe they only are able to diſcerne how iuſt cauſe there is, why to ſome mens authoritie ſo much ſhould be attributed. For which cauſe the name of Hippocrates (no doubt) were more effectuall to perſwade euen ſuch men as Galen himſelfe, then to moue a ſillie Empirick. So that the very ſelfe ſam .gument in this kind which doth but induce the vulgar ſort to like, may conſtraine the wiſer to yeelde. And therefore not Orators only with the people, but euen the very profoundeſt diſputers in all faculties haue hereby often with the beſt learned preuayled moſt. As for arguments taken from humaine authoritie and that negatiuely; for example ſake, if we ſhould thinke the aſſembling of the people of God together by the ſound of a bell, the preſenting of infants at the holy font by ſuch as commonly we call their Godfathers, or any other the like receiued cuſtome to be impious, becauſe ſome men of whom we thinke very reuerendly, haue in their bookes and writings no where mentioned nor taught that ſuch thinges ſhould be in the Church; this reaſoning were ſubiect vnto iuſt reproofe, it were but feeble, weake and vnſound. Notwithſtanding euen negatiuely an argument from humaine authoritie may be ſtrong, as namely thus; The Chronicles of England mention no moe then onely ſixe kings bearing the name of Edward, ſince the time of the laſt conqueſt; therfore it cannot be there ſhould be moe. So that if the queſtion be of the authoritie of a mans teſtimony, we cannot ſimply auouch, eyther that affirmatiuely it doth not any way holde, or that it hath only force to induce the ſimpler ſort, and not to conſtraine men of vnderſtanding and ripe iudgement to yeeld aſſent, or that negatiuely it hath in it no ſtrength at all. For vnto euery of theſe the contrary is moſt playne. Neither doth that which is alleaged concerning the infirmitie of men, ouerthrow or diſproue this. Men are blinded with ignorance and error; many things may eſcape

Iohn. 4. 39.

Deut. 19. 15. Matt. 18. 16.

eſcape them, and in many thinges they may be deceiued; yea, thoſe thinges which they doe knowe, they may eyther forget, or vpon ſundry indirect conſiderations let paſſe; and although themſelues do not erre, yet may they through malice or vanitie, euen of purpoſe deceiue others. Howbeit infinite caſes there are wherin all theſe impediments and lets are ſo manifeſtly excluded, that there is no ſhewe or colour whereby any ſuch exception may be taken, but that the teſtimony of man will ſtand as a ground of infallible aſſurance. That there is a Citie of Rome, that *Pius Quintus* and Gregory the 13. and others haue beene Popes of Rome, I ſuppoſe we are certainely enough perſwaded. The ground of our perſwaſion, who neuer ſaw the place nor perſons before named, can be nothing but mans teſtimonie. Will any man here notwithſtanding alleage thoſe mentioned humaine infirmities, as reaſons why theſe things ſhould be miſtruſted or doubted of? Yea, that which is more, vtterly to infringe the force and ſtrength of mans teſtimonie were to ſhake the very fortreſſe of Gods truth. For whatſoeuer we belieue concerning ſaluation by Chriſt, although the ſcripture be therein the ground of our beliefe; yet the authoritie of man is, if we marke it, the key which openeth the dore of entrance into the knowledge of the ſcripture. The ſcripture could not teach vs the thinges that are of God, vnleſſe we did credite men who haue taught vs that the wordes of ſcripture doe ſignifie thoſe things. Some way therefore, notwithſtanding mans infirmitie, yet his authority may enforce aſſent. Vpon better aduiſe and deliberation ſo much is perceiued, and at the length confeſt, that argumentes taken from the authoritie of men may not only ſo farre foorth as hath beene declared, but further alſo be of ſome force in *humaine ſciences*; which force be it neuer ſo ſmall, doth ſhew that they are not vtterly naught. But in *matters diuine* it is ſtill maintayned ſtiflie, that they haue no manner force at all. Howbeit the very ſelfe ſame reaſon, which cauſeth to yeeld that they are of ſome force in the one, will at the length conſtraine alſo to acknowledge, that they are not in the other altogether vnforcible. For if the naturall ſtrength of mans wit may by experience and ſtudie attaine vnto ſuch ripenes in the knowledge of thinges humaine, that men in this reſpect may preſume to build ſomewhat vpon their iudgement; what reaſon haue we to thinke but that euen in matters diuine the like wits, furniſht with neceſſarie helpes, exerciſed in ſcripture with like diligence, and aſſiſted with the grace of almightie God, may growe vnto ſo much perfection of knowledge, that men ſhall haue iuſt cauſe, when any thing pertinent vnto fayth and religion is doubted of, the more willingly to incline their mindes towards that which the ſentence of ſo graue, wiſe, and learned in that faculty ſhal iudge moſt ſound. For the controuerſie is of the waight of ſuch mens iudgements. Let it therefore be ſuſpected, let it be taken as groſſe, corrupt, repugnant vnto the truth, whatſoeuer concerning things diuine aboue

T.C. lib. 1. p. 10. *Although that kind of argument of authoritie of men is good, neyther in humaine nor diuine ſciences; yet it hath ſome ſmall force in humaine ſciences, for as much as naturally, and in that he is a man, he may come to ſome ripenes of iudgement in thoſe ſciences, which in diuine matters hath no force at all, as of him which naturally, and as he is a man, can no more iudge of them then a blind man of colours. Yea, ſo farre is it from drawing credite of it be barely ſpoken without reaſon and teſtimony of ſcripture, that it carryeth alſo a ſuſpition of vntruth whatſoeuer proceedeth from him, which the Apoſtle did well note when to ſignifie a thing corruptly ſpoken, and againſt the truth he ſayth, that it is ſpoken according vnto man. Rom. 3. He ſayth not as a wicked and lying man, but ſimply as a man. And although this corruption be reformed in many, yet for ſo much as in whom the knowledge of the truth is moſt aduanced, there remaineth both ignorance and diſordered affections (whereof eyther of them turneth him from ſpeaking of the truth) no mans authoritie, with the Church eſpecially, and thoſe that are called and perſwaded of the authoritie of the word of God, can bring any aſſurance vnto the conſcience.*

nature

nature ſhall at any time be ſpoken as out of the mouthes of meere naturall men, which haue not the eyes wherwith heauenly thinges are diſcerned. For this we contend not. But whom God hath indued with principall giftes to aſpire vnto knowledge by, whoſe exerciſes, labours, and diuine ſtudies hee hath ſo bleſt, that the world for their great and rare skill that way, hath them in ſingular admiration; may we reiect euen their iudgement likewiſe, as being vtterly of no moment? For mine owne part, I dare not ſo lightly eſteeme of the Church, & of the principall pillers therein. The truth is, that the mind of man deſireth euermore to knowe the truth according to the moſt infallible certainety which the nature of thinges can yeeld. The greateſt aſſurance generally with all men is that which we haue by plaine aſpect and intuitiue beholding. Where we can not attayne vnto this, there what appeareth to be true by ſtrong and inuincible demonſtration, ſuch as wherein it is not by any way poſſible to be deceiued, thereunto the mind doth neceſſarily aſſent, neyther is it in the choyce therof to do otherwiſe. And in caſe theſe both do fayle, then which way greateſt probability leadeth, thether the mind doth euermore incline. Scripture with Chriſtiã men being receiued as the word of God, that for which we haue probable, yea, that which we haue neceſſary reaſon for, yea, that which we ſee with our eies is not thought ſo ſure as that which the ſcripture of God teacheth; becauſe wee hold that his ſpeech reuealeth there what himſelfe ſeeth, & therefore the ſtrongeſt proofe of all, and the moſt neceſſary aſſented vnto by vs (which do thus receiue the ſcripture) is the ſcripture. Now it is not required or can be exacted at our hands, that we ſhould yeeld vnto any thing other aſſent, then ſuch as doth anſwere the euidẽce which is to be had of that we aſſent vnto. For which cauſe euen in matters diuine, concerning ſome thinges we may lawfully doubt and ſuſpend our iudgemẽt, inclyning neyther to one ſide nor other, as namely touching the time of the fall both of man and Angels; of ſome things we may very well retaine an opinion that they are probable & not vnlikely to be true, as whẽ we hold that men haue their ſoules rather by creation then propagation, or that the mother of our Lorde liued alwaies in the ſtate of virginitie as well after his birth as before (for of theſe two the one her virginity before is a thing which of neceſſitie we muſt belieue, the other her continuance in the ſame ſtate alwaies hath more likelihoode of truth then the contrary;) finally in all things then are our conſciences beſt reſolued, and in moſt agreeable ſort vnto God and nature ſetled, when they are ſo farre perſwaded as thoſe grounds of perſwaſion which are to be had will beare. Which thing I doe ſo much the rather ſet downe, for that I ſee how a number of ſoules are, for want of right informatiõ in this point oftentimes greeuouſly vexed. When bare and vnbuilded concluſions are put into their mindes, they finding not thẽſelues to haue therof any great certaintie, imagine that this proceedeth only from lacke of faith, and that the ſpirite of God doth not worke in them, as it doth in true beleeuers; by this meanes their hearts are much troubled, they fall into anguiſh & perplexitie: wheras the truth is, that how bold and confident ſoeuer we may be in words, when it commeth to the point of tryall, ſuch as the euidence is which the truth hath eyther in it ſelfe or through proofe, ſuch is the hearts aſſent thereunto, neither can it be ſtronger, being grounded as it ſhould be. I grant that proofe deriued from thau-

thoritie

thoritie of mans iudgement is not able to worke that aſſurance which doth grow by a ſtronger proofe, and therfore although ten thouſand generall Councels would ſet downe one & the ſame definitiue ſentence concerning any point of religion whatſoeuer; yet one demonſtratiue reaſon alleaged, or one manifeſt teſtimony cited from the mouth of God himſelf to the contrary, could not chooſe but ouerweigh them all; in as much as for them to haue beene deceiued it is not impoſſible, it is that demonſtratiue reaſon or teſtimonie diuine ſhould deceiue. Howbeit in defect of proofe infallible, becauſe the mind doth rather follow probable perſwaſions, then approue the thinges that haue in them no likelihood of truth at all; ſurely if a queſtion cõcerning matter of doctrine were propoſed, and on the one ſide no kind of proofe appearing, there ſhould on the other be alleaged and ſhewed that ſo a number of the learnedeſt diuines in the world haue euer thought; although it did not appeare what reaſõ or what ſcripture led them to be of that iudgement, yet to their very bare iudgement ſomewhat a reaſonable man would attribute, notwithſtanding the common imbecilities which are incident into our nature. And whereas it is thought, that eſpecially with the Church, and thoſe that are called & perſwaded of thauthority of theword of God, mans authoritie with them eſpecially, ſhould not preuaile; it muſt & doth preuaile euen with them, yea, with them eſpecially as far as equity requireth, & farther we maintain it not. For men to be tyed & led by authority, as it were with a kind of captiuity of iudgment, and though there be reaſon to the contrary not to liſten vnto it, but to follow like beaſts the firſt in the heard, they know not nor care not whether, this were brutiſh. Againe that authority of men ſhould preuaile with men either againſt or aboue reaſon, is no part of our beliefe. Companies of learned men be they neuer ſo great and reuerend, are to yeeld vnto reaſon, the waight whereof is no whit preiudiced by the ſimplicitie of his perſon which doth alleage it, but being found to be ſound and good, the bare opinion of men to the contrary, muſt of neceſſitie ſtoope and giue place. *Irenæus* writing againſt *Marcion*, which held one God author of the old Teſtament and another of the new, to proue that the Apoſtles preached the ſame God which was knowne before to the Iewes, he copiouſly alleageth ſundrie their ſermons and ſpeeches vttered concerning that matter, and recorded in Scripture. And leaſt any ſhould be wearied with ſuch ſtore of allegations, in the end he concludeth, *While we labour for theſe demonſtrations out of Scripture, and doe ſommarily declare the thinges which many wayes haue beene ſpoken, be contented quietlie to heare, and doe not thinke my ſpeech tedious:* *Quoniam oſtenſiones quæ ſunt in ſcripturis*

T.C.l.2.p.11. *Of diuers ſentences of the fathers themſelues (whereby ſome haue likened them to brute beaſtes without reaſon, which ſuffer themſelues to be led by the iudgement and authority of others, ſome haue preferred the iudgemẽt of one ſimple rude man alleaging reaſon vnto companies of learned men) I will content my ſelfe at this time with two or three ſentences. Irenæus ſayth, whatſoeuer is to be ſhewed in the ſcripture cannot be ſhowed but out of the ſcriptures themſelues lib. 3 cap. 12. Ierome ſayth, No man, be he neuer ſo holy or eloquent, hath any authority after the Apoſtles. in Pſ. 86. Auguſtine ſayth, that he will beleeue none, how godly and learned ſoeuer he be, vnleſſe he confirme his ſentence by the ſcriptures, or by ſome reaſon not contrary to them. Epiſt. 18. And in an other place, Heare this, the Lord ſayth, heare not this, Donatus ſayth, Rogatus ſayth, Vincentius ſayth, Hylarius ſayth, Ambroſe ſayth, Auguſtine ſayth, but hearken to this the Lord ſayth Epiſt. 48. And againe hauing to do with an Arrian, he affirmeth that neyther he ought to bring foorth the councell of Nice, nor the other the councell of Arimine, thereby to bring preiudice ech to other; neyther ought the Arrian to be holden by the authority of the one nor him ſelfe by the authority of the other, but by the ſcriptures which are witneſſes proper to neyther, but common to both; matter with matter, cauſe with cauſe, reaſon with reaſon ought to be debated. contra. Maxim. Arian. 3 14.ca. And in an other place againſt Petilian the Donatiſt he ſayth, Let not theſe words be heard betweene vs, I ſay, you ſay; let vs heare this, Thus ſayth the Lord. And by and by ſpeaking of the ſcriptures he ſayth, There let vs ſeeke the Church, there let vs try the cauſe. De vnit. Eccleſ. cap. 3. Hereby it is manifeſt that the argument of the authoritie of man affirmatiuely is nothing worth.*

turis non poſſunt oſtendi niſi ex ipſis ſcripturis; Becauſe demonſtrations that are in ſcripture may not otherwiſe be ſhewed, then by citing them out of the ſcriptures themſelues where they are. Which wordes make ſo little vnto the purpoſe, that they ſeeme as it were offended at him which hath called them thus ſollemnely foorth to ſay nothing. And concerning the verdict of Ierome, If no man, be he neuer ſo well learned, haue after the Apoſtles any authoritie to publiſh new doctrine as from heauen, and to require the worldes aſſent as vnto trueth receiued by propheticall reuelation; doth this preiudice the credite of learned mens iudgements in opening that truth, which by being conuerſant in the Apoſtles writinges, they haue themſelues from thence learned? Saint Auguſtine exhorteth not to heare men, but to hearken what God ſpeaketh. His purpoſe is not (I thinke) that we ſhould ſtoppe our eares againſt his owne exhortation, and therefore he cannot meane ſimply that audience ſhould altogether be denyed vnto men, but eyther that if men ſpeake one thing and God himſelfe teach an other, then hee, not they to be obeyed; or if they both ſpeake the ſame thing, yet then alſo mans ſpeech vnworthy of hearing, not ſimplie, but in compariſon of that which proceedeth from the mouth of God. Yea, but we doubt what the will of God is. Are wee in this caſe forbidden to heare what men of iudgement thinke it to be? If not, then this allegation alſo might verie well haue beene ſpared. In that auncient ſtrife which was betweene the Catholique fathers and Arrians, Donatiſtes, and others of like peruerſe and frowarde diſpoſition, as long as to fathers or Councells alleaged on the one ſide, the like by the contrarie ſide were oppoſed, impoſſible it was that euer the queſtion ſhould by this meane growe vnto anie iſſue or ende. The ſcripture they both belieued, the ſcripture they knewe could not giue ſentence on both ſides, by ſcripture the controuerſie betweene them was ſuch as might be determined. In this caſe what madnes was it with ſuch kindes of proofes to nouriſh their contention, when there were ſuch effectual meanes to end all controuerſie that was betweene them? Hereby therefore it doth not as yet appeare, that an argument of authoritie of man affirmatiuely is in matters diuine nothing woorth. Which opinion being once inſerted into the minds of the vulgar ſort, what it may growe vnto God knoweth. Thus much we ſee, it hath alreadie made thouſandes ſo headſtrong euen in groſſe and palpable errors, that a man whoſe capacitie will ſcarce ſerue him to vtter fiue wordes in ſenſible maner, bluſheth not in any doubt concerning matter of ſcripture to thinke his own bare *Yea*, as good as the *Nay* of all the wiſe, graue, and learned iudgements that are in the whole world. Which inſolency muſt be repreſt, or it will be the verie bane of Chriſtian religion. Our Lords Diſciples marking what ſpeech he vttered vnto them, and at the ſame time calling to mind a common opinion held by the Scribes, betweene which opinion, and the wordes of their mayſter it ſeemed vnto them that there was ſome contradiction, which they could not themſelues aunſwere with full ſatisfaction of their owne mindes; the doubt they propoſe to our Sauiour ſaying, *Why then ſay the Scribes that Elias muſt firſt come?* They knewe that the Scribes did erre greatly, and that many waies euen in matters of their owne profeſſion. They notwithſtanding thought the iudgement of the very Scribes in matters diuine to bee of ſome value; Matth. 17. 10.

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ſome probabilitie they thought there was that *Elias* ſhould come, in as much as the Scribes ſayd it. Now no truth can contradict any truth; deſirous therefore they were to be taught how both might ſtand together, that which they knew could not be falſe, becauſe Chriſt ſpake it; and this which to them did ſeeme true, onely becauſe the Scribes had ſayd it. For the ſcripture from whence the Scribes did gather it, was not then in their heades. We doe not finde that our Sauiour reproued them of error, for thinking the iudgement of Scribes to be woorth the obiecting, for eſteeming it to be of any moment or value in matters concerning God. We cannot therefore be perſwaded that the will of God is, we ſhould ſo farre reiect the authoritie of men as to recken it nothing. No, it may be a queſtion, whether they that vrge vs vnto this, be themſelues ſo perſwaded indeede. Men do ſometimes bewray that by deedes, which to confeſſe they are hardly drawne. Marke then if this be not generall with all men for the moſt part. When the iudgements of learned men are alleaged againſt them; what do they but eyther eleuate their credite, or oppoſe vnto them the iudgemẽts of others as learned? Which thing doth argue that all men acknowledge in them ſome force and waight, for which they are loath the cauſe they maintaine ſhould be ſo much weakened as their teſtimony is auailcable. Again, what reaſon is there why alleaging teſtimonies as proofes, men giue them ſome title of credite, honour, and eſtimation whom they alleage vnleſſe before hand it be ſufficiently knowne who they are; what reaſon hereof but only a common ingrafted perſwaſion, that in ſome men there may be found ſuch qualities as are able to counteruayle thoſe exceptions which might be taken againſt them, and that ſuch mens authoritie is not lightly to be ſhakē off? Shal I adde further, that the force of arguments drawne from the authoritie of ſcripture it ſelfe, as ſcriptures commonly are alleaged, ſhall (being ſifted) be found to depende vpon the ſtrength of this ſo much deſpiſed and debaſed authoritie of man? Surely it doth, and that oftner then we are aware of. For although ſcripture be of God, and therfore the proofe which is taken from thence muſt needes be of all other moſt inuincible; yet this ſtrength it hath not, vnleſſe it auouch the ſelfe ſame thing for which it is brought. If there be eyther vndeniable apparance that ſo it doth, or reaſon ſuch as cannot deceiue, then ſcripture-proofe (no doubt) in ſtrength & value exceedeth all. But for the moſt part, euen ſuch as are readieſt to cite for one thing fiue hundred ſentences of holy ſcripture; what warrant haue they, that any one of them doth meane the thing for which it is alleaged? Is not their ſureſt ground moſt commonly, eyther ſome probable coniecture of their owne, or the iudgement of others taking thoſe Scriptures as they doe? Which notwithſtanding to meane otherwiſe then they take them, it is not ſtill altogether impoſſible. So that now and then they ground themſelues on humaine authoritie, euen when they moſt pretende diuine. Thus it fareth euen cleane throughout the whole controuerſie about that diſcipline which is ſo earneſtly vrged and laboured for. Scriptures are plentifully alleaged to proue, that the whole Chriſtian worlde for euer ought to embrace it. Hereupon men terme it *The diſcipline of God.* Howbeit examine, ſift, and reſolue their alleaged proofes, till you come to the very roote from whence they ſpringe, the hart wherein their ſtrength lyeth; and it ſhall clearelie

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appeare vnto any man of iudgement, that the moſt which can bee inferred vpon ſuch plentie of diuine teſtimonies is onely this. That *ſome thinges* which they maintaine, as far as *ſome men* can *probably coniecture*, do *ſeeme* to haue bene out of ſcripture *not abſurdly* gathered. Is this a warrant ſufficient for any mans conſcience to builde ſuch proceedinges vpon, as haue bene and are put in vre for the ſtabliſhment of that cauſe? But to conclude, I would gladly vnderſtand howe it commeth to paſſe that they which ſo peremptorilye doe maintaine that humaine authoritie is nothing worth, are in the cauſe which they fauour ſo carefull to haue the common ſorte of men perſwaded, that the wiſeſt the godlieſt, and the beſt learned in all Chriſtendome are that waye giuen, ſeing they iudge this to make nothing in the worlde for them. Againe howe commeth it to paſſe they cannot abide that authoritie ſhould be alleaged on the other ſide, if there be no force at all in authorities on one ſide or other? Wherefore labor they to ſtrip their aduerſaries of ſuch furniture as doth not helpe? Why take they ſuch needleſſe paines to furniſh alſo their owne cauſe with the like? If it be voyde and to no purpoſe that the names of men are ſo frequent in their bookes; what did moue them to bring them in, or doth to ſuffer them there remayning? Ignorant I am not how this is ſalued, *They doe it not but after the truth made manifeſt firſt by reaſon or by ſcripture, they do it not but to controule the enimies of the truth who beare them ſelues bold vpon humaine authoritie making not for them but againſt them rather.* Which anſweres are nothing. For in what place or vpon what conſideration ſoeuer it bee they doe it, were it in their owne opinion of no force being done, they woulde vndoubtedly refraine to doe it.

T.C 1 2 p. 21. *If at any time it happened vnto Auguſtine (as it did againſt the Donatiſts and others) to alleage the authoritie of the auncient Fathers which had bee before him, yet that was not done before he had laid a ſure foundation of his cauſe in the ſcriptures and that alſo being prouoked by the aduerſaries of the truth who bare them ſelues high of ſome councel, or of ſome man of name that had fauoured that part.*

8 But to the end it may more plainly appeare what we are to iudge of their ſentences, and of the cauſe it ſelfe wherein they are alleaged; firſt, it may not wel be denied, that all actions of men endued with the vſe of reaſon are generallie eyther good or euill. For although it be graunted that no action is properly tearmed good or euill, vnleſſe it be voluntarie; yet this can bee no let to our former aſſertion, that all actions of men indued with the vſe of reaſon are generallye either good or euill; becauſe euen thoſe thinges are done voluntarily by vs, which other creatures do naturally, in as much as wee might ſtaie our doing of them if wee woulde. Beaſtes naturally doe take their foode and reſt, when it offereth it ſelfe vnto them. If men did ſo too, and coulde not doe otherwiſe of them ſelues; there were no place for any ſuch reproofe as that of our Sauiour Chriſt vnto his diſciples, *coulde ye not watch with me one howre?* That which is voluntarily performed in things tending to the end, if it be well done, muſt needes be done with deliberate conſideration of ſome reaſonable cauſe, wherefore wee rather ſhould do it thē not. Wherupon it ſemeth, that in ſuch actions only thoſe are ſaid to be good or euil which are capable of deliberatiō ſo that many things being howerly done by men, wherein they need not vſe with them ſelues any manner of conſultation at all: it may perhaps hereby ſeeme that well or ill doing belongeth onely to our waightier affaires, and to thoſe deeds which are of ſo great importance that they require aduiſe. But thus to determine were perilous, and peraduenture vnſound alſo. I do rather inclyne to thinke, that ſeing all the vnforced actiōs of men are voluntary; & al volūtary actiōs tending to the end haue choice & al choice preſuppoſeth the knowledg of ſome cauſe wherfore we make it: wher

A declaration what the truth is in this matter.

Math. 26. 40.

the reaſonable cauſe of ſuch actiõs ſo readily offereth it ſelf, that it needeth not to be ſought for; in thoſe things though we do not deliberat, yet they are of their nature apt to be deliberated on in regard of the wil which may incline either way, & would not any one way bend it ſelf, if ther were not ſom apparẽt motiue to leade it. Deliberation actuall we vſe, when there is doubt what we ſhould incline our willes vnto. Where no doubt is, deliberation is not excluded as impertinent vnto the thing, but as nedeleſſe in regard of the agent, which ſeeth already what to reſolue vpon. It hath no apparent abſurditie therefore in it to thinke, that all actions of men indued with the vſe of reaſon are generally either good or euill. Whatſoeuer is good; the ſame is alſo approued of God: and according vnto the ſundry degrees of goodnes the kindes of diuine approbation are in like ſorte multiplyed. Some things are good, yet in ſo meane a degree of goodnes, that men are only not diſproued nor diſalowed of God for them. No man hateth his owne fleſh. If ye doe good vnto them that doe ſo to you the very Publicans them ſelues doe as much. They are worſe then infidells, that haue no care to
Epheſ. 5. 29. prouide for their owne. In actions of this ſorte the very light of nature alone
Math. 5. 46, may diſcouer that which is ſo far forth in the ſight of God allowable. Some
1, Tim, 5, 8, thinges in ſuch ſorte are allowed that they be alſo required as neceſſarie vnto ſaluation, by way of direct immediate and proper neceſſitie finall, ſo that without performance of them we cannot by ordinarie courſe be ſaued, nor by any means be excluded from life obſeruing them. In actions of this kinde our cheifeſt direction is from ſcripture, for nature is no ſufficient teacher what we ſhoulde doe that we may attaine vnto life euerlaſting. The vnſufficiencie of the light of nature is by the light of ſcripture ſo fully and ſo perfectly herein ſupplied, that further light then this hath added there doth not neede vnto that ende. Finally ſome thinges although not ſo required of neceſſitie that to leaue them vndone excludeth from ſaluation, are notwithſtanding of ſo great dignitie and acceptation with God, that moſt ample reward in heauen is laid vp for them. Hereof wee haue no commandement either in nature or ſcripture which doth exact them at
Math, 10, 42, our handes: yet thoſe motiues there are in both which drawe moſt effectually our mindes vnto them. In this kinde there is not the leaſt action but it doth ſome what make to the acceſſory augmentation of our bliſſe. For which cauſe our Sauiour doth plainely witneſſe that there ſhall not bee as much as a cup of colde water beſtowed for his ſake without reward e. Hereupon dependeth whatſoeuer difference there is betweene the ſtates of Saincts in glory: hither we referre what ſoeuer belongeth vnto the higheſt perfection of man by way of ſeruice towardes
Act, 4, 31: God: hereunto that feruor and firſt loue of Chriſtians did bend it ſelfe cauſing
1, Theſ, 2, 7, 9, them to ſell their poſſeſſions, and lay downe the price at the bleſſed Apoſtles feete hereat Saint Paule vndoubtedly did aime in ſo far abridging his owne libertie, and exceeding that which the bond of neceſſarie and enioyned dutie tyed him vnto. Wherefore ſeing that in all theſe ſeuerall kindes of actions there can bee nothing poſſiblie euill which God approueth; and that he approueth much more then he doth commaund; and that his very commandements in ſome kinde, as namely his preceptes comprehended in the lawe of nature, may be otherwiſe knowne then onely by ſcripture; and that to do them, howſoeuer we know them, muſt needes be acceptable in his ſight: let them with whom we haue hitherto diſputed conſi-

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der wel, how it can ſtand with reaſon to make the bare mandate of ſacred ſcripture the onely rule of all good and euill in the actions of mortall men. The teſtimonies of God are true, the teſtimonies of God are perfect, the teſtimonies of God are all ſufficient vnto that end for which they were geuen. Therefore accordingly we do receiue them, we do not thinke that in thē God hath omitted any thing needfull vnto his purpoſe, & left his intent to be accompliſhed by our diuiſinges. What the ſcripture purpoſeth the ſame in all pointes it doth performe. Howbeit that here we ſwarue not in iudgement, one thing eſpecially we muſt obſerue, namely that the abſolute perfection of ſcripture is ſeene by relation vnto that end wherto it tendeth. And euen hereby it commeth to paſſe, that firſt ſuch as imagine the generall and maine drift of the body of ſacred ſcripture not to bee ſo large as it is, nor that God did thereby intend to deliuer, as in truth he doth, a full inſtruction in all things vnto ſaluation neceſſary, the knowledge wherof man by nature could not otherwiſe in this life attaine vnto: they are by this very meane induced, either ſtill to looke for newe reuelations from heauen, or els daungerouſly to ad to the word of God vncertaine tradition, that ſo the doctrine of mans ſaluation may be compleate; which doctrine we conſtantly holde in all reſpectes without any ſuch thing added to be ſo cōpleate, that we vtterly refuſe as much as once to acquaint our ſelues with any thing further. Whatſoeuer to make vp the doctrine of mans ſaluation is added, as in ſupply of the ſcriptures vnſufficiencie, we reiect it. Scripture purpoſing this hath perfectly and fully done it. Againe the ſcope and purpoſe of God in deliuering the holy ſcripture ſuch as do take more largly then behoueth, they on the contrary ſide racking and ſtretching it further thē by him was ment, are drawn into ſundry as great inconueniences. Theſe pretending the ſcriptures perfection inferre thereupon, that in ſcripture all thinges lawfull to be done muſt needes be contained. We compt thoſe thinges perfect which want nothing requiſite for the end wherto they were inſtituted. As therefore God created euerie parte and particle of man exactly perfect, that is to ſay, in all pointes ſufficient vnto that vſe for which he appointed it, ſo the ſcripture, yea, euery ſentence thereof is perfect, and wanteth nothing requiſite vnto that purpoſe for which God deliuered the ſame. So that if hereupon we conclude, that becauſe the ſcripture is perfect therefore all thinges lawful to be done are comprehended in the ſcripture; we may euen as well conclude ſo of euery ſentence, as of the whole ſūme and body thereof, vnleſſe we firſt of all proue that it was the drift, ſcope and purpoſe of almightie God in holy ſcripture to compriſe all thinges which man may practiſe. But admit this, and marke, I beſeech you, what would follow. God in deliuering ſcripture to his Church ſhould cleane haue abrogated amongſt them the lawe of nature; which is an infallible knowledge imprinted in the mindes of all the children of men, whereby both generall principles for directing of humaine actions are comprehended, and concluſions deriued from them, vpon which concluſions groweth in particularitie the choiſe of good and euill in the daylie affaires of this life. Admit this; and what ſhall the ſcripture be but a ſnare and a torment to weake conſciences, filling them with infinite perplexities, ſcrupuloſities, doubts inſoluble, and extreme deſpaires? Not that the ſcripture it ſelfe doth cauſe any ſuch thing (for it tendeth to the cleane contrarie, and the fruite thereof is reſolute aſſurance and certaintie in that it teacheth) but the neceſſities

T.C.l 2 p.6. *Where this doctrine is accuſed of bringing mē to diſpaire, it hath wrong. For when doubting is the way to diſpaire, againſt which this doctrine offereth the remedie, it muſt needes bee that it bringeth comfort and ioy to the conſcience of man.*

ceſſities of this life vrging mẽ to do that which the light of nature, cõmon diſcretion, and iudgement of it ſelfe directeth them vnto; on the other ſide this doctrine teaching them that ſo to doe were to ſinne againſt their owne ſoules, and that they put forth their handes to iniquitie, whatſoeuer they go about and haue not firſt the ſacred ſcripture of God for direction; howe can it chooſe but bring the ſimple a thouſand times to their wits ende: how can it chooſe but vex and amaze them? For in euery action of common life to find out ſome ſentence cleerly and infalliblie ſetting before our eyes what wee ought to doe, (ſeeme wee in ſcripture neuer ſo expert) woulde trouble vs more then wee are aware. In weake and tender mindes wee little knowe what myſerye this ſtrict opinion woulde breede, beſides the ſtoppes it woulde make in the whole courſe of all mens liues and actions. Make all thinges ſinne which we do by direction of natures light & by the rule of cõmon diſcretion without thinking at al vpõ ſcripture; admit this poſition, and parentes ſhall cauſe their children to ſinne, as oft as they cauſe them to do any thing, before they come to yeares of capãcitie and be ripe for knowledge in the ſcripture. Admit this, and it ſhall not bee with maſters, as it was with him in the Goſpell, but ſeruantes being commanded to goe ſhall ſtand ſtill, till they haue their errand warranted vnto them by ſcripture. Which as it ſtandeth with Chriſtian dutie in ſome caſes, ſo in common affaires to require it were moſt vnfit. Two opinions therefore there are concerning ſufficiencie of holy ſcripture, each extremely oppoſite vnto the other, and both repugnant vnto truth. The ſchooles of Rome teach ſcripture to be ſo vnſufficient, as if, except traditions were added, it did not conteine all reuealed and ſupernaturall truth, which abſolutely is neceſſarie for the children of men in this life to know that they may in the next be ſaued. Others iuſtly condemning this opinion growe likewiſe vnto a daungerous extremitie, as if ſcripture did onely containe all thinges in that kinde neceſſary, but al thinges ſimply, and in ſuch ſorte that to doe any thing according to any other lawe were not onely vnneceſſary, but euen oppoſite vnto ſaluation vnlawfull and ſinfull. Whatſoeuer is ſpoken of God or thinges appertaining to God otherwiſe then as the truth is; though it ſeeme an honour, it is an iniurie. And as incredible praiſes geuen vnto men do often abate and impaire the credit of their deſerued commendation; ſo we muſt likewiſe take great heede, leſt in attributing vnto ſcripture more then it can haue, the incredibillitie of that do cauſe euen thoſe thinges which indeed it hath moſt aboundantly to be leſſe reuerendly eſteemed. I therefore leaue it to them ſelues to conſider, whether they haue in this firſt poynt or not ouerſhot

Luc. 7. 8.

them ſelues, which God doth knowe is quickly done,
euen when our meaning is moſt ſincere,
as I am verily perſwaded theirs
in this caſe was.

The third Booke,

Concerning their ſecond aſſertion, that in Scripture *there muſt be of neceſſitie contained a forme of Church-politie the lawes whereof may in no wiſe be altered.*

The matter contayned in this third Booke.

1 *WHat the Church is, and in what reſpect lawes of politie are thereunto neceſſarilye required.*
2 *Whether it be neceſſary that ſome particular forme of Church-politie bee ſet downe in ſcripture, ſith the thinges that belong particularly to any ſuch forme are not of neceſſitie to ſaluation.*
3 *That matters of Church-politie are different from matters of faith & ſaluation and that they themſelues ſo teach which are our reprouers for ſo teaching.*
4 *That hereby we take not from Scripture any thing which thereunto with ſoundnes of truth may be giuen.*
5 *Their meaning who firſt vrged againſt the politie of the Church of England, that nothing ought to be eſtabliſhed in the Church more then is commaunded by the worde of God.*
6 *How great iniurie men by ſo thinking ſhould offer vnto all the Churches of God.*
7 *A ſhift notwithſtanding to maintaine it by interpreting* Commaunded *as though it were ment that greater things only ought to be found ſet downe in Scripture particularly and leſſer framed by the generall rules of Scripture.*
8 *Another deuiſe to defend the ſame by expounding* Commaunded *as if it did ſignifie* grounded *on Scripture and were oppoſed to thinges found out by light of naturall reaſon onely.*
9 *How lawes for the politie of the Church may be made by the aduiſe of men and how thoſe lawes being not repugnant to the word of God are approued in his ſight.*
10 *That neither Gods being the author of laws nor yet his committing of them to Scripture is any reaſon ſufficient to proue that they admit no addition or change.*
11 *Whether Chriſt muſt needes intend lawes vnchangeable altogether, or haue forbidden any where to make any other law then himſelfe did deliuer.*

ALbeit the ſubſtance of thoſe controuerſies whereinto wee haue begun to wade be rather of outward thinges appertayning to the Church of Chriſt, then of any thing wherein the nature and being of the Church conſiſteth, yet becauſe the ſubiect or matter which this poſition concerneth is, *A forme of Church gouernment or Church-politie*, it therefore behoueth vs ſo far forth to conſider the nature of the Church, as is requiſite for mens more cleare and plaine vnderſtanding in what reſpect lawes of

What the Church is, and in what reſpect lawes of politie are thereunto neceſſarilye required.

politie or gouernment are neceſſarie thereunto. That Church of Chriſt which we properly terme his body myſticall, can be but one, neither can that one bee ſenſiblie diſcerned by any man, in as much as the partes thereof are ſome in heauen alreadie with Chriſt, and the reſt that are on earth (albeit their naturall perſons bee viſible) we doe not diſceme vnder this propertie, whereby they are truly and infallibly of that body. Onely our mindes by intellectuall conceipt are able to apprehend, that ſuch a reall body there is, a body collectiue, becauſe it containeth an huge multitude; a body miſticall, becauſe the myſterie of their coniunction is remoued altogether from ſenſe. Whatſoeuer we reade in ſcripture concerning the endleſſe loue and the ſauing mercy, which God ſheweth towardes his Church: the onely proper ſubiect thereof is this Church. Concerning this flocke it is that our Lord and Sauiour hath promiſed, *I giue vnto them eternall life, and they ſhall neuer periſh, neither ſhall any plucke them out of my handes.* They who are of this ſocietie haue ſuch markes and notes of diſtinction from all others, as are not obiect vnto our ſenſe; onely vnto God, who ſeeth their heartes and vnderſtandeth all their ſecret cogitations, vnto him they are cleere and manyfeſt. All men knewe *Nathanäel* to be an Iſraelite. But our Sauiour pearcing deeper, geueth further teſtimonie of him then men coulde haue done, with ſuch certaintie as he did, *Beholde indede an Iſraelite in whome is no guile.* If we profeſſe as Peter did, that we loue the Lorde, and profeſſe it in the hearing of men, charitie is prone to belieue all thinges, and therefore charitable men are likely to thinke we do ſo, as long as they ſee no proofe to the contrary. But that our loue is ſound and ſincere, that it commeth from a *Pure hearte and a good conſcience and a faith vnfained*, who can pronounce, ſauing onely the ſearcher of all mens hartes, who alone intuitiuely doth knowe in this kinde who are his? And as thoſe euerlaſting promiſes of loue, mercy, and bleſſednes belong to the myſticall Church, euen ſo on the other ſide when we reade of any dutie which the Church of God is bound vnto, the Church whome this doth concerne is a ſenſiblie knowne company. And this viſible Church in like ſorte is but one, continued from the firſt beginning of the world to the laſt ende. Which company being deuided into two moieties; the one before, the other ſince the comming of Chriſt: that parte which ſince the comming of Chriſt partly hath embraced, and partly ſhall hereafter embrace the Chriſtian Religion, we terme as by a more proper name the Church of Chriſt. And therefore the Apoſtle affirmeth plainely of all men Chriſtian, that be they Iewes or Gentiles, bond or free, they are al incorporated into one cõpany, they al make but [a] *one bodie.* The vnitie of which viſible body and Church of Chriſt conſiſteth in that vniformitie, which all ſeuerall perſons thereunto belonging haue, by reaſon of that *one Lorde* whoſe ſeruantes they all profeſſe them ſelues, that *one faith* which they al acknowledge, that *one baptiſme* wherewith they are all initiated. The viſible Church of Ieſus Chriſt is therefore one, in outward profeſſion of thoſe thinges, which ſupernaturally appertaine to the very eſſence of Chriſtianitie, and are neceſſarily required in euery particular chriſtiã man. *Let all the houſe of Iſrael know for certaintie*, ſaith Peter, *That God hath made him both Lorde and Chriſt, euen this Ieſus whome you haue crucified.* Chriſtiãs therfore they are not, which cal not him their Maſter & Lord. And from hence it came that firſt at Antioch, and afterwardes throughout the whole world, all that are of the Church viſible were called Chriſtians euen amongſt

Ioh. 10.28.

Ioh. 1.47.
Ioh. 21.15.

1. Tim. 1.5.

[a] Eph. 2.16. that he might reconcile both vnto God in one bodie. Eph. 3.16. that the Gentils ſhould be inheritors alſo and of the ſame body. Vide. Th. p. 3. q. 7. ar 3.

1. Cor. 12.13.

Eph. 4.5.

Act. 2.36.
Ioh. 13.13.
Col. 3.24.
Col. 4.1.

amongſt the Heathen. which name vnto them was precious and glorious, but in the eſtimation of the reſt of the world euen Chriſt Ieſus himſelfe was [a] execrable, for whoſe ſake all men were ſo likewiſe, which did acknowledge him to be their Lord. This himſelfe did foreſee, and therefore armed his Church, to the end they might ſuſtaine it without diſcomfort. *All theſe things they will doe vnto you for my names ſake, yea, the time ſhall come, that whoſoeuer killeth you will thinke that he doth God good ſeruice. Theſe thinges I tell you, that when the hower ſhal come, ye may then call to minde, how I told you before hand of them.* But our naming of Ieſus Chriſt the Lord is not enough to proue vs chriſtiãs, vnles we alſo imbrace that faith, which Chriſt hath publiſhed vnto the world. To ſhew that the angell of Pergamus continued in Chriſtianity, behold, how the ſpirite of Chriſt ſpeaketh, *Thou keepeſt my name, and thou haſt not denied my faith.* Concerning which faith, *The rule thereof* ſaith Tertullian *is one alone, immoueable, and no way poſſible to be better framed anew.* What rule that is he ſheweth by rehearſing thoſe few articles of Chriſtian beliefe. And before Tertullian, Ireney; *The Church though ſcattered through the whole world vnto the vtmoſt borders of the earth, hath from the apoſtles and their diſciples receiued beleefe.* The partes of which beleefe he alſo reciteth in ſubſtance the very ſame with Tertullian, and thereupon inferreth. *This faith the Church being ſpread farre and wide preſerueth, as if one houſe did containe them; theſe things it equally embraceth, as though it had euen one ſoule, one hart, and no more; it publiſheth teacheth and deliuereth theſe things with vniforme conſent, as if God had giuen it but one onelie toung wherewith to ſpeake. He which amongſt the guides of the Church, is beſt able to ſpeake vttereth no more then this, and leſſe then this the moſt ſimple doth not vtter,* when they make profeſſion of their faith. Now although we know the Chriſtian faith and allow of it: yet in this reſpect we are but entring; entered we are not into the viſible Church before our admittance by the doore of baptiſme. Wherfore immediatly vpon the acknowledgemẽt of Chriſtian faith the Eunuch (we ſee) was baptized by Philip; Paule by Ananias; by Peter an huge multitude containing three thouſand ſoules, which being once baptized were rekoned in the number of ſoules added to the viſible Church. As for thoſe vertues that belong vnto morall righteouſnes and honeſtie of life, we doe not mention them, becauſe they are not proper vnto Chriſtian men, as they are Chriſtian, but doe concerne them, as they are men. True it is, the want of theſe vertues excludeth from ſaluation. So doth much more the abſence of inward beleefe of hart; ſo doth deſpaire and lacke of hope; ſo emptines of Chriſtian loue and charitie. But we ſpeake now of the viſible Church, whoſe children are ſigned with this marke, *One Lord, one faith, one baptiſme.* In whomſoeuer theſe thinges are, the church doth acknowledge them for hir children; them onely ſhe holdeth for aliens and ſtrangers, in whom theſe thinges are not found. For want of theſe it is that Saracens, Iewes, and Infidels are excluded out of the bounds of the church. Others we may not denie to be of the viſible church, as long as theſe things are not wanting in them. For apparent it is, that all men are of neceſſitie either Chriſtians, or not Chriſtians. If by externall profeſſion they be Chriſtians, then

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[a] 1. Cor. 1. 23. Vide & Tacitum lib. Annal. 15. Nero quæſitiſſimis pœnis affecit quos per flagitia inuiſos vulgus Chriſtianos appellabat. Auctor nominis eius Chriſtus, qui Tiberio imperitante per procuratorem Pontium Pilatum ſupplicio affectus erat. Repreſſaque in preſens exitiabilis ſuperſtitio rurſus erumpebat, non modo per Iudæam, originem eius mali, ſed per vrbem etiam, quo cuncta vndique atrocia aut pudenda confluunt celebranturque.

Ioh. 15. 21. Ioh. 16. 2. 4.

Apoc. 2. 13. Tertul. de virgin. veland.

Iren. aduerſ. hæc lib. 1. cap. 2. & 3.

Act. 8. 38. Act. 22. 16. Act. 2. 41.

are they of the visible Church of Christ: And Christians by externall profession they are all, whose marke of recognisance hath in it those things, which we haue mentioned, yea, although they be impious idolators, wicked heretiques, persons excommunicable, yea, and cast out for notorious improbitie. Such withall we deny not to be the imps and limmes of Satan, euen as long as they continue such. Is it then possible that the selfe same men should belong both to the synagogue of Satan, and to the Church of Iesus Christ? vnto that church which is his mysticall bodie, not possible, because that bodie consisteth of none but onelie true Israelites, true sonnes of Abraham, true seruantes and saints of God. Howbeit of the visible bodie and Church of Iesus Christ those may be and oftentimes are, in respect of the maine partes of their outward profession, who in regard of their inward disposition of minde, yea, of externall conuersation, yea, euen of some parts of their verie profession are most worthylie both hatefull in the sight of God himselfe, and in the eyes of the sounder partes of the visible Church most execrable. Our Sauiour therefore compareth the kingdome of Heauen to a net, whereunto all which commeth, neither is nor seemeth fish; his Church he compareth vnto a fielde, where tares manifestlie knowne and seene by all men doe growe intermingled with good corne, and euen so shall continue till the finall consummation of the world. God hath had euer and euer shall haue some church visible vpon earth. When the people of God worshipped the calfe in the wildernes; when they adored the brasen serpent; when they serued the Gods of nations; when they bowed their knees to Baall; when they burnt incense and offered sacrifice vnto idoles; true it is, the wrath of God was most fiercelye inflamed against them, their prophetes iustlie condemned them, as an adulterous seede and a wicked generation of miscreantes, which had forsaken the liuing God, and of him were likewise forsaken, in respect of that singular mercie wherewith he kindlie and louinglie embraceth his faithfull children. Howbeit reteining the law of God and the holie seale of his couenant, the sheepe of his visible flocke they continued euen in the depth of their disobedience and rebellion. Wherefore not onelie *amongst* them God alwaies had his church, because he had thousands which neuer bowed their knees to Baall; but whose knees were bowed vnto Baall, euen they were also of the visible church of God. Nor did the prophet so complaine, as if that church had bene quite and cleane extinguished, but hee tooke it as though therer had not beene remaining in the world anie besides him selfe, that carried a true and an vpright hart towardes God with care to serue him according vnto his holie will. For lacke of diligent obseruing the difference, first betweene the Church of God mysticall and visible, then betweene the visible sound and corrupted, sometimes more, sometimes lesse, the ouersightes are neither fewe nor light, that haue beene committed. This deceiueth them, and nothing else, who thinke that in the time of the first worlde the familie of Noah did containe all that were of the visible Church of God. From hence it grewe and from no other cause in the world, that the Africane bishopes in the Councell of Carthage knowing how the administration of Baptisme belongeth onelye to the Church of Christ,

and

Math. 13.47.
Math. 13.24.

Exod. 32.
Psal. 106. 19. 20.
2. King. 18. 4.
Ier. 11. 13.
2. King. 22. 17.
Esa. 57. 3.
Esa. 1. 4.
Esa. 60. 15.

Ier. 23. 11.

1. King. 19. 18.

and ſuppoſing that heretiques which were apparently ſeuered from the ſound beleeuing church could not poſſibly be of the Church of Ieſus Chriſt, thought it vtterly againſt reaſon, that baptiſme adminiſtred by men of corrupt beleefe, ſhould be accounted as a ſacrament. And therefore in maintenance of rebaptization their arguments are built vpon the forealeaged ground, *That heretiques are not at all* any part of the church of Chriſt. *Our Sauiour founded his Church on a rocke and not vpon hereſie; power of baptizing he gaue to his Apoſtles, vnto heretiques he gaue it not. Wherefore they that are without the Church, and oppoſe themſelues againſt Chriſt, doe but ſcatter his ſheepe and flocke, without the Church baptize they cannot.* Fortunat. in Concil. Car. Math. 7, 24. Math. 16. 18. Math 28. 19.

Againe, *Are heretiques Chriſtians or are they not? If they be Chriſtians; wherefore remaine they not in Gods Church? If they be no Chriſtians, how make they Chriſtians? Or to what purpoſe ſhall thoſe wordes of the Lord ſerue, He which is not with me, is againſt me, and, He which gathereth not with me, ſcattereth? Wherefore euident it is, that vpon misbegotten children, and the brood of Antichriſt without rebaptization the holy Ghoſt cannot deſcend.* Secundinus in eodem concilio. Math. 12. 30.

But none in this caſe ſo earneſt as Cyprian, *I know no baptiſme but one, and that in the Church onely, none without the Church, where he that doth caſt out the Diuell hath the Diuell; he doth examine about beleefe whoſe lips and wordes doe breath foorth a canker, the faithleſſe doth offer the articles of faith, a wicked creature forgiueth wickednes, in the name of Chriſt Antichriſt ſigneth, he which is curſed of God bleſſeth, a dead carrion promiſeth life, a man vnpeaceable giueth peace, a blaſphemer calleth vpon the name of God, a prophane perſon doth exerciſe prieſthood, a ſacrilegious wretch doth prepare the altar, and in the necke of all theſe that euill alſo commeth, the Euchariſt a very biſhop of the Diuell doth preſume to conſecrate.* All this was true, but not ſufficient to prooue that heretiques were in no ſort any part of the viſible Church of Chriſt, and conſequently there baptiſme no baptiſme. This opinion therefore was afterwards both condemned by a better aduiſed councell and alſo reuoked by the chiefeſt of the authors thereof themſelues. What is it but only the ſelfe ſame error and miſeonceite, wherewith others being at this day likewiſe poſſeſt, they aske vs where our Church did lurke, in what caue of the earth it ſlept for ſo many hundreds of yeeres together before the birth of Martin Luther? As if we were of opinion that Luther did erect a new church of Chriſt. No the church of Chriſt which was from the beginning is and continueth vnto the end. Of which Church all parts haue not been alwaies equallie ſincere and ſound. In the daies of Abia it plainely appeareth that Iuda was by many degrees more free from pollution then Iſraell, as that ſolemne oration ſheweth wherein he pleadeth for the one againſt the other in this wiſe, *O Ieroboam and all Iſrael heare you me, Haue ye not driuen away the prieſts of the Lord, the ſonnes of Aaron and the Leuits, and haue made you prieſts like the people of nations? whoſoeuer commeth to conſecrate with a younge bullocke and ſeauen Rammes the ſame may be a prieſt of them that are no Gods. But we belong vnto the Lord our God and haue not forſaken him, and the prieſts the ſonnes of Aaron miniſter vnto the Lord euery morning and euery euening burnt offerings and ſweete incenſe, and the bread is ſet in order vpon the pure table, and the candleſticke of gold with the lamps thereof to burne euery euening; for we keepe the watch of the Lord our God, but ye haue forſaken him.* In Saint Paules time the integritie of Rome was famous, Corinth many waies reproued, they of Galatia much more out of square. In Saint Iohns time Epheſus and Smyrna in far

In Conciſio Niceno vide Hieron. dial. aduerſ. Luciferia. 2. Chron. 13.

better

better ſtate then Thyatira & Pergamus were. We hope therfore that to reforme our ſelues, if at anie time we haue done amiſſe, is not to ſeuer our ſelues from the Church we were of before. In the Church we were and we are ſo ſtill. Other difference betweene our eſtate before and now we know none but onelie ſuch, as we ſee in Iuda, which hauing ſome time beene idolatrous became afterwardes more ſoundlie religious by renouncing idolatrie and ſuperſtition. *If Ephraim be ioyned vnto idoles,* the counſell of the prophet is, *Let him alone. If Iſraell play the harlot, let not Iuda ſinne.* If it ſeeme euill vnto you ſaith Ioſua to ſerue the Lord, *chooſe you this day whom ye will ſerue, whether the Gods whom your fathers ſerued beyond the flood, or the Gods of the Amorites in whoſe land ye dwell, but I and mine houſe will ſerue the Lord.* The indiſpoſition therfore of the Church of Rome to reforme hir ſelfe muſt be no ſtay vnto vs from performing our duetie to God, euen as deſire of retaining conformitie with them could be no excuſe if we did not performe that duetie. Notwithſtanding ſo far as lawfullie we may, we haue held, and doe hold fellowſhip with them. For euen as the Apoſtle doth ſaie of Iſraell that they are in one reſpect enimies; but in an other beloued of God: In like ſort with Rome we dare not communicate concerning ſundrie hir groſſe and greeuous abominations, yet touching thoſe maine partes of Chriſtian truth wherein they conſtantlie ſtill perſiſt, we gladly acknowledge them to be of the familie of Ieſus Chriſt, and our hartie prayer vnto God almightie is, that being conioyned ſo farre foorth with them, they may at the length, (if it be his will) ſo yeeld to frame and reforme them ſelues, that no diſtraction remaine in any thing, but that we all may with one hart and one mouth glorifie God the father of our Lord, and Sauiour, whoſe Church we are. As there are which make the Church of Rome vtterly no Church at all, by reaſon of ſo many, ſo greeuous errors in their doctrines: ſo we haue them amongſt vs, who vnder pretence of imagined corruptions in our diſcipline, doe giue euen as hard a iudgement of the Church of England it ſelfe. But whatſoeuer either the one ſort or the other teach, we muſt acknowledge euen heretikes them ſelues to be though a maimed part, yet a part of the viſible Church. If an Infidell ſhould purſue to death an heretique profeſſing Chriſtianitie, only for Chriſtian profeſſion ſake: could we denie vnto him the honor of martyrdome? Yet this honor all men know to be proper vnto the Church. Heretikes therefore are not vtterly cut of from the viſible Church of Chriſt. If the fathers do any where, as oftentimes they doe, make the true viſible Church of Chriſt and hereticall companies oppoſite, they are to be conſtrued as ſeparating heretikes not altogether from the companie of beleeuers, but from the fellowſhip of ſound beleeuers. For where profeſt vnbeleefe is, there can be no viſible Church of Chriſt; there may be, where ſound beleefe wanteth. Infidels being cleane without the Church denie directlie and vtterlie reiect the very principles of Chriſtianity, which heretikes embrace and erre onely by miſconſtruction; whereupon their opinions although repugnant indeed to the principles of Chriſtian faith, are notwithſtanding by them held otherwiſe, and maintained as moſt conſonant thereunto. Wherefore being Chriſtians in regard of the generall truth of Chriſt which they openly profeſſe, yet they are by the fathers euery where ſpoken of, as men cleane excluded out of the right beleeuing Church,

Hoſ. 4. 15. & 17.
Ioſ. 24. 15.
Rom. 11. 28.

Church by reaſon of their particular errors, for which all that are of a ſound beleefe muſt needes condemne them. In this conſideration the anſwere of Calvin vnto Farell concerning the children of popiſh parents doth ſeeme craſed, *Whereas* ſaith he, *you aske our iudgement about a matter, whereof there is doubt amongſt you, whether miniſters of our order profeſſing the pure doctrine of the Goſpell may lawfully admitte vnto baptiſme an infant whoſe father is a ſtranger vnto our Churches, and whoſe mother hath fallen from us vnto the papacie, ſo that both the parents are popiſh; thus we haue thought good to anſwere, namelie, that it is an abſurd thing for us to baptize them, which cannot be reckoned members of our bodie. And ſith papiſts children are ſuch, we ſe not how it ſhould be lawfull to miniſter baptiſme vnto them.* Cal. Epiſt. 149.

Sounder a great deale is the anſwere of the Eccleſiaſticall Colledge of *Geneua* vnto Knox, who hauing ſignified vnto them, that him ſelfe did not thinke it lawfull to baptize baſtards or the children of idolators (he meaneth papiſts) or of parſons excommunicate, till either the parentes had by repentance ſubmitted themſelues vnto the Church, or elſe their children being growen vnto the yeeres of vnderſtanding ſhould come and ſue for their owne baptiſme. *For thus thinking* ſaith he, *I am thought to be ouer ſeuere, and that not onelie by them, which are popiſh, but euen in their iudgements alſo, who thinke themſelues maintainers of the truth.* Epiſt. 285.

Maſter Knoxes ouerſight herein they controlled. Their ſentence was, *whereſoeuer the profeſſion of chriſtianitie hath not vtterlie periſhed and beene extinct, infants are beguiled of their right, if the common ſeale be denied them.* Epiſt. 285.

Which concluſion in it ſelfe is ſound, although it ſeemeth the ground is but weake, whereupon they built it. For the reaſon which they yeeld of their ſentence is this, *The promiſe which God doth make to the faithfull concerning their ſeede reacheth vnto a thouſand generations: it reſteth not onely in the firſt degree of deſcent. Infants therefore whoſe great grand fathers haue beene holie and godlie, doe in that reſpect belong to the bodie of the Church, although the fathers and grandfathers of whom they deſcend haue beene apoſtataes: Becauſe the tenure of the grace of God which did adopt them three hundred yeeres agoe or more in their auncient predeceſſors, cannot with iuſtice be defeated and broken of by their parentes impietie comming betweene.* By which reaſon of theirs although it ſeeme that all the world may be baptiſed, in as much as no man liuing is a thouſand deſcents remoued frō Adam himſelfe, yet we meane not at this time either to vphold or to ouerthrow it: onely their alleaged concluſion we embrace, ſo it be conſtrued in this ſort, *That for as much as men remaine in the viſible Church, till they vtterly renounce the profeſſion of Chriſtianitie, we may not deny vnto infants their right by withholding from them the publike ſigne of holy baptiſme, if they be borne where the outward acknowledgement of Chriſtianitie is not cleane gone and extinguiſhed.* For being in ſuch ſort borne, their parents are within the Church, and therefore their birth doth giue them intereſt and right in baptiſme. Albeit not euery error and fault, yet hereſies and crimes, which are not actually repented of and forſaken, exclude quite and cleane from that ſaluation, which belongeth vnto the miſticall body of Chriſt; yea, they alſo make a ſeparation from the viſible ſound Church of Chriſt; altogether from the viſible Church neither the one nor the other doth ſeuer. As for the act of excommunication it neither ſhutteth out from the miſticall nor cleane from the viſible, but onely from fellowſhip with

with the visible in holy dueties. with what congruitie then doth the Church of Rome denie that hir enemies, whom she holdeth alwaies for heretikes, doe at all appertaine to the Church of Christ, when hir owne do freely grant, that albeit the Pope (as they say) cannot teach heresie nor propound error, he may notwithstanding him selfe worship idols, thinke amisse concerning matters of faith, yea, giue him selfe vnto actes diabolicall, euen being Pope? How exclude they vs from being any part of the Church of Christ vnder the coulor and pretence of heresie, when they cannot but grant it possible euen for him to be as touching his owne personall perswasion heretical who in their opinion not only is of the Church, but holdeth the chiefest place of authoritie ouer the same? But of these things we are not now to dispute. That which alreadie we haue set downe, is for our present purpose sufficient. By the Church therefore in this question we vnderstand no other then only the visible Church. For preseruation of Christianitie there is not any thing more needfull, then that such as are of the visible Church haue mutuall fellowship and societie one with another. In which consideration as the maine body of the sea being one, yet within diuers precinctes hath diuers names; so the Catholike Church is in like sort deuided into a number of distinct societies, euery of which is termed a Church within it selfe. In this sense the Church is alwaies a visible society of men, not an assembly, but a societie. For although the name of the Church be giuen vnto Christian assemblies, although any multitude of Christian men congregated may be tearmed by the name of a Church, yet assemblies properly are rather things that belōg to a Church. Men are assembled for performance of publike actions, which actions being ended, the assembly dissolueth it selfe & is no lōger in being, whereas the Church which was assembled, doth no lesse continue afterwards then before. *Where but three are, and they of the laitie also*, saith Tertullian, *yet there is a Church*, that is to say a Christian assemblie. But a Church, as now we are to vnderstand it, is a societie, that is, a number of men belonging vnto some Christian fellowship, the place and limites whereof are certaine. That wherein they haue communion, is the publike exercise of such dueties, as those mentioned in the Apostles actes, *Instruction*, *Breaking of bread*, and *Prayers*. As therefore they that are of the misticall body of Christ haue those inward graces and vertues, whereby they differ from all others, which are not of the same body; againe whosoeuer appertaine to the visible body of the Church, they haue also the notes of externall profession, whereby the world knoweth what they are: after the same manner euen the seuerall societies of Christian men, vnto euerie of which the name of a Church is giuen with addition betokening seueraltie, as the Church of Rome, Corinth, Ephesus, England, and so the rest, must be indued with correspondent generall properties belonging vnto them, as they are publique Christian societies. And of such properties common vnto all societies Christian it may not be denied, that one of the verie chiefest is Ecclesiasticall Politie. Which word I therefore the rather vse, because the name of gouernement as commonlie men vnderstand it in ordinarie speech, doth not comprise the largenes of that whereunto in this question it is applied. For when we speake of gouernement, what doth the greatest part conceiue thereby, but onely the exercise of superioritie peculiar vnto rulers

Tertul. exhort. ad castit. vbi tres Ecclesia est licet laici.

Act. 2. 47.

and

and guides of others? To our purpoſe therefore the name of Church-politie will better ſerue, becauſe it conteyneth both gouernement and alſo whatſoeuer beſides belongeth to the ordering of the Church in publique. Neyther is any thing in this degree more neceſſarie then Church-politie, which is a forme of ordering the publique ſpirituall affayres of the Church of God.

2 But we muſt note, that he which affirmeth ſpeech to be neceſſarie amongeſt all men throughout the worlde, doth not thereby import that all men muſt neceſſarily ſpeake one kinde of language. Euen ſo the neceſſitie of politie and regiment in all Churches may be helde, without holding anie one certayne forme to bee neceſſarie in them all. Nor is it poſſible that anie forme of politie, much leſſe of politie Eccleſiaſticall, ſhould be good, vnleſſe God himſelfe be author of it. *Thoſe thinges that are not of God* (ſayeth Tertullian) *they can haue no other then Gods aduerſarie for their author*. Be it whatſoeuer in the Church of God, if it be not of God, wee hate it. Of God it muſt bee, eyther as thoſe thinges ſometime were, which God ſupernaturally reuealed, and ſo deliuered them vnto Moſes for gouernement of the common wealth of Iſraell, or elſe as thoſe thinges which men finde out by helpe of that light, which God hath giuen them vnto that ende. The verie lawe of nature it ſelfe, which no man can denie but God hath inſtituted is not of God, vnleſſe that bee of God, whereof God is the author as well this later way as the former. But for as much as no forme of Church-politie is thought by them to be lawfull, or to be of God, vnleſſe God be ſo the author of it, that it be alſo ſet downe in Scripture; they ſhould tell vs plainely, whether their meaning be, that it muſt be there ſet downe in whole or in part. For if wholly, let them ſhewe what one forme of politie euer was ſo. Their owne to be ſo taken out of Scripture they will not affirme, neyther denie they that in parte euen this which they ſo much oppugne is alſo from thence taken. Againe they ſhould tell vs, whether onely that bee taken out of Scripture, which is actually and perticularly there ſet downe; or elſe that alſo, which the generall principles and rules of Scripture potentially conteine. The one waye they cannot as much as pretende, that all the partes of their owne diſcipline are in ſcripture; and the other way their mouthes are ſtopped, when they would pleade againſt all other formes beſides their owne: ſeeing the generall principles are ſuch as doe not perticularly preſcribe any one, but ſundrie may equally be conſonant vnto the generall axiomes of the Scripture. But to giue them ſome larger ſcope and not to cloſe them vp in theſe ſtreightes: let their allegations bee conſidered, wherewith they earneſtly bende themſelues againſt all, which denie it neceſſarie that anie one complete forme of Church-politie ſhould bee in ſcripture. Firſt therefore whereas it hath beene tolde them that matters of fayth, and in generall matters neceſſarie vnto ſaluation are of a different nature from Ceremonies, order, and the kinde of Church-gouernement; that the one are neceſſarie to bee expreſſelie conteyned in the worde of God, or elſe mani-

Whether it be neceſſarie that ſome particular forme of Church-polity be ſet downe in ſcripture: ſith the things that belong particularly vnto any ſuch forme are not of neceſſitie to ſaluation.

Tertul de habitu mul. Ae-muli ſint neceſſe eſt quæ Dei non ſunt.

Rom. 2. 15. Lactan. lib. 6. ca. 8. Ille legis huius inuentor, diſceptator, lator. Cic. 3. de Repub.

Two thinges miſliked, the one, that we diſtinguiſh matters of diſcipline or Church-gouernement from matters of fayth and neceſſarie vnto ſaluation; the other, that wee are iniurious to the ſcripture of God, in abridging the large and rich contents thereof. Their wordes are theſe. *You which diſtinguiſh betweene theſe and ſay, that matters of fayth and neceſſarie vnto ſaluation may not be tollerated in the Church, vnleſſe they be expreſſely conteyned in the*

worde of God, or manifestly gathered, but that ceremonies, order, discipline, gouernement in the Church may not be receiued against the word of God, and consequently may be receiued, if there be no word against them although there be none for them, you (I say) distinguishing or diuiding after this sort doe proue your selfe an euill deuider. As though matters of discipline and kinde of gouernement were not matters necessary to saluation and of fayth. It is no small iniurie which you doe vnto the worde of God to pinne it in so narrow roome, as that it should be able to direct vs but in the principall points of our religion, or as though the substance of religion or some rude and vnfashioned matter of building of the Church were vttered in them, and those thinges were left out that should pertaine to the forme and fashion of it, or as if there were in the scriptures onely to couer the Churches nakednes, and not also chaines, and bracelets, and ringes and other iewels to adorne her and set her out, or that to conclude, there were sufficient to quench her thirst and kill her hunger, but not to minister vnto her a more liberall, and (as it were) a more delitious and daintie dyet. These thinges you seeme to say, when you say that matters necessarie to saluation and of fayth are conteyned in scripture, especially when you oppose these thinges to ceremonyes, order, discipline, and gouernement. T. C. l. 1. p. 26.

festly collected out of the same, the other not so; that it is necessarie not to receiue the one, vnlesse there bee some thing in scripture for them, the other free, if nothing against them may thence be alleaged: although there doe not appeare any iust or reasonable cause to reiect or dislike of this, neuertheless as it is not easie to speake to the contentation of mindes exulcerated in themselues, but that somewhat there will be alwayes which displeaseth, so herein for two thinges we are reproued, the first, is *misdistinguishing*, because matters of discipline and Church-gouernement are (as they say) matters necessarie to saluation and of faith, whereas we put a difference betweene the one and the other; our seconde fault is *iniurious dealing* with the scripture of God as if it conteyned onely the principall pointes of religion, some rude and vnfashioned matter of building the Church, but had left out that which belongeth vnto the forme and fashion of it; as if there were in the scripture no more then only to couer the Churches nakednesse, and not chaines, bracelets, ringes, iewels to adorne her; sufficient to quench her thirst, to kill her hunger, but not to minister a more liberall and (as it were) a more delitious and daintie dyet. In which case our apologie shall not neede to be very long.

That matters of discipline are different from matters of fayth and saluation, and that they themselues so teach which are our reprouers.

3 The mixture of those thinges by speech which by nature are diuided, is the mother of all error. To take away therefore that error which confusion breedeth, distinction is requisite. Rightly to distinguish is by conceipt of minde to seuer thinges different in nature, and to discerne wherein they differ. So that if wee imagine a difference where there is none, because wee distinguish where we should not, it may not bee denyed that we misdistinguish. The onely tryall whether wee doe so, yea or no, dependeth vppon comparison betweene our conceipt and the nature of thinges conceiued. Touching matters belonging vnto the Church of Christ this wee conceiue, that they are not of one sute. Some thinges are *meerely* of fayth, which thinges it doth suffice that we knowe and beleeue; some thinges not onely to be knowne but done, because they concerne the actions of men. Articles about the Trinitie are matters of *meere* fayth, and must bee beleiued. Preceptes concerning the workes of charitie, are matters of action, which to knowe, vnlesse they bee practised, is not enough. This being so cleare to all mens vnderstanding, I somewhat maruayle that they especially should thinke it absurde to oppose *Church-gouernement* a plaine matter of action vnto matters of fayth, who know that themselues deuide the Gospell into *Doctrine* and *Discipline*. For if matters of discipline be rightly by them distinguished from matters of doctrine, why not matters of gouernmẽt by vs

T. C. lib. 2. pag. 1. *We offer to shewe the discipline to be a part of the Gospell.* And againe pag. 5. *I speake of the discipline as of a part of the Gospell* If the discipline bee one part of the Gospell, what other part can they assigne but doctrine to aunswere in diuision to the discipline?

as

as reaſonably ſet againſt matters of faith? Doe not they vnder doctrine comprehende the ſame which we intende by matter of fayth? Doe not they vnder diſcipline compriſe the regiment of the Church? When they blame that in vs, which themſelues followe, they giue mee great cauſe to doubt that ſome other thing then iudgement doth guide their ſpeech. What the Church of God ſtandeth bound to knowe or doe, the ſame in part nature teacheth. And becauſe nature can teach them but onely in part, neyther ſo fully, as is requiſite for mans ſaluation; nor ſo eaſily, as to make the way playne and expedite enough, that many may come to the knowledge of it, and ſo be ſaued; therefore in ſcripture hath God both collected the moſt neceſſarie thinges, that the Schoole of nature teacheth vnto that ende, and reuealeth alſo, whatſoeuer we neyther could with ſafetie be ignorant of, nor at all be inſtructed in, but by ſupernaturall reuelation from him. So that Scripture conteyning all things that are in this kinde any way needefull for the Church, and the principall of the other ſort, this is the next thing wherewith we are charged as with an errour: we teach that whatſoeuer is vnto ſaluation termed *neceſſarie* by waye of excellencie, whatſoeuer it ſtandeth all men vppon to knowe or doe that they may be ſaued, whatſoeuer there is whereof it may truely be ſayde, *This not to beleeue is eternall death and damnation*, or, *This euerie ſoule that will liue muſt duly obſerue*, of which ſort the articles of Chriſtian fayth, and the ſacramentes of the Church of Chriſt are, all ſuch thinges if ſcripture did not comprehende, the Church of God ſhould not be able to meaſure out the length and the breadth of that waye wherein for euer ſhe is to walke, Heretiques and Schiſmatiques neuer ceaſing ſome to abridge, ſome to enlarge, all to peruert and obſcure the ſame. But as for thoſe thinges that are acceſſorie hereunto, thoſe thinges that ſo belong to the way of ſaluation, as to alter them is no otherwiſe to chaunge that way, then a path is chaunged by altering onely the vppermoſt face thereof, which be it layde with grauell, or ſet with graſſe, or paued with ſtone, remayneth ſtill the ſame path; in ſuch thinges becauſe diſcretion may teach the Church what is conuenient; we holde not the Church further tyed herein vnto ſcripture, then that againſt ſcripture nothing be admitted in the Church, leaſt that path which ought alwayes to be kept euen, doe thereby come to be ouer-growen with brambles and thornes. If this be vnſound, wherein doth the point of vnſoundneſſe lye? It is not that wee make ſome thinges *neceſſarie*, ſome thinges *acceſſorie* and appendent onely. For our Lorde and Sauiour himſelfe doth make that difference, by tearming iudgement and mercie, and fidelitie with other thinges of like nature, *the greater and waightier matters of the lawe*. Is it then in that wee accompt *Ceremonyes* (wherein wee doe not compriſe Sacramentes, or anie other the like ſubſtantiall duties in the exerciſe of religion, but onely ſuch externall rites, as are vſually annexed vnto Church-actions) is it an ouerſight, that wee recken theſe thinges and [a] matters of gouernement in the number of thinges acceſſorie, not things neceſſarie in ſuch ſorte as hath beene declared? Let them which therefore thinke vs blameable conſider well their owne wordes.

Matth. 23. 23.

[a] The gouernement of the Church of Chriſt graunted by Fennar himſelfe to be thought a matter of great moment, yet not of the ſubſtance of religion. Againſt D. Bridges. pag. 121. if it be Fen. which was the author of that Booke.

Doe they not plainely compare the one vnto garmentes which couer the body of the Church, the other vnto ringes, braslets, and iewels that onely adorne it, the one to that food which the Church doth liue by, the other to that which maketh her dyet liberall, daintie, and more delitious? Is daintie fare a thing necessary to the sustenance, or to the clothing of the bodie rich attyre? If not, how can they vrge the necessitie of that which themselues resemble by thinges not necessarie? Or by what construction shall any man liuing be able to make those comparisons true, holding that distinction vntrue, which putteth a difference betweene thinges of externall regiment in the Church, and thinges necessarie vnto saluation?

That we do not take from scripture any thing which may be thereunto giuen with soundnes of truth. Arist. pol. li. 1. cap. 8. & Plato in Menex. Arist. lib. 3. de Anima. cap. 45.

4 Now as it can be to nature no iniurie that of her we say the same which diligent beholders of her workes haue obserued, namely that she prouideth for all liuing creatures nourishment which may suffice, that she bringeth foorth no kinde of creature, whereto she is wanting in that which is needefull; although we do not so farre magnifie her exceeding bountie, as to affirme that she bringeth into the world the sonnes of men adorned with gorgeous attire, or maketh costly buildings to spring vp out of the earth for them: So I trust that to mention what the scripture of God leaueth vnto the Churches discretion in some thinges, is not in any thing to impaire the honour which the Church of God yeeldeth to the sacred scriptures perfection. Wherein seeing that no more is by vs mainteyned, then onely that scripture must needes teach the Church whatsoeuer is in such sort necessarie, as hath beene set downe, and that it is no more disgrace for scripture to haue left a number of other thinges free to be ordered at the discretion of the Church, then for nature to haue left it vnto the wit of man to deuise his owne attyre, and not to looke for it as the beastes of the field haue theirs: if neyther this can import, nor any other proofe sufficient bee brought foorth that wee eyther will at any time or euer did affirme the sacred Scripture to comprehende no more then onely those bare necessities; if we acknowledge that as well for particular application to speciall occasions, as also in other manifolde respectes infinite treasures of wisedome are ouer and besides aboundantly to be found in the holy scripture; yea that scarcely there is anye noble parte of knowledge, woorthy the minde of man, but from thence it may haue some direction and light; yea, that although there be no necessitie it should of purpose prescribe any one particular forme of Church-gouernement, yet touching the manner of gouerning in generall the precepts that scripture setteth downe are not fewe, and the examples manie which it proposeth for all Church-gouernors, euen in particularities to followe; yea, that those thinges finally which are of principall waight in the verie particular forme of Church-politie (although not that forme which they imagine, but that which we against them vpholde) are in the selfe same scriptures conteyned: if all this be willingly graunted by vs which are accused to pinne the worde of God in so narrowe roome, as that it should be able to direct vs but in principall poyntes of our religion, or as though the substance of religion or some rude and vnfashioned matter of building the Church were vttered in them, and those thinges left out, that should pertaine to the forme and fashion of it; let the cause of the accused bee referred to the accusors owne conscience

science, and let that iudge whether this accusation be deserued where it hath beene layd.

5 But so easie it is for euery man liuing to erre, and so hard to wrest from any mans mouth the playne acknowledgement of error, that what hath beene once inconsiderately defended, the same is commonly persisted in, as long as wit by whetting it selfe is able to finde out any shift, be it neuer so sleight, whereby to escape out of the handes of present contradiction. So that it commeth herein to passe with men vnaduisedly fallen into errour, as with them whose state hath no ground to vpholde it, but onely the helpe which by subtle conueyance, they drawe out of casuall euentes arising from day to day, till at length they be cleane spent. They which first gaue out, that *Nothing ought to be established in the Church which is not commaunded by the worde of God*, thought this principle plainely warranted by the manifest wordes of the lawe, *Yee shall put nothing vnto the word which I commaunde you, neyther shall you take ought therefrom, that yee may keepe the commaundementes of the Lord your God, which I commaunde you.* Wherefore hauing an eye to a number of rites and orders in the Church of Englande, as marrying with a ring, crossing in the one Sacrament, kneeling at the other, obseruing of festiuall dayes moe then onely that which is called the *Lordes day*, inioyning abstinence at certaine times from some kindes of meate, churching of women after Child-birth, degrees taken by diuines in Vniuersities, sundrie Church-offices, dignities, and callings for which they found no commaundement in the holy scripture, they thought by the one onely stroke of that axiome to haue cut them off. But that which they tooke for an Oracle being sifted was repeld. True it is concerning the worde of God, whether it be by misconstruction of the sense or by falsification of the wordes, wittingly to endeuour that any thing may seeme diuine which is not, or any thing not seeme which is, were playnely to abuse, and euen to falsifie diuine euidence, which iniurie offered but vnto men, is most worthily counted heynous. Which point I wish they did well obserue, with whom nothing is more familiar then to plead in these causes, *The law of God, The worde of the Lorde:* who notwithstanding when they come to alleage what worde and what lawe they meane, their common ordinarie practise is, to quote by-speeches in some historicall narration or other, and to vrge them as if they were written in most exact forme of lawe. What is to adde to the lawe of God if this be not? When that which the word of God doth but deliuer historically, wee conster without any warrant as if it were legally meant, and so vrge it further then wee can prooue that it was intended, doe we not adde to the lawes of God, and make them in number seeme moe then they are? It standeth vs vpon to be carefull in this case. For the sentence of God is heauie against them that wittingly shall presume thus to vse the scripture.

Their meaning who first did pleade against the politie of the Church of England, vrging that *Nothing ought to be established in the Church which is not commaunded by the word of God:* and what scripture they thought they might ground this assertion vpon. Deut. 4. 2. & Deut. 12. 32. Whatsoeuer I commaund you take heede you do it: thou shalt put nothing thereto nor take ought therefrom.

6 But let that which they doe hereby intende be graunted them, let it once stande as consonant to reason, that because wee are forbidden to adde to the lawe of God any thing, or to take ought from it, therefore wee may not for matters of the Church make anie lawe more then is alreadie set downe in scripture: who seeth not what sentence it shall enforce vs to giue against all Churches in the worlde, in as much as there is not one, but hath had many

The same assertion we can not hold without doing wrong vnto all Churches.

thinges eſtabliſhed in it, which though the ſcripture did neuer commaund, yet for vs to condemne were raſhneſſe. Let the Church of God euen in the time of our Sauiour Chriſt ſerue for example vnto all the reſt. In their domeſticall celebration of the paſſouer, which ſupper they deuided (as it were) into two courſes, what ſcripture did giue commaundement that betweene the firſt and the ſecond, he that was Chiefe ſhould put off the reſidue of his garmentes, and keeping on his feaſt-robe onely, waſh the feete of them that were with him? What ſcripture did commaund them neuer to lift vp their handes vnwaſht in prayer vnto God, which cuſtome *Ariſteas* (be the credite of the author more or leſſe) ſheweth wherfore they did ſo religiouſly obſerue? What ſcripture did commaunde the Iewes euery feſtiuall day to faſt till the ſixt houre? The cuſtome both mentioned by *Ioſephus* in the hiſtory of his owne life, and by the wordes of *Peter* ſignifyed. Tedious it were to rippe vp all ſuch things as were in that Church eſtabliſhed, yea by Chriſt himſelfe and by his Apoſtle obſerued, though not commaunded any where in ſcripture.

Ioh. 13.

Cænatorium: de quo Matth. 22. 12. Ibi de cænatorio nuptiali.

Act. 2.

A ſhift to maintain that Nothing ought to be eſtabliſhed in the Church which is not commaunded in the word of God. Namely that commandements are of two ſorts; and that all things lawfull in the Church are commanded if not by ſpeciall precepte, yet by generall rules in the word. 1. Cor. 10. 32. 1. Cor. 14. 40. 1. Cor. 14. 26. Rom. 14. 6. 7.

7 Well, yet a gloſſe there is to colour that paradoxe, and notwithſtanding all this, ſtill to make it appeare in ſhow, not to be altogether vnreaſonable. And therefore till further reply come, the cauſe is helde by a feeble diſtinction: that the commaundements of God being eyther generall or ſpeciall, although there be no expreſſe worde for euery thing in ſpecialtie, yet there are generall commaundements for all things, to the end that euen ſuch caſes as are not in ſcripture particularly mentioned, might not be left to any to order at their pleaſure onely with caution, that nothing be done againſt the word of God: and that for this cauſe the Apoſtle hath ſet down in ſcripture fower generall rules requiring ſuch thinges alone to be receiued in the Church as doe beſt and neereſt agree with the ſame rules, that ſo all thinges in the Church may be appointed, not onely *not againſt*, but *by* and *according* to the worde of God. The rules are theſe *Nothing ſcandalous* or offenſiue vnto any, eſpecially vnto the Church of God. *All things* in order and with ſeemelineſſe; *All vnto edification*; finally *All to the glory of God*. Of which kind how many might be gathered out of the ſcripture, if it were neceſſary to take ſo much paines? Which rules they that vrge minding thereby to proue that nothing may be done in the Church but what ſcripture commaundeth, muſt needes holde that they tye the Church of Chriſt no otherwiſe, then onely becauſe we find them there ſet downe by the finger of the holy ghoſt. So that vnleſſe the Apoſtle by writing had deliuered thoſe rules to the Church we ſhould by obſeruing them haue ſinned, as nowe by not obſeruing them. In the Church of the Iewes is it not graunted, that *the appointment of the hower for dayly ſacrifices*; the building of *Synagogues* throughout the land to heare the word of God and to pray in, when they came not vp to Ieruſalē, the erecting of *Pulpets & Chaires* to teach in, the order of *buriall*, the *rites of marriage* with ſuch like, being matters appertayning to the Church, yet are not any where preſcribed in the law, but were by the Churches diſcretion inſtituted? What then ſhall we thinke? Did they hereby adde to the law & ſo diſpleaſe God by that which they did? None ſo hardly perswaded of them. Doth their law deliuer vnto thē the ſelfe ſame generall rules of thapoſtle, that framing therby their orders they might in that reſpect cleare thēſelues frō doing amiſſe?

T.C.l.1.p.35.

Saint

S. *Paule* would then of likelihood haue cited them out of the Law, which wee ſee he doth not. The truth is, they are rules and Canons of that lawe, which is written in all mens hearts; the Church had for euer no leſſe then now ſtood bound to obſerue them, whether the Apoſtle had mentioned them or no. Seeing therefore thoſe Canons doe bind as they are edicts of nature, which the *Iewes* obſeruing as yet vnwritten, and thereby framing ſuch Churchorders, as in their law were not preſcribed, are notwithſtanding in that reſpect vnculpable; it followeth that ſundrie things may be lawfullie done in the Church, ſo as they be not done againſt the ſcripture, although no ſcripture doe commaund them, but the Church only following the light of reaſon, iudge them to be in diſcretion meete. Secondly vnto our purpoſe and for the queſtion in hand, whether the commaundements of God in ſcripture be generall or ſpeciall, it skilleth not: for if being particularly applyed they haue in regard of ſuch particulars a force conſtraining vs to take ſome one certaine thing of many, and to leaue the reſt, whereby it would come to paſſe, that any other particular but that one being eſtabliſhed, the generall rules them ſelues in that caſe would be broken; then is it vtterly impoſſible that God ſhould leaue any thing great or ſmall free for the Church to eſtabliſh or not. Thirdly if ſo be they ſhall graunt, as they cannot otherwiſe doe, that theſe rules are no ſuch lawes as require anie one particular thing to be done, but ſerue rather to direct the Church in all things which ſhe doth, ſo that free and lawfull it is to deuiſe any Ceremonie, to receyue any order, and to authorize any kinde of regiment, no ſpeciall commandement being thereby violated, and the ſame being thought ſuch by them, to whome the iudgement thereof apperteyneth, as that it is not ſcandalous, but decent, tending vnto edification, and ſetting forth the glorie of God, that is to ſay, agreeable vnto the generall rules of holie ſcripture: this doth them no good in the world for the furtherance of their purpoſe. That which ſhould make for them muſt proue, that men ought not to make lawes for Church regiment, but only keepe thoſe lawes, which in ſcripture they finde made. The plaine intent of the booke of eccleſiaſticall diſcipline is to ſhewe, that men may not deuiſe lawes of Church gouernment, but are bound for euer to vſe and to execute only thoſe, which God him ſelfe hath alreadie deuiſed and deliuered in the ſcripture. The ſelfe ſame drift the Admonitioners alſo had, in vrging that nothing ought to be done in the Church according vnto any lawe of mans deuiſing, but all according to that which God in his word hath commaunded. Which not remembring, they gather out of ſcripture generall rules to be followed in making lawes; and ſo in effect they plainely graunt, that we our ſelues may lawfully make lawes for the Church, and are not bound out of ſcripture only to take lawes already made, as they meant who firſt alleaged that principle whereof we ſpeake. One particular platforme it is which they reſpected, and which they labored thereby to force vpon all Churches; whereas theſe generall rules do not let, but that there may well enough be ſundrie. It is the particular order eſtabliſhed in the Church of *England*, which thereby they did intend to alter, as being not commaunded of God; whereas vnto thoſe generall rules they know we do not defend that we may hold any thing vnconformable. Obſcure it is not what meaning they had, who firſt gaue out that grand axiome: and according vnto

that

that meaning it doth preuaile farre and wide with the fauourers of that part. Demaund of them, wherefore they conforme not them ſelues vnto the order of our Church, and in euerie particular their anſwere for the moſt part is, *Wee finde no ſuch thing commaunded in the word*; Whereby they plainely require ſome ſpeciall commandement for that which is exacted at their hands, neither are they content to haue matters of the Church examined by generall rules and Canons. As therefore in controuerſies betweene vs and the Church of *Rome*, that which they practiſe is many times euen according to the verie groſnes of that which the vulgar ſort conceyueth, when that which they teach to maintaine it, is ſo nice and ſubtle, that hold can verie hardlie be taken thereupon; in which caſes we ſhould do the Church of God ſmall benefit by diſputing with them according vnto the fineſt points of their darke conueiances, and ſuffering that ſenſe of their doctrine to goe vncontrowled, wherein by the common ſort it is ordinarilie receyued and practiſed. So conſidering what diſturbance hath growne in the Church amongſt our ſelues, and how the authors thereof doe commonly build altogether on this as a ſure foundation, *Nothing ought to be eſtabliſhed in the Church which in the word of God is not commaunded*, were it reaſon that we ſhould ſuffer the ſame to paſſe without controwlement in that currant meaning whereby euery where it preuaileth, and ſtay till ſome ſtraunge conſtruction were made thereof, which no man would lightly haue thought on but being driuen thereunto for a ſhift?

Another anſwere in defenſe of the former aſſertion whereby the meaning thereof is opened in this ſort, All Church orders muſt be commaunded in the word, that is to ſay, grounded vpon the word, and made according at the leaſtwiſe vnto the generall rules of holie Scripture. As for ſuch things as are found out by any ſtarre, or light of reaſon, and are in that reſpect receyued ſo they be not againſt the word of God, all ſuch things it holdeth vnlawfullie receyued.

8 The laſt refuge in maynteyning this poſition, is thus to conſter it, *Nothing ought to bee eſtabliſhed in the Church, but that which is commaunded in the Word of God*, that is to ſaye, All Church orders muſt be *grounded vpon the word of God*, in ſuch ſort grounded vpon the word, not that beeing founde out by ſome *ſtarre, or light of reaſon, or learning, or other helpe*, they may bee receyued, ſo they bee not agaynſt the word of God: but according at leaſt wiſe vnto the generall rules of Scripture they muſt be made. Which is in effect as much as to ſay, *Wee knowe not what to ſay well in defenſe of this poſition, and therefore leaſt wee ſhould ſay it is falſe, there is no remedie but to ſay that in ſome ſenſe or other it may be true, if wee could tell how.* Firſt, that Scholie had neede of a verie fauourable Reader and a tractable, that ſhould thinke it plaine conſtruction when to be *commaunded in the word* and *grounded vppon the word* are made all one. If when a man may liue in the ſtate of Matrimonie, ſeeking that good thereby which nature principallie deſireth, hee make rather choice of a contrarye life in regarde of Saint *Paules* iudgement; that whiche hee doth is manifeſtlye *grounded* vppon the worde of God, yet *not commaunded* in his worde, becauſe without breach of anye commaundement he might doe otherwiſe. Secondly whereas no man in iuſtice and reaſon can be reproued for thoſe actions which are framed according vnto that knowne will of God, whereby they are to be iudged; and the will of God which wee are to iudge our actions by, no ſounde Deuine in the world euer denied to be in parte made manifeſt euen by

Ariſt. polit. 1.

1. Cor. 7.

light

light of nature and not by scripture alone; if the Church being directed by the former of these two, which God hath geuen who gaue the other, that man might in different sort be guided by them both, if the Church I say do approue and establish that which thereby it iudgeth meete, and findeth not repugnant to any word or syllable of holie scripture, who shall warrant our presumptuous boldnes controwling herein the Church of Christ? But so it is, the name of the light of nature is made hatefull with men; the *starre of reason and learning* and all other such like helps beginneth no otherwise to be thought of, then if it were an vnluckie Comet, or as if God had so accursed it, that it should neuer shine or giue light in things concerning our duetie any way towards him, but be esteemed as that *starre* in the Reuelation called *wormwood*, which being Apoc.8.10. fallen from heauen, maketh riuers and waters in which it falleth so bitter, that men tasting them, dye thereof. A number there are, who thinke they cannot admire as they ought the power and authoritie of the word of God, if in things diuine they should attribute any force to mans reason. For which cause they neuer vse reason so willinglie as to disgrace reason. Their vsuall and common discourses are vnto this effect. 1. *The naturall man perceiueth not the things* 1.Cor.2.14. *of the spirit of God, for they are foolishnes vnto him, neyther can he know them because they are spirituallie discerned.* 2. It is not for nothing that Saint *Paule* giueth Col.2.8. charge to *beware of philosophie*, that is to say, such knowledge as men by naturall reason attayne vnto. 3. Consider them that haue from time to time opposed them selues against the Gospell of Christ, and most troubled the Church with Heresie. Haue they not alwayes bene great admirers of humane reason? Hath their deepe and profound skill in secular learning made them the more obedient to the truth, and not armed them rather against it? 4. They that feare God will remember how heauie his sentences are in this case, *I will destroy the wisedome of the wise, and will cast away the vnderstan-* 1.Cor.1.19. *ding of the prudent. Where is the wise? Where is the Scribe? Where is the disputer of this world? Hath not God made the wisedome of this world foolishnes? Seeing the world by wisedome knewe not God in the wisedome of God, it pleased God by the foolishnes of preaching to saue beleiuers.* 4. The word of God in it selfe is absolute, exact, and perfect. The word of God is a two edged sword; as for the weapons of naturall reason, they are as the armour of *Saule*, rather cumbersome about the souldier of Christ then needfull. They are not of force to do that, which the Apostles of Christ did by the power of the holie Ghost. *My preaching*, therefore sayth *Paule*, *hath not bene in the intising speech of mans* 1.Cor.2.4. *wisedome, but in playne euidence of the spirit and of power, that your faith might not be in the wisedome of men, but in the power of God.* 6. If I beleiue the Gospell, there needeth no reasoning about it to perswade me: If I doe not beleiue, it must be the spirit of God and not the reason of man that shall conuert my hart vnto him. By these and the like disputes an opinion hath spread it selfe verie farre in the world, as if the waye to be ripe in faith, were to be rawe in wit and iudgement; as if reason were an enimie vnto religion, childish simplicitie the mother of ghostlie and diuine wisedome. The cause why such declamations preuaile so greatly, is, for that men suffer themselues in two respects to be deluded, one is that the wisdome of man being debaced

debaced either in comparison with that of God, or in regard of some speciall thing exceeding the reach and compasse thereof, it seemeth to them (not marking so much) as if simplie it were condemned: another that learning, knowledge, or wisdome falsely so tearmed, vsurping a name whereof they are not worthie, and being vnder that name controlled, their reproofe is by so much the more easily misapplied, and through equiuocation wrested against those things whereunto so pretious names do properly and of right belong. This duly obserued, doth to the former allegations it selfe make sufficient answere. Howbeit for

1 all mens playner and fuller satisfaction, first concerning the inhabilitie of reason to search out and to iudge of things diuine, if they be such as those properties of God and those duties of men towards him, which may be conceiued by attentiue consideration of heauen and earth, we know that of meere naturall men the Apostle testifieth, how they *knewe both God, and the Lawe of God.* Other things of God there be, which are neither so found, nor though they be shewed, can euer be approued without the *speciall* operation of Gods good grace & spirit. Of such things sometime spake the Apostle S. *Paul*, declaring how Christ had called him to be a witnes of his death and resurrection from the dead, according to that which the Prophets and *Moses* had foreshewed. *Festus* a meere naturall man, an infidell, a Romane, one whose eares were vnacquainted with such matter, heard him, but could not reach vnto that wherof he spake; the suffering and the rising of Christ from the dead he reiecteth as idle superstitious phancies not worth the hearing. The Apostle that knew them by the spirit, & spake of them with power of the holie Ghost, seemed in his eyes but learnedly mad. Which example maketh manifest what elswhere the same Apostle teacheth, namely that nature hath need of grace, wherevnto I hope, we are not opposite, by holding that grace hath vse of nature. 2. Philosophie we are warned to take heed of: Not that philosophie, which is true and sound knowledge attained by naturall discourse of reason, but that philosophie, which to bolster heresie or error casteth a fraudulent shew of reason vpō things which are indeed vnreasonable, and by that meane as by a stratageme spoileth the simple which are not able to withstād such cunning. *Take heed least any spoile you through philosophie and vain deceipt.* He that exhorteth to beware of an enimies policie doth not giue councell to be impolitique, but rather to vse all prouident foresight and circumspection, least our simplicitie be ouerreacht by cunning sleights. The way not to be inuegled by them that are so guilefull through skill, is thorowly to be instructed in that which maketh skilfull against guile, and to be armed with that true and sincere philosophie, which doth teach, against that deceiptfull and vaine, which spoileth. 3. But many great Philosophers haue bene verie vnsound in beliefe. And many sound in beliefe, haue bene also great Philosophers. Could secular knowledge bring the one sort vnto the loue of Christian faith? Nor Christian faith the other sort out of loue with secular knowledge. The harme that heretiques did they did it vnto such, as were vnable to discerne between sound and deceiptfull reasoning; and the remedie against it was euer the skill which the auncient Fathers had to discrie and discouer such deceipt. In so much that *Cresconius* the heretique complained greatly of S. *Augustine*, as being too full of logicall subtilties. Heresie preuaileth only by a counterfeite shew of reason; whereby notwithstanding it becommeth inuincible

Rom. 1. 21. verse 31.

Act. 25. 19.

Act. 26. 24.

1. Cor. 2. 14.

2

Col. 2. 8.

3

cible, vnleſſe it be conuicted of fraude by manifeſt remonſtrance cleerely true and vnable to be withſtood. When therefore the Apoſtle requireth habilitie to conuict Heretiques, can we thinke he iudgeth it a thing vnlawfull, and not rather needfull to vſe the principall inſtrument of their conuiction, the light of reaſon? It may not be denied but that in the Fathers writings there are ſundrie ſharpe inuectiues againſt Heretiques, euen for their verie philoſophicall reaſonings. The cauſe whereof *Tertullian* confeſſeth, not to haue bene any diſlike conceyued againſt the kinde of ſuch reaſonings, but the end. *We may* (ſaith he) *euen in matters of God be made wiſer by reaſons drawne from the publique perſwaſions, which are grafted in mens mindes, ſo they be vſed to further the truth, not to bolſter error, ſo they make with, not againſt that which God hath determined. For there are ſome things euen knowne by nature, as the immortalitie of the ſoule vnto many, our God vnto all. I will therefore my ſelfe alſo vſe the ſentence of ſome ſuch as Plato, pronouncing euery ſoule immortall. I my ſelfe too will vſe the ſecret acknowledgment of the communaltie, bearing record of the God of Gods. But whē I heare men alleage, That which is dead is dead; and, While thou art aliue be aliue; and, After death an end of all euen of death it ſelfe: then will I call to minde both that the heart of the people with God is accompted duſt, and that the very wiſdome of the world is pronounced follie. If then an heretique flye alſo vnto ſuch vitious popular and ſecular conceipts, my anſwer vnto him ſhall be, Thou heretique auoide the heathen; although in this ye be one, that ye both bely God, yet thou that doeſt this vnder the name of Chriſt, differeſt from the heathen, in that thou ſeemeſt to thy ſelfe a chriſtian. Leaue him therefore his conceipts, ſeeing that neither will he learne thine. Why doeſt thou hauing ſight truſt to a blinde guide; thou which haſt put on Chriſt, take raiment of him that is naked? If the Apoſtle haue armed thee, why doeſt thou borrow a ſtraungers ſhield? Let him rather learne of thee to acknowledge, then thou of him to renounce the reſurrection of the fleſh.* In a word, the Catholique Fathers did good vnto all by that knowledge, whereby heretiques hindering the truth in many, might haue furthered therwith themſelues, but that obſtinatlie following their owne ambitious or otherwiſe corrupted affections, in ſtead of framing their wills to maynteyne that which reaſon taught, they bent their wits to finde how reaſon might ſeeme to teach that which their wills were ſet to maynteyne. For which cauſe the Apoſtle ſayth of them iuſtly, that they are for the moſt part αὐτοκατάκριτοι, men condemned euen in and of them ſelues. For though they be not all perſwaded, that it is truth which they withſtand, yet that to be error which they vphold, they might vndoubtedly the ſooner a great deale attaine to know, but that their ſtudie is more to defend what once they haue ſtood in, then to finde out ſincerely and ſimply what truth they ought to perſiſt in for euer. 4. There is in the world no kinde of knowledge, whereby any part of truth is ſeene, but we iuſtlie accompt it pretious, yea that principall truth, in compariſon whereof all other knowledge is vile, may receiue from it ſome kinde of light. Whether it be that Egyptian and Chaldæan wiſedome Mathematicall, wherewith *Moſes* and *Daniell* were furniſhed; or that naturall, morall, and ciuill wiſdome, wherein *Salomon* excelled all men; or that rationall and oratoriall wiſedome of the Græcians, which the Apoſtle Saint *Paule* brought from *Tarſus*; or that Iudaicall, which he learned in *Ieruſalem* ſitting at the feet of *Gamaliell*, to detract frō the dignitie thereof, were to iniurie euen God himſelfe, who being that light which none can approch vnto, hath ſent out theſe lights wherof we are capable, euē as ſo many ſparkls reſēbling the bright foūtain from

Tit. 1. 9. 11.

Tertul. de Reſur. carnis.

Tit. 3. 11.

4

Act. 7. 22. Dan. 1. 17. 1. Kin. 4. 29. 30.

Act. 22. 3.

from which they riſe. But there are that beare the title of wiſe men and Scribes and great diſputers of the world, and are nothing in deede leſſe then what in ſhewe they moſt appeare. Theſe being wholly addicted vnto their owne wills, vſe their wit, their learning, and all the wiſdome they haue, to maintaine that which their obſtinate harts are delighted with, eſteeming in the phrentique error of their mindes the greateſt madnes in the world to be wiſdome, and the higheſt wiſedom fooliſhnes. Such were both *Iewes* and *Græcians*, which profeſſed the one ſort legall, and the other ſecular skill, neither enduring to be taught the myſterie of Chriſt; vnto the glorie of whoſe moſt bleſſed name, who ſo ſtudie to vſe both their reaſon and all other gifts as well which nature as which grace hath indued thē with, let them neuer doubt but that the ſame God who is to deſtroy & confound vtterly that wiſdome falſely ſo named in others, doth make reckoning of them as of true Scribes, Scribes by wiſdome inſtructed to the kingdome of heauen, not Scribes againſt that kingdom hardned in a vaine opinion of wiſdom, which in the end being proued folly, muſt needs periſh, true vnderſtāding, knowledge, iudgemēt & reaſon continuing for euermore. 5. Vnto the word of God being in reſpect of that end, for which God ordeined it, perfect, exact, and abſolute in it ſelfe, we do not add reaſon as a ſupplement of any maime or defect therin, but as a neceſſary inſtrument, without which we could not reape by the ſcriptures perfection, that fruite & benefit which it yeeldeth. The word of God is a twoedged ſword, but in the hāds of reaſonable men; & reaſon as the weapon that ſlewe *Goliath*, if they be as *Dauid* was, that vſe it. Touching the Apoſtles he which gaue them from aboue ſuch power for miraculous confirmation of that which they taught, indued thē alſo with wiſdome frō aboue to teach that which they ſo did confirme. Our Sauiour made choice of 12. ſimple & vnlearned men, that the greater their lack of naturall wiſdom was, the more admirable that might appeare, which God ſupernaturally indued thē with frō heauen. Such therfore as knew the poore & ſilly eſtate wherin they had liued, could not but wonder to heare the wiſdom of their ſpeech, and be ſo much the more attentiue vnto their teaching. They ſtudied for no toong, they ſpake with all; of thēſelues they were rude, & knew not ſo much as how to premeditate, the ſpirit gaue them ſpeech & eloquēt vtterance. But becauſe with S. *Paul* it was otherwiſe then with the reſt, in as much as he neuer conuerſed with Chriſt vpō earth, as they did, and his education had bin ſcholaſticall altogether, which theirs was not; hereby occaſion was taken by certaine malignants, ſecretly to vndermine his great authoritie in the Church of Chriſt, as though the Goſpell had bin taught him by others then by Chriſt himſelfe, and as if the cauſe of the *Gentiles* cōuerſion & beliefe through his meanes had bin the learning and skill which he had by being conuerſant in their books, which thing made thē ſo willing to heare him, & him ſo able to perſwade them, wheras the reſt of th' Apoſtls preuailed, becauſe God was with them, & by miracle frō heauen confirmed his word in their mouths. They were mightie in *deeds*: As for him being abſent his writings had ſome force, in preſence his power not like vnto theirs. In ſumme, cōcerning his preaching, their very by word was, Λόγος ἐξουθενημένος, *Addle ſpeech, Emptie talke*. His writings full of great words, but in the power of miraculous operations his preſence not like the reſt of the Apoſtls. Hereupon it riſeth that S. *Paul* was ſo often driuen to make his apologies. Herevpon it riſeth that whatſoeuer time he had ſpēt in the ſtudie of humane learning, he

Matth. 13. 52.

5

Hebr. 4. 12.

2. Cor. 10. 10.

he maketh earneſt proteſtation to them of Corinth, that the Goſpell which hee had preached amongſt them, did not by other meanes preuaile with them, then with others the ſame Goſpel taught by the reſt of the Apoſtles of Chriſt. *My preaching*, ſaith he, *hath not bene in the perſwaſiue ſpeeches of humaine wiſdome, but in demonſtration of the ſpirit & of power, that your faith may not be in the wiſdome of men, but in the power of God.* what is it which the Apoſtle doth here denie? Is it denied that his ſpeech amongſt them had bene *perſwaſiue*? No, for of him the ſacred hiſtorie plainly teſtifieth, that for the ſpace of a yeare & a halfe he ſpake in their Synagogue euery Saboth & *perſwaded* both Iewes and Græcians. How then is the ſpeech of men made perſwaſiue? Surely there can be but two waies to bring this to paſſe, the one humaine, the other diuine. Either S. Paul did *onely* by arte and naturall induſtrie cauſe his owne ſpeech to be credited, or els God by myracle did authorize it, and ſo bring credit thereunto, as to the ſpeech of the reſt of the Apoſtles. Of which two the former he vtterly denieth. For why? If the preaching of the reſt had bene effectuall by miracle, his *onely* by force of his owne learning? ſo great inequalitie betwene him & the other Apoſtles in this thing had bene enough to ſubuert their faith. For might they not with reaſon haue thought, that if he were ſent of God as well as they, God would not haue furniſhed thē & not him with the power of the holy Ghoſt? Might not a great parte of them being ſimple happely haue feared, leaſt their aſſent had bene cunningly gotten vnto his doctrine, rather through the weaknes of their owne wits, then the certaintie of that truth which he had taught them? How vnequall had it bene that al beleeuers through the preaching of other Apoſtles ſhould haue their faith ſtrongly built vpon the euidence of Gods owne miraculous approbation, & they whō he had cōuerted ſhould haue their perſwaſion built only vpon his skill & wiſdome who perſwaded them? As therefore calling from men may authorize vs to teach, although it could not authorize him to teach as other Apoſtles did; ſo although the wiſdome of man had not bene ſufficient to inable him ſuch a teacher as the reſt of the Apoſtls were, vnleſſe Gods miracles had ſtrengthned both the one and the others doctrine: yet vnto our habilitie both of teaching & learning the truth of Chriſt, as we are but meere Chriſtiā men, it is not a little which the wiſdome of man may adde. 6. Yea whatſoeuer our harts be to God & to his truth, beliefe we or be we as yet faithleſſe, for our conuerſion or confirmation the force of naturall reaſon is great. The force herof vnto thoſe effects is nothing without grace. What then? To our purpoſe it is ſufficient that whoſoeuer doth ſerue honor & obey God, whoſoeuer beliefeth in him, that mā would no more do this then innocents & infants doe, but for the light of naturall reaſon that ſhineth in him, and maketh him apt to apprehend thoſe things of God which being by grace diſcouered, are effectuall to perſwade reaſonable mindes and none other, that honour obedience & credit belong of right vnto God. No man commeth vnto God to offer him ſacrifice, to poure out ſupplications & prayers before him, or to do him any ſeruice, which doth not firſt beliefe him both to be, & to be a rewarder of them, who in ſuch ſorte ſeeke vnto him. Let men bee taught this either by reuelation from heauen, or by inſtruction vpon earth, by labor ſtudie and meditation, or by the onely ſecret inſpiration of the holy Ghoſt; whatſoeuer the meane be they know it by, if the knowledge thereof were poſſible without diſcourſe of naturall reaſon, why ſhould none be foūd capable therof but only mē, nor men til ſuch time as they come vnto ripe & full habilitie to worke by

1. Cor. 2. 4.

Act. 18. 11. v. 4

6

Heb. 11. 6.

reaſõable vnderſtanding? The whole drift of the ſcripture of God what is it but only to teach *Theologie? Theologie* what is it but the ſcience of thinges diuine? What ſcience can be attained vnto without the help of natural diſcourſe & reaſon? *Iudge you of that which I ſpeake*, ſaith the Apoſtle. In vaine it were to ſpeake any thing of God, but that by reaſon men are able ſome what to iudge of that they heare, & by diſcourſe to diſcerne how cõſonant it is to truth. Scripture indeed teacheth things aboue nature, things which our reaſon by it ſelfe coulde not reach vnto. Yet thoſe things alſo we beleeue, knowing by reaſon that the ſcripture is the word of God. In the preſence of *Feſtus* a Romane, and of King Agrippa a Iewe, S. Paul omitting the one, who neither knew the Iewes religion, nor the bookes wherby they were taught it, ſpeaketh vnto the other of things foreſhewed by Moſes & the Prophets & performed in Ieſus Chriſt; intending thereby to proue him ſelfe ſo vniuſtly accuſed, that vnleſſe his iudges did cõdemne both Moſes & the Prophets, him they coulde not chooſe but acquite, who taught only that fulfilled, which they ſo long ſince had foretolde. His cauſe was eaſie to be diſcerned; what was done their eyes were witneſſes; what Moſes & the Prophets did ſpeake their bookes could quickly ſhew; it was no hard thing for him to cõpare them, which knewe the one, & beleeued the other. *King Agrippa beleeueſt thou the Prophets? I know thou doſt.* The queſtion is how the bookes of the Prophets came to be credited of King Agrippa. For what with him did authorize the Prophetes, the like with vs doth cauſe the reſt of the ſcripture of God to be of credit. Becauſe we maintaine that in ſcripture we are taught all things neceſſary vnto ſaluation, hereupon very childiſhly it is by ſome demaunded, what ſcripture can teach vs the ſacred authoritie of the ſcripture, vpõ the knowledge wherof our whole faith and ſaluation dependeth. As though there were any kind of ſcience in the world which leadeth men into knowledge without preſuppoſing a number of thinges already knowne. No ſcience doth make knowne the firſt principles whereon it buildeth, but they are alwaies either taken as plaine and manifeſt in them ſelues, or as proued and graunted already, ſome former knowledge hauing made them euident. Scripture teacheth al ſupernaturally reuealed truth, without the knowledge wherof ſaluation cannot be attayned. The maine principle whereupon our beliefe of all things therin contayned dependeth is, that the ſcriptures are the oracles of God him ſelfe. This in it ſelfe wee cannot ſay as euident. For then all men that heare it would acknowledge it in hart, as they do when they heare that *euery whole is more then any parte of that whole*, becauſe this in it ſelfe is euident. The other we knowe that all do not acknowledge when they heare it. There muſt be therefore ſome former knowledge preſuppoſed which doth herein aſſure the hartes of all beleeuers. Scripture teacheth vs that ſauing truth which God hath diſcouered vnto the world by reuelation, & it preſumeth vs taught otherwiſe that it ſelf is diuine & ſacred. The queſtiõ then being by what meanes we are taught this, ſome anſwere that to learne it we haue no other way then onely tradition, as namely that ſo we beleeue becauſe both we from our predeceſſors & they from theirs haue ſo receiued. But is this enough? That which al mens experience teacheth them may not in any wiſe be denied. And by experience we all know, that the firſt outward motiue leading men ſo to eſteeme of the ſcripture is the authority of Gods Church. For whẽ we know the whole Church of God hath that opinion of the ſcripture, we iudge it euen at the firſt an impudẽt thinge for any man bredde and brought vp in the Church to bee of a contrarye

1. Cor. 10. 15.

Act. 26. 22.

minde

contrary mind without cauſe. Afterwards the more we beſtow our labor in reading or hearing the miſteries thereof, the more we find that the thing it ſelfe doth anſwer our receiued opinion concerning it. So that the former inducement preuailing ſomewhat with vs before, doth now much more preuaile, when the very thing hath miniſtred farther reaſon. If Infidels or Atheiſts chance at any time to call it in queſtion, this giueth vs occaſion to ſift what reaſon there is, whereby the teſtimony of the church cõcerning ſcripture, & our own perſwaſion which ſcripture it ſelfe hath confirmed, may be proued a truth infallible. In which caſe the ancient fathers being often conſtreined to ſhew, what warrant they had ſo much to relie vpõ the ſcriptures, endeuored ſtill to maintein the autority of the books of God by arguments ſuch as vnbeleeuers thẽ ſelues muſt needs thinke reaſonable, if they iudged therof as they ſhould. Neither is it a thing impoſſible or greatly hard, euen by ſuch kind of proofes ſo to manifeſt & cleere that point, that no mã liuing ſhalbe able to deny it, without denying ſome apparent principle ſuch as al men acknowledge to be true. Wherefore if I beleeue the goſpel, yet is reaſon of ſingular vſe, for that it confirmeth me in this my beleefe the more: If I doe not as yet beleeue, neuertheles to bring me to the number of beleeuers except reaſõ did ſomwhat help, and were an inſtrument which God doth vſe vnto ſuch purpoſes, what ſhould it boote to diſpute with Infidels or godles perſons for their conuerſion & perſwaſion in that point? Neither can I thinke that when graue & learned men do ſometime hold, that of this principle there is no proofe but by the teſtimony of the ſpirit, which aſſureth our harts therin, it is their meaning to exclude vtterly all force which any kind of reaſon may haue in that behalfe; but I rather incline to interpret ſuch their ſpeeches, as if they had more expreſly ſet downe, that other motiues & inducements, be they neuer ſo ſtrong & cõſonant vnto reaſon, are notwithſtanding vneffectual of thẽ ſelues to worke faith concerning this principle, if the ſpecial grace of the holy ghoſt cõcur not to the inlightning of our minds. For otherwiſe I doubt not but men of wiſedome & iudgement wil grant, that the Church, in this point eſpecially, is furniſhed with reaſon, to ſtop the mouthes of hir impious aduerſaries; and that as it were altogether bootles to alledge againſt thẽ, what the ſpirit hath taught vs: ſo likewiſe that euen to our own ſelues it needeth caution and explication how the teſtimony of the ſpirit may be diſcerned, by what means it may be knowen, leſt mẽ thinke that the ſpirit of god doth teſtifie thoſe things which the ſpirit of error ſuggeſteth. The operations of the ſpirit, eſpecially theſe ordinary which be commõ vnto all true chriſtian men, are as we know, things ſecret & vndiſcernable euen to the very ſoule where they are, becauſe their nature is of another & an higher kind then that they cã be by vs perceiued in this life. Wherefore albeit the ſpirit lead vs into all truth & direct vs in all goodnes, yet bicauſe theſe workings of the ſpirit in vs are ſo priuy & ſecret, we therfore ſtand on a plainer ground, when we gather by reaſon frõ the qualitie of things beleeued or done, that the ſpirit of God hath directed vs in both; then if we ſettle our ſelues to beleeue or to do any certaine particular thing, as being moued thereto by the ſpirit. But of this enough. To goe frõ the books of ſcripture to the ſenſe & meaning therof, bicauſe the ſentences which are by the Apoſtles recited out of the Pſalmes to proue the reſurrectiõ of Ieſus chriſt, did not proue it, if ſo be the prophet Dauid meant thẽ of himſelf, this expoſitiõ therfore they plainly diſproue, & ſhew by manifeſt reaſon, that of Dauid the words of Dauid could Act. 13. 36. & cap. 2. 34.

not possibly be meant. Exclude the vse of naturall reasoning about the sense of holy scripture concerning the articles of our faith, and then that the scripture doth concerne the articles of our faith who can assure vs? That which by right exposition buildeth vp Christian faith, being misconstrued breedeth error: betweene true and false construction, the difference reason must shew. Can Christian men
1.Pet.3.15. performe that which Peter requireth at their hands; is it possible they should both beleeue and be able, without the vse of reason, to render a reason of their beleefe, a reason sound and sufficient to answer them that demande it, be they of the same faith with vs or enemies thereunto? may we cause our faith without reason to appeare reasonable in the eies of men? This being required euen of learners in the schoole of Christ, the duty of their teachers in bringing them vnto such ripenes must needes be somewhat more, then only to read the sentences of scripture, and then paraphrastically to scholie them, to vary thē with sundry formes of speech, without arguing or disputing about any thing which they containe. This method of teaching may commend it selfe vnto the world by that easines & facilitie which is in it: but a law or a patterne it is not, as some do imagine, for all men to follow that will doe good in the Church of Christ. Our Lord and Sauiour him selfe did hope by disputation to doe some good, yea by disputation not onely of but against the truth, albeit with purpose for the truth. That Christ should be the sonne of Dauid was truth; yet against this truth our Lord in
Math.22.43. the Gospell obiecteth, If Christ be the sonne of Dauid how doth Dauid call him Lord? There is as yet no way knowne how to dispute or to determine of things disputed without the vse of naturall reason. If we please to adde vnto Christ their example, who followed him as neere in all things as they could; the sermon of Paule and Barnabas set downe in the Actes, where the people would haue offered vnto them sacrifice, in that sermon what is there but onely naturall reason to disproue their act? *O men why doe you these things? We are men euen subiect*
Act.14.15. *to the selfe same passions with you: we preach vnto you to leaue these vanities and to turne to the liuing God, the God that hath not left himselfe without witnes, in that he hath done good to the world, giuing raine and fruitfull seasons, filling our hart with ioy and gladnes.* Neither did they onely vse reason in winning such vnto Christian beleefe as were yet thereto vnconuerted, but with beleeuers them selues they followed the selfe same course. In that great and solemne assembly of beleeuing Iewes
Act.15. how doth Peter proue that the Gentiles were partakers of the grace of God as well as they, but by reason drawne from those effectes, which were apparently knowne amongst them? *God which knoweth harts hath borne them witnes in giuing vnto them the holy Ghost as vnto vs.* The light therefore, which the starre of naturall reason & wisedome casteth, is too bright to be obscured by the mist of a word or two vttered to diminish that opinion which iustly hath beene receiued concerning the force and vertue thereof, euen in matters that touch most neerelie the principall duties of men and the glory of the eternall God. In all which hitherto hath beene spoken touching the force and vse of mans reason in thinges diuine, I must craue that I be not so vnderstood or construed, as if any such thing by vertue thereof could be done without the aide and assistance of Gods most blessed spirite. The thing we haue handled according to the question mooued about it; which question is, whether the light of reason be so pernitious that in

deuising

deuising lawes for the church men ought not by it to search what may be fit and conuenient. For this cause therfore we haue endeuoured to make it appeare how in the nature of reason it selfe there is no impediment, but that the selfe same spirit, which reuealeth the things that god hath set down in his law, may also be thought to aid and direct men in finding out by the light of reason what lawes are expedient to be made for the guiding of his Church, ouer and besides them that are in scripture. Herein therfore we agree with those men by whom humane lawes are defined to be ordinances, which such as haue lawfull authority giuen them for that purpose, do problably draw from the lawes of nature & God, by discourse of reason, aided with the influence of diuine grace. And for that cause it is not said amisse touching Ecclesiasticall canons, that by *instinct of the holy Ghost they haue bene made, and consecrated by the reuerend acceptation of all the world.*

c. Violatores. 25. q. 1.

9 Lawes for the Church are not made as they should be, vnles the makers follow such direction as they ought to be guided by. Wherin that scripture standeth not the Church of God in any stead, or serueth nothing at al to direct, but may be let passe as needles to be consulted with, we iudge it prophane, impious, and irreligious to thinke. For although it were in vaine to make lawes which the scripture hath already made, bicause what we are already there commanded to do, on our parts there resteth nothing but only that it be executed: yet because both in that which we are commanded, it conterneth the duty of the Church by law to prouide, that the loosenes and slacknes of men may not cause the commandements of God to be vnexecuted; and a number of things there are for which the scripture hath not prouided by any law, but left them vnto the carefull discretion of the Church; we are to search how the Church in these cases may be well directed to make that prouision by lawes which is most conueniem and fit. And what is so in these cases, partely scripture and partly reason must teach to discerne. Scripture comprehending examples and lawes, lawes some natural and some positiue: examples there neither are for al cases which require lawes to be made, and when there are, they can but direct as precedents onely. Naturall lawes direct in such sorte, that in all thinges we must for euer doe according vnto them; positiue so, that against them in no case we may doe any thing, as long as the will of God is that they shoulde remaine in force. Howbeit when scripture doth yeelde vs precedents, how far forth they are to bee followed; when it giueth naturall lawes, what particular order is thereunto most agreeable; when positiue, which waye to make lawes vnrepugnant vnto them; yea though all these shoulde want, yet what kind of ordinances woulde be moste for that good of the Church which is aimed at, al this must be by reason founde out. And therefore *To refuse the conduct of the light of nature*, saith Saint Augustine, *is not folly alone but accompanied with impietie*. The greatest amongst the Schoole diuines studying how to set downe by exact definition the nature of an humaine lawe (of which nature all the Churches constitutions are) found not which way better to do it then in these wordes. *Out of the precepts of the lawe of nature as out of certaine commō & vndemonstrable principles, mans reason doth necessarily proceede vnto certaine more particular determinations, which particular determinations being found out according vnto the reason of man, they haue*

How lawes for the regiment of the Church may be made by the aduise of mē following therein the light of reason, and how those lawes being not repugnant to the worde of God are approued in his sight.

Luminis naturalis dictatum repellere non modo stultum est sed & impium Aug. 4. de trin. c. 6.

Th. Aqui. 12. q. 91. art. 3. Ex præceptis quasi ex quibusdam principiis communibus & indemōstrabilibus, necesse est quod ratio humana procedat ad aliqua magis particulariter disponenda. Et istæ particulares dispositiones adinuentæ secundum rationem humanam dicuntur leges humanæ, obseruatis aliis conditionibus quæ pertinent ad rationem legis.

the nature of humaine lawes, ſo that ſuch other conditions be therein kept as the making of lawes doth require, that is, if they whoſe authoritie is thereunto required do eſtabliſh and publiſh them as lawes. And the truth is, that all our controuerſie in this cauſe concerning the orders of the Church is, what particulars the Church may appoint. That which doth finde them out is the force of mans reaſon. That which doth guide and direct his reaſon is firſt the generall law of nature, which law of nature and the morall law of ſcripture are in the ſubſtance of law all one. But becauſe there are alſo in ſcripture a number of lawes particular and poſitiue, which being in force may not by any law of man be violated: we are in making lawes to haue thereunto an eſpeciall eie. As for example, it might perhaps ſeeme reaſonable vnto the Church of God following the generall lawes concerning the nature of mariage to ordaine in particular, that cooſen germaines ſhall not marry. Which law notwithſtanding ought not to be receiued in the Church, if there ſhould be in ſcripture a lawe particular to the contrary forbidding vtterly the bonds of mariage to be ſo far forth abridged. The ſame Thomas therefore whoſe definition of humane lawes we mentioned before, doth adde thereunto this caution concerning the rule and canon whereby to make them: *Humane lawes are meaſures* in reſpect of men whoſe actions they muſt direct, howbeit ſuch meaſures they are, as haue alſo their higher rules to be meaſured by, *which rules are two, the law of God, and the law of nature*. So that lawes humane muſt be made according to the generall lawes of nature, and without contradiction vnto any poſitiue law in ſcripture. Otherwiſe they are ill made. Vnto lawes thus made and receiued by a whole Church, they which liue within the boſome of that Church, muſt not thinke it a matter indifferēt either to yeeld or not to yeeld obedience. Is it a ſmal offence to deſpiſe the Church of God? *My ſonne keepe thy fathers commandement*, ſaith Salomon, *and forget not thy mothers inſtruction, bind them both alwaies about thine hart*. It doth not ſtand with the duty which we owe to our heauenly father, that to the ordinances of our mother the Church we ſhould ſhew our ſelues diſobedient. Let vs not ſay we keepe the commandements of the one, when we breake the law of the other: For vnleſſe we obſerue both, we obey neither. And what doth let but that we may obſerue both, when they are not the one to the other in any ſort repugnant? For of ſuch lawes only we ſpeake, as being made in forme and manner already declared, can haue in them no contradiction vnto the lawes of almighty God. Yea that which is more, the lawes thus made God himſelfe doth in ſuch ſort authorize, that to deſpiſe them is to deſpiſe in them him. It is a looſe & licentious opinion which the Anabaptiſts haue embraced, holding that a Chriſtian mans libertie is loſt, and the ſoule which Chriſt hath redeemed vnto himſelfe iniuriouſly drawne into ſeruitude vnder the yooke of humane power, if any law be now impoſed beſides the Goſpell of Ieſus Chriſt: in obedience whereunto the ſpirite of God and not the conſtraint of men is to lead vs, according to that of the bleſſed Apoſtle, *Such as are led by the ſpirite of God they are the ſonnes of God*, and not ſuch as liue in thraldome vnto men. Their iudgement is therefore that the Church of Chriſt ſhould admit no low makers but the Euangeliſts. The author of that which cauſeth another thing to be, is author of that thing alſo, which thereby is cauſed. The light of naturall vnderſtanding wit and reaſon is from God, he it is which thereby doth illuminate euery man entering into

12.q.95 art.3.

1.Cor.11 22. Prov.6.20.

Rom.8.14.

into the world. If there proceede from vs any thing afterwardes corrupt and naught, the mother thereof is our owne darknes, neither doth it proceede from any ſuch cauſe whereof God is the author. He is the author of all that we thinke or doe by vertue of that light, which himſelfe hath giuen. And therefore the lawes which the very heathens did gather to direct their actions by, ſo far forth as they proceeded from the light of nature, God him ſelfe doth acknowledge to haue proceeded euen from him ſelfe, and that he was the writer of them in the tables of their hartes. How much more then he the author of thoſe lawes, which haue bene made by his Saincts, endued furder with the heauenly grace of his ſpirit, and directed as much as might be with ſuch inſtructiõs, as his ſacred word doth yeeld? Surely if we haue vnto thoſe lawes that dutifull regard which their dignitie doth require: it will not greatly need, that we ſhould be exhorted to liue in obedience vnto them. If they haue God him ſelfe for their author, contempt which is offered vnto them cannot chooſe but redound vnto him. The ſafeſt and vnto God the moſt acceptable way of framing our liues therefore is, with all humilitie lowlines and ſinglenes of hart to ſtudie, which way our willing obedience both vnto God and man may be yeelded euen to the vtmoſt of that which is due.

Iohn.1.5.

Rom.1.19. & 2.15.

10 Touching the mutabilitie of lawes that conceme the regiment and politie of the Church, chaũged they are, when either altogether abrogated, or in part repealed, or augmented with farther additions. Wherein wee are to note, that this queſtion about the chaunging of lawes concerneth onely ſuch lawes as are poſitiue, and doe make that now good or euill by being commaunded or forbidden, which otherwiſe of it ſelfe were not ſimply the one or the other. Vnto ſuch lawes it is expreſſie ſometimes added, how long they are to continewe in force. If this be no where expreſt, then haue we no light to direct our iudgmentes concerning the chaungeablenes or immutabilitie of them, but by conſidering the nature and qualitie of ſuch lawes. The nature of euerie lawe muſt be iudged of by the ende for which it was made, and by the aptnes of thinges therein preſcribed vnto the ſame end. It may ſo fall out that the reaſon why ſome lawes of God were giuen is neither opened nor poſſible to be gathered by wit of man. As why God ſhaulde forbid *Adam* that one tree, there was no way for *Adam* euer to haue certainely vnderſtoode. And at *Adams* ignorance of this pointe Satan tooke aduantage, vrging the more ſecurely a faulſe cauſe becauſe the true was vnto *Adam* vnknowen. Why the Iewes were forbidden to plowe their grounde with an oxe and an aſſe, why to cloth them ſelues with mingled attire of wooll and lynnen, both it was vnto them, and vnto vs it remaineth obſcure. Such lawes perhaps can not be abrogated ſauing onely by whome they were made: becauſe the intent of them being knowne vnto none but the author, hee alone can iudge how long it is requiſite they ſhould indure. But if the reaſon why thinges were inſtituted may be knowne, and being knowne do appeare manyfeſtly to be of perpetuall neceſſitie, then are thoſe thinges alſo perpetuall, vnleſſe they ceaſe to be effectuall vnto that purpoſe for which they were at the firſt inſtituted. Becauſe when a thing doth ceaſe to be auailable vnto the end which gaue it being, the continuance of it muſt then of neceſſitie appeare ſuperfluous. And of this we cannot be ignorant, howe ſometimes that hath done great good, which afterwardes, when time hath chaunged the auncient courſe of thinges, doth growe to be either very hurtfull, or not ſo

That neither Gods being the author of lawe nor his committing them to ſcripture nor the continuance of the end for which they were inſtituted is any reaſon ſufficient to proue that they are vnchangeable.

Deut.22.10. Deut.22.11.

ſo greatly profitable and neceſſary. If therefore the end for which a lawe prouideth be perpetually neceſſary, and the way whereby it prouideth perpetually alſo moſt apt, no doubt but that euery ſuch lawe ought for euer to remaine vnchangeable. Whether God bee the author of lawes by authorizing that power of men whereby they are made, or by deliuering them made immediatly from him ſelfe, by word onely, or in writing alſo, or howſoeuer; notwithſtanding the authoritie of their maker, the mutabilitie of that end for which they are made doth alſo make them chaungeable. The law of ceremonies came from God. Moſes had commandement to commit it vnto the ſacred recordes of ſcripture, where it continueth euen vnto this very day and hower: in force ſtill, as the Iewe ſurmiſeth, becauſe God him ſelfe was author of it, and for vs to aboliſh what hee hath eſtabliſhed were preſumption moſt intollerable. But (that which they in the blindnes of their obdurate hartes are not able to diſcerne) ſith the ende for which that lawe was ordained is now fulfilled paſt and gone: how ſhoulde it but ceaſe any longer to bee, which hath no longer any cauſe of being in force as before? *That which neceſſitie of ſome ſpeciall time doth cauſe to be inioyned, bindeth no longer then during that time, but doth afterwards become free.* Which thing is alſo plaine euen by that lawe which the Apoſtles aſſembled at the councell of Ieruſalem did from thence deliuer vnto the Church of Chriſt, the preface whereof to authorize it was, *To the holy Ghoſt and to vs it hath ſeemed good*: which ſtile they did not vſe as matching thē ſelues in power with the holy Ghoſt, but as teſtifiing the holy Ghoſt to bee the author, and them ſelues but onely vtterers of that decree. This lawe therefore to haue proceeded from God as the author thereof no faithfull man will denie. It was of God not only becauſe God gaue them the power wherby they might make lawes, but for that it proceeded euen from the holy motion & ſuggeſtion of that ſecret diuine ſpirit, whoſe ſentence they did but onely pronounce. Notwithſtanding as the lawe of ceremonies deliuered vnto the Iewes, ſo this very lawe which the Gentiles receiued from the mouth of the holy Ghoſt, is in like reſpecte abrogated by deceaſe of the end for which it was giuen. But ſuch as do not ſticke at this pointe, ſuch as graunt that what hath bene inſtituted vpon any ſpecial cauſe needeth not to be obſerued that cauſe ceaſing, do notwithſtanding herein faile; they iudge the lawes of God onely by the author and mayn end for which they were made, ſo that for vs to change that which he hath eſtabliſhed, they hold it execrable pride and preſumption, if ſo be the end and purpoſe for which God by that meane prouideth be permanent. And vpon this they ground thoſe ample diſputes concerning orders and offices, which being by him appointed for the gouermēt of his Church, if it be neceſſary alwaies that the Church of Chriſt be gouerned, then doth the end for which God prouided remaine ſtill, and therefore in thoſe meanes which he by lawe did eſtabliſh as being fitteſt vnto that end, for vs to alter any thing is to lift vp our ſelues againſt God and as it were to countermaund him. Wherein they marke not that lawes are inſtruments to rule by, and that inſtruments are not only to bee framed according vnto the generall ende for which they are prouided, but euē according vnto that very particular, which riſeth out of the matter wheron they haue to worke. The end wherefore lawes were made may bee permanent, and thoſe lawes neuertheleſſe require ſome alteration, if there bee anye vnfitnes in the meanes which they preſcribe as tending vnto that end & purpoſe.

Quod pro neceſsitate temporis ſtatutum eſt, ceſſante neceſsitate debet ceſſare pariter quod vrgebat. 1. q. 1. Quod pro neceſsit. Act. 15.

Counterp. p. 3

As

As for example, a law that to bridle theft doth puniſh theues with a quadruple reſtitution hath an end which wil continue as long as the world it ſelf continueth. Theft will be alwaies and will alwaies neede to be brideled. But that the meane which this lawe prouideth for that ende, namely the puniſhment of quadruple reſtitution, that this wilbe alwaies ſufficient to bridle and reſtraine that kinde of enormitie no man can warrant. Inſufficiencie of lawes doth ſometimes come by want of iudgement in the makers. Which cauſe cannot fall into any law termed properly and immediatly diuine, as it may and doth into humaine lawes often. But that which hath bene once moſt ſufficient, may wax otherwiſe by alteration of time and place, that puniſhment which hath bene ſometimes forcible to bridle ſinne may growe afterwardes too weake and feeble. In a word we plainely perceiue by the difference of thoſe three lawes which the Iewes receiued at the hands of God, the morall, ceremonial, and iudicial, that if the end for which, and the matter according whereunto God maketh his lawes, continue alwaies one and the ſame, his lawes alſo do the like, for which cauſe the morall law cannot be altered; ſecondly that whether the matter whereon lawes are made continue, or continue not, if their end haue once ceaſed, they ceaſe alſo to be of force, as in the lawe ceremonial it fareth; finally that albeit the end cõtinue, as in that law of theft ſpecified and in a great part of thoſe ancient iudiciall it doth, yet for as much as there is not in all reſpects the ſame ſubiecte or matter remaining for which they were firſt inſtituted, euen this is ſufficient cauſe of change. And therefore lawes though both ordeyned of God himſelfe, and the end for which they were ordeined continuing, may notwithſtanding ceaſe, if by alteration of perſons or times they be foũd vnſufficiẽt to attain vnto that end. In which reſpect why may we not preſume that God doth euen call for ſuch change or alteration, as the very condition of thinges them ſelues doth make neceſſary? They which do therefore plead the authoritie of the law-maker as an argument, wherefore it ſhould not be lawfull to chaunge that which he hath inſtituted, and will haue this the cauſe why all the ordinances of our Sauiour are immutable, they which vrge the wiſedome of God as a proofe, that whatſoeuer lawes he hath made they ought to ſtand, vnleſſe him ſelfe from heauen proclaime them diſanuld, becauſe it is not in man to correct the ordinãce of God, may know, if it pleaſe thẽ to take notize thereof, that we are far frõ preſuming to think that men can better any thing which God hath done, euẽ as we are from thinking that men ſhould preſume to vndo ſome things of men, which God doth know they cannot better. God neuer ordeyned any thing that could be bettered. Yet many things he hath that haue bene chaunged, and that for the better. That which ſucceedeth as better now when change is requiſite, had bene worſe when that which now is chaunged was inſtituted. Otherwiſe God had not then left this to chooſe that, neither would now reiect that to chooſe this, were it not for ſome new growne occaſion making that which hath bene better worſe. In this caſe therefore men doe not preſume to chaunge Gods ordinance, but they yeelde thereunto requiring it ſelfe to be chaunged. Againſt this it is obiected, that to abrogate or innouate the Goſpel of Chriſt if men or Angels ſhoulde attempt, it were moſt heynous and curſed ſacriledge. And the Goſpell as they ſay containeth not onely doctrine inſtructing men howe they ſhould beleeue, but alſo preceptes concerning the regiment of the Church. Diſcipline

therefore

a *We offer to shewe the discipline to be a parte of the Gospell and therfore to haue a common cause so that in the repulse of the discipline the Gospell receiues a checke. And againe, I speake of the discipline as of a part of the Gospell, and therfore neither vnder nor aboue the Gospell but the Gospell.* T.C.l.2.p.1.4. Tertul.de ve. land virg. Mart.in 1. Sam.14.

therefore is a part of the Gospell: and God being the author of the whole Gospell, as well of discipline as of doctrine, it cannot be but that both of them haue a common cause. So that as we are to beleiue for euer the articles of euangelicall doctrine, so the preceptes of discipline we are in like sorte bounde for euer to obserue. Touching pointes of doctrine, as for example the vnitie of God, the trinitie of persons, saluation by Christ, the resurrection of the body, life euerlasting, the iudgment to come, and such like, they haue bene since the first hower that there was a Church in the world, and til the last they must be belieued. But as for matters of regiment, they are for the most parte of another nature. To make new articles of faith and doctrine no man thinketh it lawfull; new lawes of gouerment what common wealth or Church is there which maketh not eyther at one time or an other? *The rule of faith*, saith Tertullian, *is but one and that alone immoueable, and impossible to be framed or cast anew*. The lawe of outwarde order and politie not so. There is no reason in the world wherefore we shoulde esteeme it as necessarie alwaies to doe, as alwaies to belieue the same things; seing euery man knoweth that the matter of faith is constant, the matter contrariwise of action daily changeable, especially the matter of action belonging vnto Church politie. Neither can I finde that men of soundest iudgement haue any otherwise taught, then that articles of beliefe, and thinges which all men must of necessitie doe to the end they may be saued, are eyther expresly set downe in scripture, or els plainely therby to be gathered. But touching thinges which belong to discipline and outward politie, the Church hath authoritie to make canons, lawes, & decrees, euen as we reade that in the Apostles times it did. Which kinde of lawes (for as much as they are not in them selues necessary to saluation) may after they are made be also changed as the difference of times or places shall require. Yea it is not denied I am sure by them selues, that certaine thinges in discipline are of that nature, as they may be varied by times places persons and other the like circumstances. Whereupon I demaund, are those changeable pointes of discipline commaunded in the word of God or no? If they be not commaunded and yet may be receiued in the Church, how can their former position stand condemning al things in the Church which in the word are not commaunded? If they be commaunded and yet may suffer change, how can this later stand affirming all thinges immutable which are commaunded of God? Their distinction touching matters of substance and of circumstance, though true, will not serue. For be they great thinges or be they small, if God haue commaunded them in the Gospell, and his commanding them in the Gospell doe make them vnchangeable, there is no reason we should more chaunge the one then we may the other. If the authoritie of the maker doe proue vnchangeablnes in the lawes which God hath made, then must al laws which he hath made be necessarily for euer permanent, though they be but of circumstance onely and not of substance. I therefore conclude that nether Gods being author of laws for gouernment of his Church, nor his cõmitting them vnto scripture, is any reason sufficient wherefore all Churches shoulde for euer be bounde to keepe them without chaunge. But of one thinge we are here to giue them warning by the way. For whereas in this discourse we haue oftentimes profest that many partes of discipline or Church-politie are deliuered in scripture they may perhaps imagine that we are driuẽ to confesse their

Act.15.

discipline

diſcipline to be deliuered in ſcripture, and that hauing no other meanes to auoid it, we are faine to argue for the chaungeablenes of lawes ordayned euen by God him ſelfe, as if otherwiſe theirs of neceſſitie ſhoulde take place, and that vnder which we liue be abandoned. Ther is no remedie therfore but to abate this error in them and directly to let them knowe that if they fall into any ſuch conceit, they doe but a little flatter their owne cauſe. As for vs, we thinke in no reſpect ſo highlie of it. Our perſwaſion is, that no age euer had knowledge of it but onely ours, that they which defend it deuiſed it, that neither Chriſt nor his Apoſtles at any time taught it but the contrarie. If therfore we did ſeeke to maintaine that which moſt aduantageth our owne cauſe, the very beſt way for vs and the ſtrongeſt againſt them were to hold euen as they do, that in ſcripture there muſt needs be founde ſome particular forme of Church-politie which God hath inſtituted, and which[a] for that very cauſe belongeth to all Churches, to all times. But with any ſuch partiall eye to reſpect our ſelues, and by cunning to make thoſe thinges ſeeme the trueſt which are the fitteſt to ſerue our purpoſe, is a thing which wee neither like nor meane to follow. Wherefore that which we take to be generally true concerning the mutabilitie of lawes, the ſame we haue plainely deliuered, as being perſwaded of nothing more then we are of this, [b] that whether it be in matter of ſpeculation or of practiſe, no vntruth can poſſibly auaile the patronc & defendor long, and that thinges moſt truly are likewiſe moſt behoofully ſpoken.

11 This we holde and graunt for truth, that thoſe very lawes which of their own nature are chaungeable, be notwithſtanding vncapable of change if he which gaue them, being of authoritie ſo to do, forbid abſolutely to change them, neither may they admit alteration againſt the will of ſuch a lawmaker. Albeit therfore we do not finde any cauſe, why of right there ſhoulde be neceſſarily an immutable forme ſet downe in holy ſcripture, neuertheleſſe if indeed there haue bene at any time a Church-politie ſo ſet downe, the change whereof the ſacred ſcripture doth forbid, ſurely for mē to alter thoſe laws which God for perpetuitie hath eſtabliſhed, were preſumption moſt intollerable. To proue therefore that the will of Chriſt was to eſtabliſh lawes ſo permanent and immutable that in any ſort to alter them cannot but highly offend God, thus they reaſon. Firſt if Moſes being but a ſeruant in the houſe of God, did therin eſtabliſh lawes of gouernmēt for perpetuitie, lawes which they that were of the houſholde might not alter: ſhall wee admit into our thoughts, that the ſonne of God hath in prouiding for this his houſholde declared him ſelfe leſſe faithfull then Moſes? Moſes deliuering vnto the Iewes ſuch lawes as were durable, if thoſe be changeable which Chriſt hath deliuered vnto vs, we are not able to auoide it, but (that which to thinke were heinous impietie) we of neceſſitie muſt confeſſe, euen the ſonne of God him ſelfe to haue bene leſſe faithfull then Moſes. Which argument ſhall neede no touchſtone to trye it by but ſome other of the like making. Moſes erected in the wildernes a tabernacle, which was moueable from place to place; Salomon a ſumptuous and ſtately temple which was not moueable: Therfore Salomon was faithfuller then Moſes, which no man indued with reaſon wil thinke

a. Diſciplina eſt Chriſtianæ eccleſiæ politia Deo eius recte adminiſtrandæ cauſa conſtituta, ac propterea ex eius verbo petenda, & ob eandem cauſam omnium eccleſiarum communis & omnium temporum. lib. de eccleſ. diſcipli. in Analy.

b Εἰ ἄρα τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τοῖς λόγοις ὑμῖν χρῶνται πρὸς τὸ δεῖν δίκαιον γενόμενον τυγχάνειν, ἀλλὰ μὴ πρὸς τὸ βίον. Σωφρονοῦσι γὰρ ὄντες ἔργοις, πιστεύονται. Ariſt. eth. 10. c. 1.

V Whether Chriſt haue forbidden all change of thoſe lawes which are ſet downe in ſcripture.

Heb. 3. 6. Either that commendation of the ſonne before the ſeruant is a falſe teſtimonie, or the ſonne ordained a permanent gouernment in the Church. If parmanent, then not to bee changed. V What then do they that holde it may be changed at the magiſtrate's pleaſure but onely the magiſtrate by his poſitiue lawes to proclaime that it is his will that if there ſhall be a Church within his dominions, he will maintein and vnderſtande the ſame. M. M. p. 16. Hee that was as faithfull as Moſes left as cleare inſtruction for the gouernmēt of the church. But Chriſt was as faithfull as Moſes. Ergo. Demonſt. of Diſc. cap. 1.

think. And yet by this reaſō it doth plainly follow, He that wil ſe how faithful the one or the other was, muſt compare the thinges which they both did vnto the charge which God gaue each of them. The Apoſtle in making compariſon betweene our Sauiour and Moſes, attributeth faithfulnes vnto both, and maketh this difference betweene them, Moſes *in*, but Chriſt *ouer* the houſe of God; Moſes in that houſe which was *his by charge* and commiſſion, though to gouerne it, yet to gouerne it *as a ſeruant*; but Chriſt ouer this houſe, as being *his owne intire poſſeſsion*. Our Lorde and ſauiour doth make proteſtation, *I haue geuen vnto them the wordes which thou gauest me*. Faithfull therefore he was and concealed not any part of his fathers will. But did any part of that will require the immutabilitie of lawes concerning Church-politie? They anſwere, yea. For els God ſhould leſſe fauour vs then the Iewes. God woulde not haue their Church guided by any lawes but his owne. And ſeing this did ſo continue euen till Chriſt, now to eaſe God of that care, or rather to depriue the Church of his patronage, what reaſon haue wee? Surely none to derogate any thing from the auncient loue which God hath borne to his Church. An heathen Philoſopher there is who conſidering how many thinges beaſts haue which men haue not, how naked in compariſon of them, how impotent, and how much leſſe able we are to ſhifte for our ſelues a long time after we enter into this world, repiningly concluded hereupon, that nature being a carefull mother for them, is towards vs a harde harted Stepdame. No, we may not meaſure the affection of our gratious God towards his by ſuch differences. For euen herein ſhineth his wiſdome, that though the waies of his prouidence bee many, yeat the ende which hee bringeth all at the length vnto, is one and the ſelfe ſame. But if ſuch kinde of reaſoning were good, might we not euen as directly conclude the very ſame concerning laws of ſecular regiment? Their owne wordes are theſe. *In the auncient Church of the Iewes God did commaund and Moſes commit vnto writing all thinges pertinent as well to the ciuill as to the Eccleſiaſticall ſtate*. God gaue them lawes of ciuill regiment, and would not permit their common weale to be gouerned by any other lawes then his owne. Doth God leſſe regard our temporall eſtate in this world, or prouide for it worſe then for theirs? To vs notwithſtanding hee hath not as to them deliuered any particular forme of temporall regiment, vnleſſe perhaps we thinke, as ſome doe, that the grafting of the Gentils and their incorporating into Iſrael doth importe that we ought to be ſubiect vnto the rites and lawes of their whole politie. Wee ſee then how weake ſuch diſputes are, and how ſmally they make to this purpoſe. That Chriſt did not meane to ſet downe particular poſitiue lawes for all thinges in ſuch ſorte as Moſes did, the very different manner of deliuering the lawes of Moſes and the lawes of Chriſt doth plainly ſhow. Moſes had commaundement to gather the ordinances of God togeather diſtinctly, and orderly to ſet them downe according vnto their ſeuerall kindes, for each publique dutie and office the laws that belong thereto, as appeareth in the bookes them ſelues written of purpoſe for that ende. Contrary wiſe the lawes of Chriſt we finde rather mentioned by occaſion in the writings of the Apoſtles, then any ſollemne thinge directly written to comprehend them in legall ſorte. Againe the poſitiue lawes which Moſes gaue, they were giuen for the greateſt parte with reſtraint to the land of Iury, Beholde, ſaith Moſes, *I haue taught you ordinaunces and lawes as the*

Lorde

Iohn. 17.

Either God hath left a preſcript forme of gouernment now, or els he is leſſe carefull vnder the new teſtament then vnder the olde Demonſt. of Diſc cap. 1.

Eccleſiaſt. diſc. lib. 1.

Rom. 11. 17. Eph. 2. 11. 16.

Lord my God commaunded me that ye should doe euen so within the land whether ye goe Deut.4.5.
to possesse it. Which lawes and ordinances positiue he plainely distinguisheth afterward from the lawes of the two Tables which were morall, *The Lord spake* Verse 12.
vnto you out of the midst of the fier, yee heard the voyce of the words, but sawe no similitude, only a voyce. Then he declared vnto you his Couenant which he commanded you 13
to doe, the ten Commaundements, and wrote them vpon two Tables of stone. And the 14
Lord commaunded me that same tyme, that I should teach you ordinances and lawes which yee should obserue in the land whether yee goe to possesse it. The same difference is againe set downe in the next Chapter following. For rehearsall being made of the ten Commaundements, it followeth immediatly, *These words* Deut.5.22.
the Lorde spake vnto all your multitude in the Mount out of the midst of the fyer, the cloude and the darkenes, with a great voyce and added no more, and wrate them vpon two Tables of stone, and deliuered them vnto mee. But concerning other lawes, the people giue their consent to receyue them at the handes of *Moses, Goe* 27
thou neerer, and heare all that the Lorde our God sayeth, and declare thou vnto vs all that the Lorde our God sayeth vnto thee, and wee will heare it and doo it.
The peoples alacritye heerein God highlie commendeth with most effectuall and hartye speech, *I haue heard the voyce of the wordes of this people, they* 28
haue spoken well, O that there were such an heart in them to feare mee, and to keepe 29
all my Commaundements alwayes, that it might goe well with them, and with their children for euer! Goe saye vnto them, Returne you to your tentes, But stande thou 30
heere with mee, and I will tell thee all the Commaundements and the Ordinances 31
and the Lawes which thou shalt teach them, that they may doe them in the lande which I haue geuen them to possesse. From this later kinde the former are plainely destinguished in many thinges. They were not both at one tyme deliuered, neyther both after one sorte, nor to one ende. The former vttered by the voyce of God him selfe in the hearing of sixe hundreth thousande men, the former written with the finger of God, the former tearmed by the name of a Couenant, the former geuen to be kept without eyther mention of tyme how long, or of place where. On the other side the later geuen after, and neyther written by God him selfe, nor geuen vnto the whole multitude immediatly from God, but vnto *Moses*, and from him to them both by word and writing; the later tearmed Ceremonies, Iudgements, Ordinances, but no where Couenants; finallie, the obseruation of the later restrayned vnto the lande where God woulde establish them to inhabit. The Lawes positiue are not framed without regard had to the place and persons for the which they are made. If therefore Almightie God in framing their Lawes had an eye vnto the nature of that people, and to the countrey where they were to dwell; if these peculiar and propper considerations were respected in the making of theyr Lawes, and must bee also regarded in the Positiue Lawes of all other Nations besides; then seeing that Nations are not all alike, surely the geuing of one kinde of positiue Lawes vnto one onely people, without anye libertie to alter them, is but a slender proofe, that therefore one kinde should in like sort be giuen to serue euerlastingly for all. But that which most of all maketh for the cleering of this poynt is, that the *Iewes* who had Lawes so perticularlye

determining and ſo fully inſtructing them in all affaires what to doe, were notwithſtanding continually inured with cauſes exorbitant, and ſuch as their lawes had not prouided for. And in this point much more is graunted vs then wee aske, namely, that for one thing which we haue left to the order of the Church, they had twenty, which were vndecided by the expreſſe word of God, and that as their ceremonies and ſacraments were multiplyed aboue ours, euen ſo grewe the number of thoſe caſes which were not determined by any expreſſe word. So that if we may deuiſe one lawe, they by this reaſon might deuiſe twentie: and if their deuiſing ſo many were not forbidden, ſhall their example proue vs forbidden to deuiſe as much as one lawe for the ordering of the Church? We might not deuiſe no not one, if their example did proue that our Sauiour hath vtterly forbidden all alteration of his lawes, in as much as there can be no lawe deuiſed, but needs it muſt eyther take away from his, or add thereunto more or leſſe, and ſo make ſome kinde of alteration. But of this ſo large a graunt wee are content not to take aduantage. Men are oftentimes in a ſuddaine paſſion more liberall then they would be if they had leyſure to take aduiſe. And therefore ſo bountifull words of courſe and franke ſpeeches we are contented to let paſſe, without turning them vnto aduantage with too much rigour. It may be they had rather be liſtned vnto, when they commend the Kings of Iſraell which attempted nothing in the gouernment of the Church without the expreſſe word of God; and when they vrge that God left nothing in his word vndeſcribed, whether it concerned the worſhip of God or outward policie, nothing vnſet downe, and therefore charged them ſtrictly to keepe them ſelues vnto that, without any alteration. Howbeit, ſeeing it cannot be denyed, but that many things there did belong vnto the courſe of theyr publique affayres, wherein they had no expreſſe word at all to ſhewe preciſely what they ſhould doe, the difference betweene their condition and ours in theſe caſes, will bring ſome light vnto the truth of this preſent controuerſie. Before the fact of the ſonne of *Shelomith* there was no lawe which did appoint any certaine puniſhment for blaſphemers. That wretched creature being therefore deprehended in that impietie, was held in ward, till the minde of the Lord were knowne concerning his caſe. The like practiſe is alſo mentioned vpon occaſion of a breach of the Sabboth day. They finde a poore ſillie creature gathering ſtickes in the wildernes, they bring him vnto *Moſes* and *Aaron* and all the congregation, they lay him in hould, becauſe it was not declared what ſhould be done with him, till God had ſayd vnto *Moſes*, *This man ſhall dye the death*. The Lawe required to keepe the Sabboth, but for the breach of the Sabboth what puniſhment ſhould be inflicted it did not appoint. Such occaſions as theſe are rare. And for ſuch things as doe fall ſcarce once in many ages of men, it did ſuffice to take ſuch order as was requiſite when they fell. But if the caſe were ſuch as being not alreadie determined by lawe were notwithſtanding likely oftentimes to come in queſtion, it gaue occaſion of adding lawes that were not before. Thus it fell out in the caſe of thoſe men polluted, and of the daughters of *Zelophehad*, whoſe cauſes *Moſes* hauing brought before the Lord, receyued lawes to ſerue for the like in time to come. The *Iewes* to this end had the Oracle of God, they had the Prophets: And by ſuch meanes God him ſelfe inſtructed them from heauen what to doe, in all things

T.C.l.1.p.35. *Whereas you ſay that they (the Iewes) had nothing, but was determined by the Lawe, and we haue many things vndetermined and left to the order of the Church: I will offer for one that you ſhall bring that we haue left to the order of the Church to ſhew you that they had twentie which were vndecided of by the expreſſe word of God.* T.C. in the table to his ſecond booke.

T.C.l.2.p.446 *If he will needs ſeparate the worſhip of God from the externall politie; yet as the Lord ſet forth the one, ſo he left nothing vndeſcribed in the other.*

Leuit.24.12.

Numb.15.34.

Numb.9.
Numb.27.

things that did greatly concerne their ſtate, and were not alreadie ſet downe in the Lawe. Shall we then hereupon argue euen againſt our owne experience and knowledge? Shall we ſeeke to perſwade men that of neceſſitie it is with vs as it was with them, that becauſe God is ours in all reſpects as much as theirs, therefore eyther no ſuch way of direction hath bene at any time, or if it haue bene, it doth ſtill continue in the Church? or if the ſame do not continue, that yet it muſt be at the leaſt ſupplyed by ſome ſuch meane as pleaſeth vs to accompt of equall force? A more dutifull and religious way for vs were to admire the wiſedome of God, which ſhineth in the bewtifull varietie of all things, but moſt in the manifold and yet harmonious diſſimilitude of thoſe wayes, whereby his Church vpon earth is guided from age to age, throughout all generations of men. The *Iewes* were neceſſarily to continue till the comming of Chriſt in the fleſh, and the gathering of nations vnto him. So much the promiſe made vnto *Abraham* did import. So much the prophecie of *Iacob* at the hower of his death did foreſhewe. Vpon the ſafetie therefore of their verie outward ſtate and condition for ſo long, the after-good of the whole world, and the ſaluation of all did depend. Vnto their ſo long ſafetie for two things it was neceſſary to prouide, namely, the preſeruation of their ſtate againſt forraine reſiſtance, and the continuance of their peace within them ſelues. Touching the one, as they receyued the promiſe of God to be the rocke of their defence, againſt which who ſo did violently ruſh, ſhould but bruſe and batter themſelues, ſo likewiſe they had his commaundement in all their affaires that way to ſeeke direction and counſell from him. Mens conſultations are alwayes perilous. And it falleth out many times that after long deliberation, thoſe things are by their wit euen reſolued on, which by tryall are found moſt oppoſite to publique ſafetie. It is no impoſſible thing for ſtates, be they neuer ſo well eſtabliſhed, yet by ouerſight in ſome one acte or treatie betweene them and their potent oppoſits, vtterly to caſt away them ſelues for euer. Wherefore leaſt it ſhould ſo fall out to them vpon whome ſo much did depend, they were not permitted to enter into warre, nor conclude any league of peace, nor to wade through any acte of moment betweene them and forraine ſtates, vnleſſe the Oracle of God or his Prophets were firſt conſulted with. And leaſt domeſticall diſturbance ſhould waſt them within them ſelues, becauſe there was nothing vnto this purpoſe more effectuall, then if the authoritie of their lawes and gouernours were ſuch, as none might preſume to take exception againſt it, or to ſhewe diſobedience vnto it, without incurring the hatred & deteſtation of all men that had any ſparke of the feare of God, therefore he gaue them euen their poſitiue lawes from heauen, and as oft as occaſion required, choſe in like ſort Rulers alſo to leade & gouerne them. Notwithſtãding ſome deſperatly impious there were, which aduentured to try what harme it could bring vpon them, if they did attempt to be authors of confuſion, and to reſiſt both Gouernours and Lawes. Againſt ſuch monſters God mainteined his owne by fearefull execution of extraordinarie iudgement vpon them. By which meanes it came to paſſe, that although they were a people infeſted and mightilie hated of all others throughout the world, although by nature hard harted, querulous, wrathful & impatient of reſt and quietnes, yet was there nothing of force eyther one way or other to

Gen. 18.18.

Gen. 49.10.

worke the ruine and ſubuerſion of their ſtate, till the time before mentioned was expired. Thus we ſee that there was not no cauſe of diſſimilitude in theſe things betweene that one only people before Chriſt, and the kingdomes of the world ſince. And whereas it is further alleaged, that albeit *in Ciuill matters and things perteining to this preſent life God hath vſed a greater particularitie with them then amongſt vs, framing lawes according to the qualitie of that people and Countrey, yet the leauing of vs at greater libertie in things ciuill is ſo farre from proouing the like libertie in things pertaining to the kingdome of heauen, that it rather proues a ſtreighter bond. For euen as when the Lord would haue his fauour more appeare by temporall bleſsings of this life towards the people vnder the Lawe then towards vs, he gaue alſo politique lawes moſt exactlie, whereby they might both moſt eaſilie come into, and moſt ſtedfaſtly remaine in poſſeſsion of thoſe earthlie beneſites: euen ſo at this time wherein he would not haue his fauour ſo much eſteemed by thoſe outward commodities, it is required, that as his care in preſcribing lawes for that purpoſe hath ſomewhat fallen in leauing them to mens conſultations which may be deceiued, ſo his care for conduct and gouernment of the life to come, ſhould (if it were poſsible) riſe, in leauing leſſe to the order of men then in times paſt.* T.C.lib.2. pag.440.

Theſe are but weake and feeble diſputes for the inference of that concluſion which is intended. For ſauing only in ſuch conſideration as hath bene ſhewed, there is no cauſe wherefore we ſhould thinke God more deſirous to manifeſt his fauour by temporall bleſſings towards them then towards vs. Godlines had vnto them, and it hath alſo vnto vs, the promiſes both of this life and the life to come. That the care of God hath fallen in earthlie things, and therefore ſhould riſe as much in heauenly; that more is left vnto mens conſultations in the one, and therefore leſſe muſt be graunted in the other; that God hauing vſed a greater particularitie with them then with vs for matters perteining vnto this life, is to make vs amends by the more exact deliuerie of lawes for gouernment of the life to come; theſe are proportions, whereof if there be any rule, we muſt plainely confeſſe that which truth is, we knowe it not. God which ſpake vnto them by his Prophets, hath vnto vs by his only begotten Sonne; thoſe myſteries of grace and ſaluation which were but darkely diſcloſed vnto them, haue vnto vs moſt cleerely ſhined. Such differences betweene them and vs the Apoſtles of Chriſt haue well acquainted vs withall. But as for matter belonging to the outward conduct or gouernment of the Church, ſeeing that euen in ſenſe it is manifeſt that our Lord and Sauiour hath not by poſitiue lawes deſcended ſo farre into particularities with vs as *Moſes* with them, neither doth by extraordinary means, oracles, and Prophets, direct vs as them he did in thoſe things, which riſing dayly by new occaſions, are of neceſſitie to be prouided for; doth it not hereupon rather follow, that although not to them, yet to vs there ſhould be freedome and libertie graunted to make lawes? Yea but the Apoſtle S. *Paule* doth fearefully charge *Timothy*, euen *In the ſight of God who quickneth all, and of Chriſt Ieſus who witneſſed that famous confeſſion before Pontius Pilate, to keepe what was commaunded him ſafe and ſound till the appearance of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt.* This doth exclude all libertie of chaunging the lawes of Chriſt, whether by abrogation or addition or howſoeuer. For in *Timothy* the whole Church of Chriſt receyueth charge concerning her dutie. And that charge is to keepe the Apoſtles commaundement: And his commaundement did conteyne the lawes that concerned Church gouernment:

1.Tim.6.14.

Iohn.18.37.

ment:

ment: And thoſe lawes he ſtraightly requireth to be obſerued without breach or blame, till the appearance of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt. In ſcripture we graunt euerie one mans leſſon to be the common inſtruction of all men, ſo farre forth as their caſes are like, and that religiouſly to keepe the Apoſtles commandemẽts in whatſoeuer they may concerne vs, we all ſtand bound. But touching that commandement which *Timothy* was charged with, we ſwarue vndoubtedly from th'Apoſtles preciſe meaning, if we extend it ſo largely, that the armes therof ſhall reach vnto all things which were commanded him by the Apoſtle. The verie words themſelues do reſtraine thẽſelues vnto ſome one eſpeciall commandemẽt among many. And therfore it is not ſaid, *Keepe the ordinances lawes and conſtitutions which thou haſt receiued*, but τὴν ἐντολὴν *that great commandemẽt, which doth principally cõcerne thee and thy calling*; that commandement which Chriſt did ſo often inculcate vnto *Peter*; that commandement vnto the carefull diſcharge wherof they of *Epheſus* are exhorted, *Attend to your ſelues and to all the flock, wherin the holy Ghoſt hath placed you Biſhops, to feede the Church of God, which he hath purchaſed by his owne bloud*; finally that commandemẽt which vnto the ſame *Timothy* is by the ſame Apoſtle euen in the ſame forme & maner afterwards again vrged, *I charge thee in the ſight of God and the Lord Ieſus Chriſt, which wil iudge the quick and dead at his appearance and in his kingdam, Preach the word of God.* When *Timothy* was inſtituted into that office, then was the credit and truſt of this dutie committed vnto his faithfull care. The doctrine of the Goſpell was then giuen him *as the precious talent or treaſure of Ieſus Chriſt*; then receiued he for performance of this dutie, *the ſpecial gift of the holy Ghoſt*. To keepe this commandement immaculat and blameleſſe *was to teach the Goſpell of Chriſt without mixture of corrupt and vnſound doctrine*, ſuch as a number did euen in thoſe times intermingle with the miſteries of chriſtian beliefe. *Till the appearance of Chriſt to keepe it ſo*, doth not import the time wherein it ſhould be kept, but rather the time wherevnto the finall reward for keeping it was reſerued: according to that of S. *Paule* concerning himſelfe, *I haue kept the faith: for the reſidue there is laid vp for me a crowne of righteouſnes, which the Lord the righteous ſhall in that day render vnto me.* If they that labour in this harueſt ſhould reſpect but the preſent fruit of their painefull trauell, a poore incoragement it were vnto them to continue therein all the daies of their life. But their reward is great in heauen, the crowne of righteouſnes which ſhall be giuen them in that day is honorable. The fruite of their induſtrie then ſhall they reape with full contentment and ſatisfaction, but not till then. Wherein the greatnes of their reward is abundantly ſufficient to counteruaile the tediouſnes of their expectation. Wherefore till then they that are in labour muſt reſt in hope. O *Tymothie*, keepe that which is committed vnto thy charge, that great commandement which thou haſt receiued keepe, till the appearance of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt. In which ſenſe although we iudge the Apoſtles wordes to haue bene vttered, yet hereunto wee doe not require them to yeeld, that thinke any other conſtruction more ſound. If therefore it be reiected and theirs eſteemed more probable which hould that the laſt wordes doe import perpetuall obſeruation of the Apoſtles commaundement impoſed neceſſarily for euer vppon the militant Church of Christ, let them withall conſider that then his commaundement cannot ſo largely be taken, as to comprehend whatſoeuer the Apoſtle did command *Timothy*. For

1. Iohn. 21. 15. Act. 20. 28.

2. Tim. 4. 1.

1. Tim. 6. 20. τὴν παραθήκην.

1. Tim. 4. 14.

2. Tim. 4. 7.

themſelues do not all bind the Church vnto ſome things whereof *Timothie* receiued charge, as namely vnto that precept concerning the choiſe of Widowes. So as they cannot hereby maintaine that all things poſitiuely commaunded concerning the affaires of the Church, were commaunded for perpetuitie. And we do not deny that certaine things were commanded to be though poſitiue, yet perpetuall in the Church. They ſhould not therefore vrge againſt vs places that ſeeme to forbid change, but rather ſuch as ſet downe ſome meaſure of alteration, which meaſure if we haue exceeded, then might they therewith charge vs iuſtly: Whereas now they themſelues both graunting, and alſo vſing liberty to change, cannot in reaſon diſpute abſolutely againſt all change. Chriſt deliuered no inconuenient or vnmeete lawes. Sundry of ours they hold inconuenient. Therefore ſuch lawes they cannot poſſibly hold to be Chriſts. Being not his, they muſt of neceſſitie graunt them added vnto his. Yet certaine of thoſe very lawes ſo added, they themſelues do not iudge vnlawfull, as they plainely confeſſe both in matter of preſcript attire, and of rites appertaining to buriall. Their owne proteſtations are that they plead againſt the inconuenience, not the vnlawfulnes of popiſh apparrell, and againſt the inconuenience, not the vnlawfulnes of Ceremonies in Buriall. Therefore they hold it a thing not vnlawfull to adde to the lawes of Ieſus Chriſt, and ſo conſequently they yeeld that no law of Chriſt forbiddeth addition vnto Church lawes. The iudgement of *Caluin* being alleaged againſt them, to whome of all men they attribute moſt, whereas his words be plaine, that for Ceremonies and externall diſcipline the Church hath power to make lawes: the anſwer which hereunto they make is, that indefinitly the ſpeech is true, and that ſo it was meant by him, namely, that ſome things belonging vnto externall diſcipline and Ceremonies, are in the power and arbitrement of the Church, but neither was it ment, neither is it true generally, that all externall diſcipline, and all Ceremonies are left to the order of the Church, in as much as the ſacraments of Baptiſme and the Supper of the Lord are Ceremonies, which yet the Church may not therefore abrogate. Againe, excommunication is a part of externall diſcipline, which might alſo be caſt away, if all externall diſcipline were arbitrarie, and in the choice of the Church. By which their anſwere it doth appeare, that touching the names of Ceremonie and externall diſcipline they gladly would haue vs ſo vnderſtood, as if we did herein conteyne a great deale more then we do. The fault which we finde with them is, that they ouermuch abridge the Church of her power in theſe things. Whereupon they recharge vs, as if in theſe things we gaue the Church a libertie which hath no limits or bounds, as if all things which the name of diſcipline conteineth, were at the Churches free choice, ſo that wee might either haue Church-gouernors and gouernment or want them, eyther reteyne or reiect Church cenſures as we liſt. They wonder at vs, as at men which thinke it ſo indifferent what the Church doth in

1. Tim. 5. 9.

T.C.lib.3.pa.247. *My reaſons do neuer conclude the vnlawfulnes of theſe ceremonies of buriall, but the inconuenience and vnexpedience of them.* And in the Table. *Of the inconuenience not of the vnlawfulnes of popiſh apparell and ceremonies in buriall.* T.C.lib.1.p.32. *Vpon the indefinite ſpeaking of M. Caluin, ſaying, ceremonies and externall diſcipline without adding all or ſome, you goe about ſubtely to make men beleeue that M. Caluin had placed the whole externall diſcipline in the power and arbitrement of the Church. For if all externall diſcipline were arbitrarie and in the choice of the Church, Excommunication alſo (which is a part of it) might be caſt away, which I thinke you will not ſay.* And in the verie next words before, *Where you would giue to vnderſtand that ceremonies and externall diſcipline are not preſcribed particularly by the word of God, and therefore left to the order of the Church: you muſt vnderſtand that all externall diſcipline is not left to the order of the Church being particularlie preſcribed in the ſcriptures: no more then all ceremonies are left to the order of the Church, as the ſacrament of Baptiſme, and Supper of the Lord.*

matter

matter of ceremonies, that it may be feared leaſt we iudge the very ſacraments themſelues to be helde at the Churches pleaſure. No, the name of ceremonies we doe not vſe in ſo large a meaning as to bring ſacramentes within the compaſſe and reach thereof, although things belonging vnto the outward forme and ſeemely adminiſtration of them are conteyned in that name, euen as we vſe it. For the name of ceremonies we vſe as they themſelues doe, when they ſpeake after this ſort: *The Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Church as the waighteſt things ought eſpecially to be looked vnto, but the Ceremonyes alſo, as mynt and comyn, ought not to be neglected.* Beſides in the matter of externall diſcipline or regiment it ſelfe, wee doe not denie but there are ſome thinges whereto the Church is bound till the worldes ende. So as the queſtion is onely how farre the bounds of the Churches libertie do reach. We hold that the power which the Church hath lawfully to make lawes and orders for it ſelfe, doth extende vnto ſundrie thinges of Eccleſiaſticall iuriſdiction and ſuch other matters, whereto their opinion is, that the Churches authoritie and power doth not reach. Whereas therefore in diſputing againſt vs about this point, they take their compaſſe a great deale wider then the truth of things can afford, producing reaſons and arguments by way of generalitie, to prooue that Chriſt hath ſet downe all thinges belonging any way vnto the forme of ordering his Church, and hath abſolutely forbidden change by addition or diminution great or ſmall (for ſo their manner of diſputing is) wee are conſtrayned to make our defence, by ſhewing that Chriſt hath not depriued his Church ſo farre of all libertie in making orders and lawes for it ſelfe, and that they themſelues doe not thinke he hath ſo done. For are they able to ſhew that all particular cuſtomes, rites and orders of reformed Churches haue beene appointed by Chriſt himſelfe? No, they graunt that in matter of circumſtance they alter that which they haue receiued, but in things of ſubſtance they keepe the lawes of Chriſt without chaunge. If we ſay the ſame in our owne behalfe, (which ſurely we may doe with a great deale more truth) then muſt they cancell all that hath beene before alleaged, and beginne to inquire a freſh, whether we reteine the lawes that Chriſt hath deliuered concerning matters of ſubſtance, yea or no. For our conſtant perſwaſion in this point is as theirs, that we haue no where altered the lawes of Chriſt further then in ſuch particularities onely as haue the nature of thinges changeable according to the difference of times, places, perſons, and other the like circumſtances. Chriſt hath commaunded prayers to be made, ſacraments to be miniſtred, his Church to be carefully taught and guided. Concerning euery of theſe ſomewhat Chriſt hath commaunded which muſt be kept till the worldes ende. On the contrary ſide in euery of thē ſomewhat there may be added, as the Church ſhall iudge it expedient. So that if they will ſpeake to purpoſe, all which hitherto hath beene diſputed of they muſt giue ouer, and ſtande vpon ſuch particulars onely as they can ſhew we haue eyther added or abrogated otherwiſe then we ought, in the matter of Church-politie. Whatſoeuer Chriſt hath commanded for euer to be kept in his Church, the ſame wee take not vpon vs to abrogate; and whatſoeuer our lawes haue thereunto added beſides, of ſuch qualitie wee hope it is, as no lawe of Chriſt doth any where condemne. Wherefore that all may be layde together, and gathered into a narrower roome. 1. Firſt ſo farre foorth 1.

T.C.l.38 p.171.

T.C.l.1.p.27. *We denie not but certaine thinges are left to the order of the Church, becauſe they are of the nature of thoſe which are varied by times places, perſons, and other circumſtances, & ſo could not at one be ſet down and eſtabliſhed for euer.*

foorth as the Church is the mysticall body of Christ and his inuisible spouse, it needeth no externall politie. That very part of the law diuine which teacheth faith and workes of righteousnesse is it selfe alone sufficient for the Church of God in that respect. But as the Church is a visible societie and bodie politique,

2. lawes of politie it cannot want. 2. Whereas therfore it commeth in the second place to be inquired, what lawes are fittest and best for the Church, they who first embraced that rigorous and strict opinion which depriueth the Church of libertie to make any kinde of law for her selfe, inclined as it should seeme thereunto, for that they imagined all things, which the Church doth without commaundement of holy scripture, subiect to that reprofe which the scripture it selfe

Esa.29.14. Col.2,22. vseth in certaine cases, when diuine authoritie ought alone to be followed. Hereupon they thought it enough for the cancelling of any kind of order whatsoeuer to say, *The word of God teacheth it not, it is a deuise of the braine of man, away with it therfore out of the Church.* S. *Augustine* was of another mind, who speaking of fastes

Aug. Epist. 86. on the sunday sayth, *That he which would choose out that day to fast on, should giue therby no small offence to the Church of God, which had receiued a contrarie custome. For in these things whereof the scripture appointeth no certaintie, the vse of the people of God or the ordinances of our Fathers must serue for a law. In which case if we will dispute, and condemne one sort by an others custome, it will be but matter of endlesse contention, where, for as much as the labour of reasoning shall hardly beate into mens heads any certaine or necessarie truth, surely it standeth vs vpō to take heede, least with the tempest of strife the brightnesse of charitie and loue be darkened.* If all thinges must be commaunded of God

Ios. 22. which may be practised of his Church, I would knowe what commaundement the *Gileadites* had to erect that altar which is spoken of in the booke of *Iosua*. Did not congruitie of reason induce them thereunto, and suffice for defence of their

Iud. 11.40. fact? I would know what commaundement the women of Israell had yeerely to mourne and lament in the memorie of *Iephtaes* daughter; what commandement

Ioh. 10.22. thē Iewes had to celebrate their feast of *Dedication* neuer spoken of in the lawe,

Ioh. 19.40. yet solemnized euen by our Sauiour himselfe; what cōmandement finally they had for the ceremonie of odors vsed about the bodies of the dead, after which custome notwithstanding (sith it was their custome) our Lord was cōtented that his own most pretious bodie should be intoombd. Wherfore to reiect all orders of the Church which mē haue established, is to think worse of the lawes of mē in this respect, then either the iudgemēt of wisemen alloweth, or the law of God it selfe will beare. Howbeit they which had once takē vpō thē to cōdeme al things done in the Church, & not cōmāded of God to be done, saw it was necessary for thē (continuing in defence of this their opiniō) to hold that needs there must be in scripture set downe a cōplete particular forme of Church polity, a forme prescribing how al thaffaires of the church must be ordered, a form in no respect lawful to be altered by mortal mē. For reformatiō of which ouersight & error in thē there were that thought it a part of Christian loue & charitie to instruct thē better, & to open vnto thē the difference betweene matters of perpetual necessity to all mens saluation, and matters of Ecclesiasticall politie: the one both fully and plainly taught in holy scripture, the other not necessarie to be in such sort there prescribed; the one not capable of anie diminution or augmentation at all by men, the other apt to admit both. Hereupon the authors of the former opinion

were

were preſently ſeconded by other wittier and better learned, who being loath that the forme of Church-politie which they ſought to bring in ſhoulde be otherwiſe then in the higheſt degree accompted of, tooke firſt an exception againſt the difference between Church-politie and matters of neceſſitie vnto ſaluation; ſecondly againſt the reſtraint of ſcripture, which they ſay receiueth iniurie at our hands, when we teach that it teacheth not as well matters of politie as of fayth and ſaluation. 3. Conſtrayned hereby we haue beene therfore both 3.
to maintaine that diſtinction as a thing not only true in it ſelfe, but by them likewiſe ſo acknowledged, though vnawares; 4. and to make manifeſt that from 4.
ſcripture we offer not to derogate the leaſt thing that truth thereunto doth claime, in as much as by vs it is willingly confeſt, that the ſcripture of God is a ſtorehouſe abounding with ineſtimable treaſures of wiſedome and knowledge in many kindes, ouer and aboue thinges in this one kinde barely neceſſary; yea euen that matters of Eccleſiaſticall politie are not therein omitted, but taught alſo, albeit not ſo taught as thoſe other thinges before mentioned. For ſo perfectly are thoſe things taught, that nothing can euer neede to be added, nothing euer ceaſe to be neceſſary; theſe on the contrarie ſide, as being of a farre other nature and qualitie, not ſo ſtrictly nor euerlaſtingly commaunded in ſcripture, but that vnto the complete forme of Church-politie much may be requiſite which the ſcripture teacheth not, and much which it hath taught become vnrequiſite, ſometime becauſe we neede not vſe it, ſometime alſo becauſe we can not. In which reſpect for mine owne part, although I ſee that certain reformed Churches, the Scottiſh eſpecially and French, haue not that which beſt agreeth with the ſacred ſcripture, I meane the gouernment that is by Biſhops, in as much as both thoſe Churches are fallen vnder a different kind of regiment which to remedie it is for the one altogether too late, and too ſoone for the other during their preſent affliction and trouble; this their defect and imperfection I had rather lament in ſuch caſe then exagitate, conſidering that men oftentimes without any fault of their owne, may be driuen to want that kind of politie or regiment which is beſt, and to content themſelues with that, which eyther the irremediable error of former times, or the neceſſitie of the preſent hath caſt vppon them. 5. Now becauſe that poſition firſt mentioned which holdeth it neceſſa- 5.
rie that all things which the Church may lawfully doe in her owne regiment be commaunded in holy ſcripture, hath by the later defendors thereof beene greatly qualified, who, though perceiuing it to be ouer extreme, are notwithſtanding loth to acknowledge any ouerſight therein, and therfore labour what they may to ſalue it by conſtruction, we haue for the more perſpicuitie deliuered what was thereby meant at the firſt; 6. how iniurious a thing it were vnto 6.
all the Churches of God for men to hold it in that meaning; 7. and how vn- 7.
perfect their interpretations are who ſo much labour to helpe it, eyther by diuiding commaundements of ſcripture into two kindes, and ſo defending that all thinges muſt be commaunded if not in ſpeciall, yet in generall precepts, 8. or 8.
by taking it as meant that in caſe the Church doe deuiſe any new order, ſhee ought therein to follow the direction of ſcripture onely, and not any ſtarlight of mans reaſon: 9. Both which euaſions being cut off, we haue in the next 9.
place declared after what ſort the Church may lawfully frame to her ſelfe lawes

of

of politie, and in what reckoning ſuch poſitiue lawes both are with God; and
10. ſhould be with men. 10. Furthermore becauſe to abridge the libertie of the Church in this behalfe, it hath beene made a thing very odious, that when God himſelfe hath deuiſed ſome certaine lawes and committed them to ſacred ſcripture, man by abrogation, addition, or any way ſhould preſume to alter and change them, it was of neceſſitie to be examined, whether the authoritie of God in making, or his care in committing thoſe his lawes vnto ſcripture, be ſufficient arguments to prooue that God doth in no caſe allow they ſhould ſuffer any
11. ſuch kind of change. 11. The laſt refuge for proofe that diuine lawes of Chriſtian Church-politie may not be altered by extinguiſhment of any olde or addition of new in that kinde, is partly a marueilous ſtrange diſcourſe that Chriſt (vnleſſe he would ſhow himſelfe not ſo faithfull as Moſes, or not [a] ſo wiſe as Lycurgus and Solon) muſt needes haue ſet downe in holy ſcripture ſome certaine complete and vnchangeable forme of politie; and partly a coloured ſhew of ſome euidence where change of that ſort of lawes may ſeeme expreſſely forbidden, although in truth nothing leſſe be done. I might haue added hereunto their more familiar and popular diſputes, as, The Church is a Citie, yea the City of the great king, and the life of a Citie is politie. The Church is the houſe of the liuing God, and what houſe can there be, without ſome order for the gouernement of it? In the royall houſe of a Prince there muſt be officers for gouernement ſuch as not any ſeruant in the houſe, but the Prince whoſe the houſe is ſhall iudge cõuenient. So the houſe of God muſt haue orders for the gouernment of it, ſuch as not any of the houſhold but God himſelfe hath appointed. It can not ſtand with the loue and wiſedome of God, to leaue ſuch order vntaken as is neceſſarie for the due gouernement of his Church. The numbers, degrees, orders, and attyre of Salomons ſeruants did ſhewe his wiſedome: therefore he which is greater then Salomon hath not fayled to leaue in his houſe ſuch orders for gouernement thereof, as may ſerue to be a looking glaſſe for his prouidence, care, and wiſedome to be ſeene in. That little ſparke of the light of nature which remayneth in vs may ſerue vs for thaffayres of this life. But as in all
» other matters concerning the kingdome of heauen, ſo principally in this which
» concerneth the very gouernement of that kingdome, needfull it is we ſhould be
» taught of God. As long as men are perſwaded of any order that it is only of mẽ,
» they preſume of their owne vnderſtanding and they thinke to deuiſe another
» not only as good, but better then that which they haue receiued. By ſeueritie
» of puniſhment this preſumption and curioſitie may be reſtrayned. But that can
» not worke ſuch cheerefull obedience as is yeelded, where the conſcience hath
» reſpect to God as the author of lawes and orders. This was it which countenanced the lawes of Moſes made concerning outward politie for thadminiſtration
» of holy things. The like ſome lawgiuers of the Heathens did pretende but falſly;
» yet wiſely diſcerning the vſe of this perſwaſion. For the better obedience ſake
» therfore it was expedient that God ſhold be author of the politie of his Church.

But to what iſſue doth all this come? A man would thinke that they which hold out with ſuch diſcourſes were of nothing more fully perſwaded then of this, that the ſcripture hath ſet down a complete forme of Church-politie, vniuerſall, perpetuall, altogether vnchangeable. For ſo it would follow, if the premiſes were found

[a] Niſi reip. ſuæ ſtatum omnẽ conſtituerit, magiſtratus ordinarit, ſingulorum munera poteſtatémq; deſcripſerit, quę iudiciorum foriq; ratio habenda, quomodo ciuium finiendę lites, non ſolum minus Eccleſiæ Chriſtianæ prouidit quam Moſes olim Iudaicæ, ſed quã a Lycurgo, Solone, Numa, ciuitatib. ſuis proſpectũ fit. Lib. de Eccleſiaſt. Diſc.

ſound and ſtrong to ſuch effect as is pretended. Notwithſtanding they which haue thus formally mainteyned argument in defence of the firſt ouerſight, are by the very euidence of trueth themſelues conſtrayned to make this in effect their cõcluſion, that the Scripture of God hath many things cõcerning Church-politie; that of thoſe many ſome are of greater waight, ſome of leſſe; that what hath beene vrged as touching immutabilitie of lawes it extendeth in truth no further then onely to lawes wherein things of greater moment are preſcribed. Now thoſe things of greater moment, what are they? Forſooth, *Doctors, Paſtors, Layelders, Elderſhips compounded of theſe three; Synods conſiſting of many Elderſhips; Deacons, women-church ſeruants or widowes; free conſent of the people vnto actions of greateſt moment, after they be by Churches or Synods orderly reſolued.* All *this forme* of politie (if yet we may terme that a forme of building, when men haue layd a fewe rafters together, and thoſe not all of the ſoundeſt neither) but howſoeuer, all *this forme* they conclude is preſcribed in ſuch ſort, that to adde to it anie thing as of like importance (for ſo I thinke they meane) or to abrogate of it any thing at all is vnlawfull. In which reſolution if they will firmely and conſtantly perſiſt, I ſee not but that concerning the points which hitherto haue beene diſputed of, they muſt agree that they haue moleſted the Church with needeleſſe opoſition, and henceforward as we ſaid before betake themſelues wholly vnto the tryall of particulars, whether euery of thoſe thinges which they eſteeme as principall, be eyther ſo eſteemed of, or at all eſtabliſhed for perpetuitie in holy ſcripture; and whether any particular thing in our Church-politie be receiued other then the ſcripture alloweth of, eyther in greater thinges or in ſmaller. The matters wherein Church-politie is conuerſant, are the publique religious duties of the Church, as the adminiſtration of the word and ſacraments, prayers, ſpirituall cenſures, & the like. To theſe the Church ſtandeth alwayes bound. Lawes of politie are lawes which appoint in what maner theſe duties ſhalbe performed. In performance whereof becauſe all that are of the Church can not iointly and equally worke, the firſt thing in politie required, is a difference of perſons in the Church, without which difference thoſe functions cannot in orderly ſort be executed. Hereupon we hold that Gods clergie are a ſtate which hath beene & will be, as long as there is a Church vpõ earth, neceſſarie by the plaine word of God himſelfe, a ſtate whereunto the reſt of Gods people muſt be ſubiect as touching things that appertaine to their ſoules health. For where politie is, it cannot but appoint ſome to be leaders of others, and ſome to be led by others. *If the blinde leade the blind they both periſh.* It is with the clergie, if their perſons be reſpected, euen as it is with other men; their qualitie many times farre beneath that, which the dignitie of their place requireth. Howbeit according to the order of politie, they being the *lightes of the world*, others (though better and wiſer) muſt that way be ſubiect vnto them. Againe for as much as where the clergie are any great multitude, order doth neceſſarily require that by degrees they be diſtinguiſhed, we holde there haue euer beene and euer ought to be in ſuch caſe, at leaſt wiſe two ſorts of Eccleſiaſtical perſons, the one ſubordinate vnto the other, as to the Apoſtles in the beginning, and to the Biſhops alwayes ſince we finde plainely both in ſcripture and in all Eccleſiaſticall records, other miniſters of the word and ſacraments haue beene. Moreouer it cannot enter into any mans con-

The defence of Godly Miniſt. againſt D. Bridges p. 133.

Luc. 6. 39.

Matth. 5. 14.

ceipt

ceipt to thinke it lawfull, that euery man which liſteth ſhould take vppon him charge in the Church, and therfore a ſollemne admittance is of ſuch neceſſitie that without it there can be no Church-politie. A nũber of particularities there are which make for the more conuenient being of theſe principall & perpetuall parts in Eccleſiaſticall politie, but yet are not of ſuch conſtant vſe and neceſſitie in Gods Church. Of this kind are times & places appointed for the exerciſe of religion; ſpecialties belonging to the publike ſolemnitie of the worde, the ſacraments, and prayer; thenlargement or abridgement of functions miniſteriall depending vpon thoſe two principall before mentioned; to conclude, euen whatſoeuer doth by way of formality & circumſtance concerne any publique action of the Church. Now although that which the ſcripture hath of thinges in the former kind be for euer permanẽt; yet in the later both much of that which the ſcripture teacheth is not alwayes needfull; and much the Church of God ſhall alwayes need which the ſcripture teacheth not. So as the forme of politie by thẽ ſet downe for perpetuitie is three wayes faulty. Faulty in omitting ſome things which in ſcripture are of that nature, as namely the difference that ought to be of Paſtors when they grow to any great multitude; faultie in requiring Doctors, Deacons, Widowes, and ſuch like as things of perpetuall neceſſitie by the lawe of God which in truth are nothing leſſe; faultie alſo in vrging ſome thinges by ſcripture immutable, as their Layelders, which the ſcripture neither maketh immutable nor at all teacheth, for any thing eyther we can as yet find, or they haue hitherto beene able to prooue. But hereof more in the bookes that followe. As for thoſe meruelous diſcourſes wherby they aduenture to argue that God muſt needs haue done the thing which they imagine was to be done, I muſt confeſſe I haue often wondered at their exceeding boldnes herein. When the queſtion is whether God haue deliuered in ſcripture (as they affirme he hath) a complet particular immutable forme of Church-politie, why take they that other both preſumptuous and ſuperfluous labour to proue he ſhould haue done it, there being no way in this caſe to proue the deede of God ſauing only by producing that euidence wherein he hath done it? But if there be no ſuch thing apparent vpon record, they do as if one ſhould demaund a legacie by force and vertue of ſome written teſtament, wherein there being no ſuch thing ſpecifyed, he pleadeth that there it muſt needs be, and bringeth argumẽts from the loue or goodwill which alwayes the teſtatour bore him, imagining that theſe or the like profes will conuict a teſtament to haue that in it which other men can no where by reading find. In matters which concerne the actions of God the moſt dutiful way on our part is to ſearch what God hath done, and with meekenes to admire that, rather thẽ to diſpute what he in congruity of reaſon ought to do. The waies which he hath whereby to do all things for the greateſt good of his Church are mo in nũber then we can ſearch, other in nature then that we ſhould preſume to determine which of many ſhould be the fitteſt for him to chooſe, till ſuch time as we ſee he hath choſen of many ſome one, which one we then may boldly cõclude to be the fitteſt becauſe he hath takẽ it before the reſt. When we do otherwiſe, ſurely we exceede our bounds, who & where we are we forget, & therfore needfull it is that our pride in ſuch caſes be controld, & our diſputes beaten back with thoſe demands of the bleſſed Apoſtle, *How vnſearchable are his iudgments, and his wayes paſt finding out? Who hath knowne the mind of the Lord, or who was his coũſellor?*

Rom. 11. 33.

The fourth Booke,

Concerning their third assertion, that our forme of Church-politie is corrupted with popish orders rites and ceremonies banished out of certaine reformed Churches whose example therein we ought to haue followed.

The matter contayned in this fourth Booke.

1 *HOw great vse ceremonies haue in the Church.*
2 *The first thing they blame in the kinde of our ceremonies is, that wee haue not in them auncient Apostolicall simplicitie but a greater pompe and statelines.*
3 *The second, that so many of them are the same which the Church of Rome vseth, and the reasons which they bring to proue them for that cause blame worthie.*
4 *How when they go about to expound what popish ceremonies they meane, they contradict their owne arguments against popish ceremonies.*
5 *An answere to the argument whereby they would proue that sith we allow the customes of our fathers to be followed, we therefore may not allow such customes as the Church of Rome hath, because we cannot accompt of the which are in that Church as of our fathers.*
6 *To their allegation that the course of Gods owne wisedome doth make against our conformitie with the Church of Rome in such things.*
7 *To the example of the eldest Churches which they bring for the same purpose.*
8 *That it is not our best politie (as they pretend it is) for establishment of sound Religion to haue in these thinges no agreement with the Church of Rome being vnsound.*
9 *That neither the papists vpbraiding vs as furnished out of their store, nor any hope which in that respect they are said to conceyue, doth make any more against our ceremonies then the former allegations haue done.*
10 *The griefe which they say godly brethren conceiue at such ceremonies as wee haue common with the Church of Rome.*
11 *The third thing for which they reproue a great part of our ceremonies is, for that as wee haue them from the Church of Rome, so that Church had them from the Iewes.*
12 *The fourth, for that sundry of them haue bene (they say) abused vnto idolatrie, and are by that meane become scandalous.*
13 *The fift, for that we retaine them stil notwithstanding the example of certaine Churches reformed before vs which haue cast them out*
14 *A declaration of the proceedings of the Church of England for the establishmēt of things as they are.*

1 SVch was the ancient simplicitie and softnes of spirit which sometimes preuailed in the world, that they whose wordes were euen as oracles amongst men, seemed euermore loth to giue sentence against any thing publiquely receiued in the Church of God, except it were wounderfull apparently euill, for that they did not so much incline to that seueritie which delighteth to reproue the least things it seeth amisse, as to

How great vse ceremonies haue in the Church.

that charity which is vnwilling to beholde any thing that duty bindeth it to reproue. The ſtate of this preſent age wherein zeale hath drowned charitie, & skill meknes, wil not now ſuffer any mā to maruel whatſoeuer he ſhal heare reproued by whōſoeuer. Thoſe rites & ceremonies of the Church therfore, which are the ſelfeſame now that they were when holy & vertuous men maintained thē againſt prophane and deriding aduerſaries, her owne children haue at this day in deriſion. Whether iuſtly or no, it ſhall then appeare when all thinges are heard which they haue to alleage againſt the outward receiued orders of this Church. Which in as much as them ſelues doe compare vnto *mint and comin*, graunting them to be no part of thoſe things which in the matter of politie are waightier, we hope that for ſmall things their ſtriſe will neither bee earneſt nor long. The ſifting of that which is obiected againſt the orders of the Church in particular, doth not belong vnto this place. Here we are to diſcuſſe onely thoſe generall exceptions, which haue bene taken at any time againſt them. Firſt therefore to the end that their nature and the vſe whereunto they ſerue may plainely appeare, and ſo afterwardes their qualitie the better be diſcerned, we are to note that in euery graūd or maine publique duty, which God requireth at the hands of his Church, there is, beſides that matter and forme wherein the eſſence thereof conſiſteth, a certaine outward faſhion whereby the ſame is in decent ſort adminiſtred. The ſubſtance of all Religious actions is deliuered from God him ſelf in few wordes. For examples ſake in the ſacraments. *Vnto the element let the word be added, and they both doe make a ſacrament*, ſaith S. Auguſtine. Baptiſme is giuen by the element of water, and that preſcript forme of words which the Church of Chriſt doth vſe; the ſacrament of the bodie and bloud of Chriſt is adminiſtred in the elements of bread and wine, if thoſe myſticall words be added thereunto. But the due and decent forme of adminiſtring thoſe holy ſacraments, doth require a great deale more. The end which is aimed at in ſetting downe the outward forme of all religious actions is the edification of the Church. Now men are edified, when either their vnderſtanding is taught ſomewhat whereof in ſuch actions it behoueth all men to conſider, or when their harts are moued with any affectiō ſuteable therunto, whē their minds are in any ſorte ſtirred vp vnto that reuerence, deuotion, attention & due regard, which in thoſe caſes ſemeth requiſite. Becauſe therfore vnto this purpoſe not only ſpeech but ſundry ſenſible meanes beſids haue alwaies bene thought neceſſary, & eſpecially thoſe meanes which being obiect to the eye, the liuelieſt & the moſt apprehenſiue ſenſe of all other, haue in that reſpect ſeemed the fitteſt to make a deepe and a ſtrong impreſſion, from hence haue riſen not onely a number of prayers, readinges, queſtionninges, exhortings, but euen of viſible ſignes alſo, which being vſed in performance of holy actions, are vndoubtedly moſt effectual to opē ſuch matter, as men when they know and remember carefully, muſt needes be a great deal the better informed to what effect ſuch duties ſerue. We muſt not think but that there is ſome ground of reaſon euen in nature, whereby it commeth to paſſe that no nation vnder heauen either doth or euer did ſuffer publique actions which are of waight whether they be ciuil & temporall or els ſpiritual & ſacred, to paſſe without ſome viſible ſolemnitie; the very ſtrangenes whereof and difference from that which is common, doth cauſe popular eyes to obſerue and to marke the ſame. Wordes both becauſe they are common, and doe not ſo ſtronglye moue the phancie of man, are for the moſt parte but ſleightlye heard:

Mat. 23. 23. The doctrine and diſcipline of the Church as the waightieſt things ought eſpecially to be looked vnto: but the ceremonies alſo, as *mint and comyn*, ought not to be neglected. T. C. l. 3 p. 171.

heard: and therfore with ſingular wiſdome it hath bene prouided, that the deeds of men which are made in the preſence of witneſſes, ſhould paſſe not onely with wordes but alſo with certaine ſenſible actions, the memory whereof is farre more eaſie and durable then the memorie of ſpeech can be. The thinges which ſo long experience of all ages hath confirmed and made profitable, let not vs preſume to condemne as follies and toyes, becauſe wee ſometimes knowe not the cauſe and reaſon of them. A wit diſpoſed to ſcorne whatſoeuer it doth not conceaue, might aske wherfore *Abraham* ſhould ſay to his ſeruant, *Put thy hand vnder my thigh and ſweare*: was it not ſufficient for his ſeruant to ſhew the Religion of an othe by naming the Lord God of heauen and earth, vnleſſe that ſtraunge ceremonie were added? In contractes bargaines and conueiances a mans worde is a token ſufficient to expreſſe his wil. *Yet this was the auncient manner in Iſraell concerning redeeming and exchanging to eſtabliſh all thinges; A man did plucke of his ſhoe and gaue it his neighbour; and this was a ſure witnes in Iſrael.* Amongſt the Romans in their making of a bondman free, was it not wondered wherefore ſo great a doe ſhoulde be made? The maſter to preſent his ſlaue in ſome court, to take him by the hand, and not onely to ſay in the hearing of the publique magiſtrate, *I will that this man become free*, but after theſe ſolemne wordes vttered, to ſtrike him on the cheeke, to turne him round, the heare of his head to bee ſhaued of, the magiſtrate to touch him thriſe with a rod, in the end a cap and a white garment to be giuen him. To what purpoſe al this circumſtance? Amongſt the *Hebrewes* how ſtraunge & in outward appearance almoſt againſt reaſon, that he which was minded to make him ſelfe a perpetual ſeruant, ſhould not onely teſtifie ſo much in the preſence of the iudge, but for a viſible token thereof haue alſo his eare bored through with a nawle? It were an infinite labour to proſecute theſe things ſo farr as they might be exemplified both in ciuill and religious actions. For in both they haue their neceſſary vſe and force. [a] *The ſenſible things which Religion hath hallowed, are reſemblances framed according to things ſpiritually vnderſtood, whereunto they ſerue as a hand to lead and a way to direct.* And whereas it may peraduenture be obiected, that to adde to religious duties ſuch rites & ceremonies as are ſignificant, is to inſtitute newe ſacraments: ſure I am, they will not ſay that *Numa Pompilius* did ordaine a ſacrament, a ſignificant ceremonie hee did ordaine in commaunding the prieſts [b] *to execute the work of their diuine ſeruice with their handes as far as to the fingers couered, thereby ſignifiing that fidelitie muſt be defended and that mens right handes are the ſacred ſeat therof.* Againe we are alſo to put them in minde, that themſelues do not holde all ſignificant ceremonies for ſacramentes, in as much as impoſition of handes they denie to be a ſacrament, and yet they giue thereunto a forcible ſignification, for concerning it their words are theſe, [c] *The partie ordained by this ceremonie was put in minde of his ſeparation to the worke of the Lord, that remembring him ſelfe to be taken as it were with the hande of God from amongſt others, this might teach him not to accompt him ſelfe now his owne, nor to doe what him ſelfe liſteth, but to conſider that God hath ſet him about a worke which if he will diſcharge and accompliſh, he may at the hands of God aſſure him ſelfe of rewarde; and if otherwiſe, of reuenge.* Touching ſignificant ceremonies ſome of them are ſacramentes, ſome as ſacramentes oneiy. Sacraments are thoſe which are ſignes & tokens of ſome generall promiſed grace, which alwaies really deſcēdeth frō god vnto the ſoul that duly receiueth thē; other ſignificant tokēs are

Gen. 24. 2.

Ruth. 4. 7.

Exod. 21. 6.

a Dioniſ. p. 121 τὰ μὲ αἰσθητὰ ἱερὰ τῶν νοητῶν ἀπεικονίσματα, ἐπ' αὐτὰ χειραγωγία καὶ ὁδός.

b Liu l. 1. Manu ad digitos vſque in volutā rem diuinā facere, ſignificantes ſidem tutandam ſedemque eius etiam in dextris ſacratam eſſe.

c Eccl. diſci. fol. 51.

onely as ſacraments, yet no ſacraments: which is not our diſtinction but theirs.
Fol.25. For concerning the Apoſtles impoſition of handes theſe are their owne wordes *Manuum ſignum hoc & quaſi ſacramentum vſurparunt*. They vſed this ſigne or as it were ſacrament.

The firſt thing they blame in the kind of our ceremonis is that we haue not in them ancient Apoſtolicall ſimplicitie, but a greater pompe and ſtatelines. lib.eccle.diſci. & T.C.l.3.p. 181.

2 Concerning rites and ceremonies there may be fault, either in the kind or in the number and multitude of them. The firſt thing blamed about the kind of ours is, that in many thinges we haue departed from the auncient ſimplicitie of Chriſt and his Apoſtles, we haue embraced more outwarde ſtatelines, we haue thoſe orders in the exerciſe of Religion, which they who beſt pleaſed God and ſerued him moſt deuoutly neuer had. For it is out of doubt that the firſt ſtate of thinges was beſt, that in the prime of Chriſtian Religion faith was ſoundeſt, the ſcriptures of God were then beſt vnderſtood by all men, al partes of godlines did then moſt abound: and therefore it muſt needes follow, that cuſtomes lawes & ordinances deuiſed ſince are not ſo good for the Church of Chriſt, but the beſt way is to cut of later inuentions, and to reduce things vnto the auncient ſtate wherin at the firſt they were. Which rule or canō we hold to be either vncertaine or at leaſt wiſe vnſufficient; if not both. For in caſe it be certaine, hard it cannot be for them to ſhew vs, where we ſhall finde it ſo exactly ſet downe, that wee may ſay without all controuerſie, *Theſe were the orders of the Apoſtles times, theſe wholy and onely, neither fewer nor moe then theſe.* True it is that many things of this nature be alluded vnto, yea many thinges declared, and many thinges neceſſarily collected out of the Apoſtles writinges. But is it neceſſary that all the orders of the Church which were then in vſe ſhould be contained in their bookes? Surely no. For if the tenor of their writinges be well obſerued, it ſhall vnto any man eaſily appeare, that no more of them are there touched, then were needfull to be ſpoken of ſometimes by one occaſion, and ſometimes by another. Will they allowe then of any other recordes beſides? Well aſſured I am they are farre enough from acknowledging that the Church ought to keepe any thing as Apoſtolical, which is not found in the Apoſtles writings in what other recordes ſoeuer it be founde.

Tom.7.de.bap contra Donatiſt.lib.5.cap. 23.

T.C.lib.1.p.31. *If this iudgement of S. Auguſtine bee a good Iudgement and ſound, then there be ſome things commaunded of God, which are not in the ſcriptures, and therfore there is no ſufficient doctrine contained in ſcripture wherebye we may be ſaued. For all the commaundements of God and of the Apoſtles are neceſſull for our ſaluation.*

And therefore whereas S. Auguſtine affirmeth that thoſe thinges which the whole Church of Chriſt doth hold, may well bee thought to be Apoſtolicall although they bee not found written, this his iudgement they vtterly condemne. I wil not here ſtand in defence of S. Auguſtines opinion, which is, that ſuch thinges are indeede Apoſtolicall, but yet with this exception, vnleſſe the decree of ſome generall councell haue happily cauſed them to be receiued: for of poſitiue lawes and orders receiued throughout the whole Chriſtian world, S. Auguſtine could imagine no other fountaine ſaue theſe two. But to let paſſe S. Auguſtine, they who condemne him herein muſt needes confeſſe it a very vncertaine thinge what
Vid.Epiſt.118 the orders of the Church were in the Apoſtles times, ſeeing the ſcriptures doe not mention them all, and other recordes thereof beſides they vtterly reiect. So that in tying the Church to the orders of the Apoſtles times, they tye it to a meruelous vncertaine rule, vnleſſe they require the obſeruation of no orders but only thoſe which are knowne to to be Apoſtolicall by the Apoſtles owne writinges. But thē is not this their rule of ſuch ſufficiēcie, that we ſhould vſe it as a touchſtōe

to

to try the orders of the Church by for euer. Our ende ought alwaies to bee the ſame, our waies and meanes thereunto not ſo. The glorie of God and the good of his Church was the thing which the Apoſtles aymed at, and therefore ought to bee the marke whereat we alſo leuell. But ſeeing thoſe rites and orders may be at one time more, which at an other are leſſe auaileable vnto that purpoſe: what reaſon is there in theſe thinges to vrge the ſtate of one onely age, as a patterne for all to followe? It is not I am right ſure their meaniug, that we ſhould now aſſemble our people to ſerue God in cloſe and ſecret meetings, or that common brookes and riuers ſhoulde be vſed for places of baptiſme, or that the Euchariſt ſhoulde bee miniſtred after meate, or that the cuſtome of Church feaſting ſhoulde be renewed, or that all kinde of ſtanding prouiſion for the miniſterie ſhoulde be vtterly taken away, and their eſtate made againe dependent vpon the voluntary deuotion of men. In theſe thinges they eaſily perceiue how vnfit that were for the preſent, which was for the firſt age conuenient enough. The faith zeale & godlines of former times is worthylie had in honour: but doth this proue that the orders of the Church of Chriſt muſt bee ſtill the ſelfe ſame with theirs, that nothing may bee which was not then; or that nothing which then was may lawfully ſince haue ceaſed? They who recall the Church vnto that which was at the firſt, muſt neceſſarily ſet boundes and limites vnto their ſpeaches. If any thing haue bene receaued repugnant vnto that which was firſt deliuered, the firſt thinges in this caſe muſt ſtand, the laſt giue place vnto them. But where difference is without repugnancie, that which hath bene can be no preiudice to that which is. Let the ſtate of the people of God when they were in the houſe of bondage, and their manner of ſeruing God in a ſtraunge land be compared with that which Canaan and Ieruſalem did afforde, and who ſeeth not what huge difference there was betweene them? In Ægypt it may be they were right glad to take ſome corner of a poore cottage, and there to ſerue God vpon their knees, peraduenture couered in duſt and ſtrawe ſometimes. Neither were they therefore the leſſe accepted of God, but he was with them in all their afflictions, and at the length by working their admirable deliueraunce did teſtifie, that they ſerued him not in vaine. Notwithſtanding in the very deſert they are no ſooner poſſeſt of ſome little thing of their owne, but a tabernacle is required at their handes. Being planted in the land of Canaan, and hauing Dauid to be their King, when the Lorde had giuen him reſt from all his enimies, it greeued his religious minde to conſider the grouth of his owne eſtate and dignitie, the affaires of Religion continuing ſtill in their former manner. *Beholde now I dwell in an houſe of Cedar trees and the Arke of God remaineth ſtill within curtaines.* 2. Sam. 7. 2. What hee did purpoſe it was the pleaſure of God that Salomon his ſonne ſhoulde performe, and performe it in manner ſutable vnto their preſent, not their auncient eſtate and condition. For which cauſe Salomon writeth vnto the King of *Tyrus*, *The houſe which I build is great and wounderfull, for great is our God aboue all Gods.* 2. Chro. 2. 5. Whereby it clearely appeareth that the orders of the Church of God may bee acceptable vnto him, as well being framed ſutable to the greatnes and dignitie of later, as when they keepe the reuereud ſimplicity of auncienter tymes. Such diſſimilitude therefore betweene vs and the Apoſtles of Chriſt in the order of ſome outward thinges is no argument of default.

Our orders & ceremonies blamed in that so many of thē are the same which the Church of Rome vseth. Eccles. discipl. fol. 12. T.C. lib. 1. p. 131.

3 Yea, but wee haue framed our selues to the customes of the Church of Rome: our orders and ceremonies are papisticall. It is espied, that our Church-founders were not so carefull as in this matter they shoulde haue bene, but contented them selues with such discipline, as they took from the Church of Rome. Their error we ought to reforme by abolishing all Popish orders. There must bee no communion nor fellowship with Papistes *neither in doctrine, ceremonies, nor gouernment*. It is not enough that wee are deuided from the Church of Rome by the single wall of doctrine, retening as wee doe parte of their ceremonies, and almost their whole gouernment: but gouernment are ceremonies or whatsoeuer it be which is popish, away with it. This is the thinge they require in vs, the vtter relinquishment of all thinges popish. Wherein to the ende wee may aunswere them according vnto their plaine direct meaning, and not take aduantage of doubtfull speach, whereby controuersies growe alwaies endlesse; their maine position being this, that *nothing shoulde bee placed in the Church but what God in his worde hath commaunded*, they must of necessitie holde all for popish, which the Church of Rome hath ouer and besides this. By popish orders ceremonies and gouernment they must therefore meane in euery of these so much, as the Church of Rome hath embraced without commandemen of Gods worde, so that whatsoeuer such thing wee haue, if the Church of Rome haue it also, it goeth vnder the name of those thinges that are popish, yea although it be lawfull, although agreeable to the worde of God. For so they plainely affirme saying. *Although the formes and ceremonies which they* (the Church of Rome) *vsed were not vnlawfull, and that they contained nothing which is not agreeable to the worde of God, yet not withstanding neither the worde of God, nor reason, nor the Apostles of the eldest Churches both Iewish and Christian doe permit vs to vse the same formes and ceremonies being neither commaunded of God, neither such as there may not as good as they and rather better be established.* The question therefore is, whether we may follow the Church of Rome in those orders rites and ceremonies, wherein we doe not thinke them blameable, or els ought to deuise others, and to haue no conformitie with them, no not as much as in these thinges. In this sense and construction therefore as they affirme, so we deny that whatsoeuer is popish wee ought to abrogate. Their arguments to proue that generally all popish orders and ceremonies ought to be cleane abolished, are in summe these. *First whereas wee allowe the iudgement of Saint Augustine, that touching those thinges of this kinde which are not commaunded or forbidden in the Scripture, wee are to obserue the custome of the people of God and decree of our forefathers: how can we retaine the customes and constitutions of the papistes in such thinges, who were neither the people of God nor our forefathers?* Secondly *although the formes and ceremonies of the Church of Rome were not vnlawful, neither did containe any thing which is not agreeable to the worde of God, yet neither the worde of God, nor the examples of the Eldest Churches of God, nor reason doe permit vs to vse the same;* they being heretiques, and so neere about vs, *and their orders being neither commaunded of God, nor yet such but that as good or rather better may be established. It is against the worde of God to haue conformitie with the Church of Rome in such things, as appeareth in that the wisdome of God hath thought it a good way to keepe his people from infection of idolatry and superstition, by seuering them from idolaters in outwarde ceremonies; and therefore hath forbidden them to do thinges which are in them selues very*

T, C, lib, 1. p, 20.

T, C, lib, 1. p, 25.

T, C, l, 1, p, 131

T, C, l, 1, p, 30,

T, C, l, 1, p, 131

lawfull

lawfull to be done. And further whereas the Lorde was carefull to ſeuer them by ceremonies from other nations, yet was he not ſo carefull to ſeuer them from any, as from the Ægiptians amongſt whome they liued, and from thoſe nations which were next neighbours vnto them, becauſe frõ them was the greateſt feare of infection. So that following the courſe which the wiſedome of God doth teach, *it were more ſafe for vs to confirme our indifferent ceremonies to the Turkes which are farre of, then to the papiſtes which are ſo neere. Touching the example of the eldeſt Churches of God, in one councell it was decreed, that Chriſtians ſhoulde not decke their houſes with baye leaues and greene boughes becauſe the Pagans did vſe ſo to doe, and that they ſhoulde not reſt from their labours thoſe daies that the Pagans did, that they ſhoulde not keepe the firſt day of euery month as they did. Another councell decreed, that Chriſtians ſhoulde not celebrate feaſtes on the birth daies of the Martyrs becauſe it was the manner of the heathẽ. O ſaith Tertullian, better is the Religion of the* Heathen: *for they vſe no ſolemnitie of the Chriſtians, neither the Lordes daye, neither the Pentecoſt, and if they knew them, they woulde haue nothing to doe with them: for they woulde be afraid leaſt they ſhoulde ſeeme Chriſtians, but we are not affraid to be called heathen. The ſame Tertullian woulde not haue Chriſtians to ſit after they had prayed, becauſe the Idolaters did ſo. Whereby it appeareth that both of particular men and of councels in making or aboliſhing of ceremonies, heed hath bene taken, that the Chriſtians ſhould not be like the Idolaters, no not in thoſe thinges which of them ſelues are moſt indifferent to be vſed or not vſed. The ſame conformitie is not leſſe oppoſite vnto reaſon; firſt in as much as Contraries muſt be cured by their contraries, and therefore Popery being Antichriſtianitie is not healed, but by eſtabliſhment of orders thereunto oppoſite. The way to bring a drunken man to ſobrietie is to carry him as far frõ exceſſe of drinke as may be. To rectifie a crooked ſticke we bende it on the contrarie ſide, as farre as it was at the firſt on that ſide from whence we drawe it, and ſo it commeth in the ende to a middle betweene both, which is perfecte ſtraightnes. Vtter Inconformitie therefore with the Church of Rome in theſe thinges is the beſt and ſureſt policie which the Church can vſe. while we vſe their ceremonies, they take occaſion to blaſpheme, ſaying, that our Religion cannot ſtand by it ſelfe, vnleſſe it leane vpon the ſtaffe of their ceremonies. They hereby conceaue great hope of hauing the reſt of their popery in the end; which hope cauſeth them to be more frozen in their wickednes. Neither is it without cauſe that they haue this hope, conſidering that which maſter Bucer noteth vpõ the 18. of Saint Mathew, that where theſe thinges haue bene left, Popery hath returned: but on the other parte in places which haue bene cleanſed of theſe thinges, it hath not yet bene ſeene that it hath had any entrance. None make ſuch clamors for theſe ceremonies, as the papiſtes and thoſe whome they ſuborne; a manifeſt token how much they triumph and ioy in theſe thinges. They breede greife of minde in a number, that are godly minded and haue Antichriſtianitie in ſuch deteſtation, that their mindes are martyred with the very ſight of them in the Church. Such godly brethren we ought not thus to greiue with vnprofitable ceremonies, yea, ceremonies wherein there is not onely no profit, but alſo daunger of great hurte, that may growe to the Church by infection, which popiſh ceremonies are meanes to breede.* This in effect is the ſumme and ſubſtance of that which they bring by way of oppoſition againſt thoſe orders which we haue commõ with the Church of Rome, theſe are the reaſons where with they woulde proue our ceremonies in that reſpect worthy of blame.

T. C. l. 1 p. 131. Tom. 1. Braca. 73.

Con. Africa. cap. 27.

Lib. de Idololatria. He ſeemeth to meane the feſt of Eaſter day celebrated in the memory of our Sauiours reſurrection and for that cauſe termed the Lordes day Lib. de Anima

T. C. l. 3. p. 178

T. C. l. 3. p. 179

T. C. l. 3. p. 180

4 Before

That whereas they who blame vs in this behalfe, when reaſon euicteth that all ſuch ceremonies are not to be aboliſhed, make anſwere that when they condemne popiſh ceremonies, their meaning is of ceremonies vnprofitable, or ceremonies in ſtead wherof as good or better may be deuiſed: they cannot hereby get out of the briers, but contradict and gainesay them ſelues, in as much as their vſuall maner is to proue that ceremonies vncommaunded of God and yeat vſed in the Church of Rome are for *this very cauſe* vnprofitable to vs, and not ſo good as others in their place woulde be.

4 Before we anſwere vnto theſe thinges we are to cut of that, whereunto they, from whome theſe obiections proceed, do oftentimes flie for defence and ſuccor, when the force and ſtrength of their argumẽts is elided. For the ceremonies in vſe amongſt vs being in no other reſpect retained, ſauing onely for that to retaine them is to our ſeeming good and profitable, yea, ſo profitable and ſo good, that if we had either ſimply taken them cleane away, or els remoued them ſo as to place in their ſtead others, we had done worſe: the plaine & direct way againſt vs herein had bene only to proue, that all ſuch ceremonies as they require to be aboliſhed are retayned by vs with the hurt of the Church, or with leſſe benefit then the aboliſhmẽt of thẽ would bring. But for as much as they ſaw how hardly they ſhould be able to performe this, they took a more compendious way, traducing the ceremonies of our Church vnder the name of being popiſh. The cauſe why this way ſeemed better vnto them was, for that the name of Popery is more odious then very Paganiſme amongſt diuers of the more ſimple ſorte, ſo as whatſoeuer they heare named popiſh, they preſently conceaue deepe hatred againſt it, imagining ther can be nothing contained in that name but needs it muſt be exceeding deteſtable. The eares of the people they haue therfore filled with ſtrong clamour, *The Church of Englãd is fraught with popiſh ceremonies: They that fauour the cauſe of reformation maintaine nothing but the ſinceritie of the Goſpell of Ieſus Chriſt: All ſuch as withſtand them fight for the lawes of his ſworne enemie, vphold the filthy reliques of Antichriſt, and are defenders of that which is popiſh*. Theſe are the notes wherwith are drawn frõ the harts of the multitude ſo many ſighs, with theſe tunes their mindes are exaſperated againſt the lawfull guides and gouernors of their ſouls, theſe are the voices that fil them with general diſcõtentment, as though the boſome of that famous Church wherin they liue, were more noyſome then any dungeon. But when the authors of ſo ſcandalous incantations are examined, and called to accompt how they can iuſtifie ſuch their dealings, when they are vrged directly to aunſwere, whether it be lawfull for vs to vſe any ſuch ceremonies as the Church of Rome vſeth, although the ſame be not commanded in the word of God, being driuen to ſee that the vſe of ſome ſuch ceremonies muſt of neceſſitie be graunted lawfull, they go about to make vs beleeue that they are iuſt of the ſame opinion, and that they only thinke ſuch ceremonies are not to be vſed when they are vnprofitable, or when as good or better may be eſtabliſhed. Which anſwere is both idle in regard of vs, and alſo repugnant to them ſelues. It is in regard of vs very vaine to make this aunſwere, becauſe they know that what ceremonies we retaine common vnto the Church of Rome, wee therefore retaine them, for that we iudge them to be profitable, and to bee ſuch that others in ſteade of them would be worſe. So that when they ſay that we ought to abrogate ſuch Romiſh ceremonies as are vnprofitable, or els might haue other more profitable in their ſtead, they trifle and they beate the aire about nothing which toucheth vs, vnleſſe they meane that wee ought to abrogate all Romiſh ceremonies which in their iudgement haue either noe vſe, or leſſe vſe then ſome other might haue. But then muſt they ſhewe ſome commiſſion, whereby they are authorized to ſit as iudges and

T.C.l.p.171. *What an open vntruth is it that this is one of our principles not to be lawful to vſe the ſame ceremonies which the papiſtes did: when as I haue both before declared the contrary, and euen here haue expreſly added, that they are not to be vſed when as good or better may be eſtabliſhed?*

and we required to take their iudgement for good in this caſe. Otherwiſe their ſentences will not be greatly regarded, when they oppoſe their *Me thinketh* vnto the orders of the Church of England: as in the queſtion about ſurpleſſes one of them doth, *If we looke to the coulor black me thinketh is more decent; if to the forme, a garment downe to the foote hath a great deale more comlynes in it.* If they thinke that we ought to proue the ceremonies commodious which we haue retained, they do in this pointe very greatly deceaue them ſelues. For in all right & equitie that which the Church hath receiued & held ſo long for good, that which publique approbation hath ratified, muſt cary the benefite of preſumption with it to be accompted meete and conuenient. They which haue ſtoode vp as yeſterday to chalenge it of defect, muſt proue their challenge. If we being defendates do anſwere, that the ceremonies in queſtion are godly, comely, decent, profitable for the Church their replie is childiſh & vnorderly to ſay, that we demaunde the thing in queſtion & ſhew the pouertie of our cauſe, the goodnes whereof we are faine to begge that our aduerſaries woulde graunt. For on our part this muſt bee the aunſwere, which orderly proceeding doth require. The burthen of prouing doth reſt on them. In them it is friuolous to ſay, wee ought not to vſe bad ceremonies of the Church of Rome, and preſume all ſuch bad as it pleaſeth them ſelues to diſlike, vnleſſe we can perſwade them the contrary. Beſides they are herein oppoſite alſo to them ſelues. For what one thing is ſo common with thē, as to vſe the cuſtome of the Church of Rome for an argument to proue, that ſuch and ſuch ceremonies cānot be good & profitable for vs, in as much as that Church vſeth them? Which vſual kind of diſputing ſheweth, that they do not diſallow only thoſe Romiſh ceremonies which are vnprofitable, but count all vnprofitable which are Romiſh; that is to ſay, which haue bene deuiſed by the Church of Rome, or which are vſed in that Church and not preſcribed in the word of God. For this is the onely limitation which they can vſe ſutable vnto their other poſitions. And therefore the cauſe which they yeeld, why they hold it lawful to retaine in *Doctrine* and in *Diſcipline* ſome things as good, which yet are common to the Church of Rome is, for that thoſe good things are perpetuall commandements in whoſe place no other can come; but ceremonies are changeable. So that their iudgement in truth is, that whatſoeuer by the word of God is not vnchangeable in the Church of Rome, that Churches vſing is a cauſe, why reformed Churches ought to chaūge it, & not to thinke it good or profitable. And leaſt we ſeeme to father any thinge vpon them more then is properly their owne, let them reade euen their owne wordes, where they cōplaine that *we are thus conſtrained to be like vnto the papiſtes in Any their ceremonies*, yea, they vrge that this cauſe, *T. C. lib. 3. p. 177. And that this complaint of ours is iuſt* although it were alone, ought to moue them to whom that belongeth to do thē away, *for as much as they are their ceremonies*, and that the B. of Salisbury doth iuſtifie this their complaint. The clauſe is vntrue which they adde concerning the B. of Salisbury; but the ſentence doth ſhew that we do them no wrong in ſetting downe the ſtate of queſtion betweene vs thus, Whether wee ought to aboliſh out of the Church of England all ſuch orders rites and ceremonies as are eſtabliſhed in the Church of Rome, and are not preſcribed in the word of God.

Eccleſi. diſcipl. fol. 100.

T. C. l. 3. p. 176 *As for your oftē repeating that the ceremonies in queſtion are godly comely & decent: it is your old wont of demaunding the thing in queſtion, & an vndoubted argument of your extreme pouerty*

T. C. l. p. 174.

in that we are thus conſtrained to be like vnto the papiſtes in any their ceremonies, and that this cauſe onely ought to moue them, to whome that belongeth, to doe theirs awaye for aſmuch as they are their ceremonies: the reader may further ſee in the B. Salisbury, who bringes diuerſe prooſes thereof.

For

For the affirmatiue whereof we are now to answere such proofes of theirs as haue bene before alleaged.

That our allowing the customes of our fathers to be followed is no proofe y we may not allow some customs which the Church of Rome hath, although we doe not accõpt of them as of our fathers.

5 Let the Church of Rome be what it will, let them that are of it bee the people of God and our fathers in the Christian faith, or let them be other wise, hold them for Catholiques or holde them for heretiques, it is not a thing either one way or other in this present question greatly material. Our confirmitie with them in such thinges as haue bene proposed, is not proued as yet vnlawfull by all this. S. Augustine hath said, yea, and we haue allowed his saying; *That the custome of the people of God and the decrees of our forefathers are to be kept, touching those things whereof the scripture hath neither one way nor other giuen vs any charge*. What then? Doth it here therefore follow, that they being neither the people of God nor our forefathers, are for that cause in nothing to be followed? This consequent were good if so be it were graunted, that onely the custome of the people of God & the decrees of our forefathers are in such case to be obserued. But then should no other kind of later laws in the Church be good, which were a grosse absurditie to think. S. Augustines speach therefore doth import, that where we haue no diuine precept, if yet we haue the custome of the people of God or a decree of our forefathers, this is a lawe and must be kept. Notwithstanding it is not denied, but that we lawfully may obserue the positiue constitutions of our owne Churches, although the same were but yesterday made by our selues alone. Nor is there any thing in this to proue, that the Church of England might not by lawe receiue orders rites or customes from the Church of Rome, although they were neither the people of God nor yet our forefathers. How much lesse when we haue receiued from them nothing, but that which they did them selues receiue from such, as wee cannot deny to haue bene the people of God, yea such, as either wee must acknowledge for our owne forefathers or els disdaine the race of Christ?

That the course which the wisdome of God doth teach maketh not against our conformitie which the Church of Rome in such things.

6 The rites and orders wherein we followe the Church of Rome are of no other kind then such as the Church of *Geneua* it selfe doth followe them in. We follow the church of Rome in mo things; yet they in some things of the same nature about which our present controuersie is: so that the difference is not in the kind, but in the number of rites only, wherein they and we doe follow the Church of Rome. The vse of wafer-cakes, the custome of godfathers & godmothers in baptisme are things not commanded nor forbidden in scripture, thinges which haue bene of olde & are reteined in the Church of Rome euen at this very hower. Is conformitie with Rome in such thinges a blemish vnto the Church of England, & vnto Churches abroad an ornament? Let thẽ, if not for the reuerence they owe vnto this Church, in the bowels whereof they haue receiued I trust that pretious and blessed vigor, which shall quicken them to eternall life, yet at the leastwise for the singular affection which they do beare towardes others, take heede how they strike, least they wound whom they would not. For vndoubtedly it cutteth deeper then they are aware of, whẽ they plead that euẽ such ceremonis of the church of Rome, as cõteine in them nothing which is not of it self agreable to the worde of God ought neuertheless to be abolished; and that neither the word of God, nor reason, nor the examples of the eldest Churches doe permit the Church of Rome to be therein followed. Heretiques they are, & they are our neighbours. By vs and amongst vs they lead their liues. But what then? Therefore no ceremonie

of

of theirs lawfull for vs to vſe? We muſt yeeld and will that none are lawfull, if God him ſelf be a precedent againſt the vſe of any. But how appeareth it that God is ſo? Hereby they ſaye it doth appeare, in that *God ſeuered his people from the* Heathens, *but ſpecially from the* Ægyptians, *and ſuch nations as were neereſt neighbours vnto them by forbidding them to doe thoſe thinges, which were in them ſelues very lawfull to be done, yea very profitable ſome and incommodious to be forborne: ſuch thinges it pleaſed God to forbid them onely becauſe thoſe* Heathens *did them, with whome conformitie in the ſame thinges might haue bred infection. Thus in ſhauing, cutting, apparell wearing, yea in ſundry kindes of meates alſo, ſwines fleſh conies and ſuch like, they were forbidden to doe ſo and ſo, becauſe the Gentiles did ſo. And the end why God forbad them ſuch thinges was, to ſeuer them for feare of infection by a great and an high wall from other nations, as S. Paul teacheth.* The cauſe of more carefull ſeperation from the neereſt nations, was the greatnes of daunger to bee eſpecially by them infected. Now Papiſts are to vs as thoſe nations were vnto Iſraell. Therefore if the wiſdome of God bee our guide, we cannot allow conformitie with them, no not in any ſuch indifferent ceremonie. Our direct anſwere hereunto is, that for any thing here alleaged we may ſtill doubt, whether the Lord in all ſuch indifferent ceremonies, as thoſe whereof we diſpute, did frame his people of ſet purpoſe vnto any vtter diſſimilitude, either with Ægyptians or with any other nation els. And if God did not forbid them all ſuch indifferent ceremonies; then our conformitie with the Church of Rome in ſome ſuch is not hetherto as yet diſproued, although Papiſts were vnto vs as thoſe heathens were vnto Iſrael. *After the doings of the lande of of Ægypt, wherein you dwelt, ye ſhall not doe, ſaith the Lorde and after the manner of the land of Canaan, whether I will bring you, ſhall yee not doe, neither walke in their ordinances: Doe after my iudgements, and keepe my ordinances to walke therein: I am the Lord your God.* The ſpeech is indefinite, *yee ſhall not bee like them:* it is not generall, *yee ſhall not be like them in anye thing, or like vnto them in any thing indifferent, or like vnto them in any indifferent ceremonie of theirs.* Seing therefore it is not ſet downe howe farre the boundes of his ſpeech concerning diſſimilitude ſhould reach; how can any man aſſure vs, that it extendeth farder then to thoſe things only, wherein the nations there mentioned were idolatrous, or did againſt that which the lawe of God commandeth? Nay doth it not ſeeme a thing very probable, that God doth purpoſly adde, *Do after my iudgements*, as giuing thereby to vnderſtand, that his meaning in the former ſentence was but to barre ſimilitude in ſuch thinges, as were repugnant vnto the ordinances lawes and ſtatutes which he had giuen? Ægyptians and Cananites are for example ſake named vnto them, becauſe the cuſtomes of the one they had beene, and of the other they ſhoulde bee beſt acquainted with. But that wherein they might not bee like vnto either of them, was ſuch peraduenture, as had beene no whit leſſe vnlawfull, although thoſe nations had neuer beene. So that there is no neceſſitie to thinke, that God for feare of infection by reaſon of neerenes forbad them to be like to the Cananites or the Ægyptians, in thoſe thinges which otherwiſe had bene lawfull enough. For I would know, what one thing was in thoſe nations, and is here forbidden, being indifferent in it ſelfe, yet forbidden onely becauſe they vſed it. In the lawes of Iſrael we finde it written, *yee ſhall not cut round the corners of your heads, neither ſhalt thou teare the tufts of thy beard.* Theſe things were vſuall amongſt thoſe nations, and in them ſelues they are indifferent. But are they indifferent

T.C.lib.1. p. 89 et.131.

Leuit.18.3.

Leuit.19.27.
Leuit.19.19.
Deut.22.11.
Deut.14.7. et
Leuit.11.
Ephe.2.14.

Leuit.18.3.

Leuit.19.27.

indifferent being vſed as ſignes of immoderate and hopeles lamentation for the
Leuit.21.5. dead? In this ſenſe it is that the lawe forbiddeth them. For which cauſe the very next words following are, *ye ſhall not cut your fleſh for the dead, nor make any print of a marke vpon you; I am the Lorde.* The like in Leuiticus, wher ſpeach is of mourning for the dead, *They ſhal not make bald partes vpon their head nor ſhaue of the locks of their*
Deut.14.1. *beard, nor make any cutting in their fleſh.* Againe in Deuteronomie, *ye are the children of the Lorde your God; ye ſhall not cut your ſelues nor make you baldnes betweene your eyes for the dead.* What is this but in effect the ſame which the Apoſtle doth more plainly
1.Theſ.4.13 expreſſe, ſaying, *Sorrowe not as they doe which haue no hope?* The very light of nature it ſelfe was able to ſee herein a fault; that which thoſe nations did vſe, hauing bene alſo in vſe with others, the auncient Romane lawes do forbid. That ſhauing therfore and cutting which the lawe doth mention, was not a matter in it ſelfe indifferent, and forbidden onely becauſe it was in vſe amongſt ſuch idolaters, as were neighbours to the people of God; but to vſe it had bene a crime, though no other people or nation vnder heauen ſhould haue done it ſauing onely them ſelues. As
Leuit.19.19. for thoſe lawes concerning attire, *There ſhall no garment of linnen & wollen come vp-*
Deut.22.11. *on thee*; as alſo thoſe touching foode and diet, wherein *swines fleſh* together with ſundry other meates are forbidden, the vſe of theſe thinges had bene indeede of it ſelfe harmeleſſe and indifferent; ſo that hereby it doth appeare, how the lawe of God forbad in ſome ſpeciall conſideration ſuch things, as were lawfull enough in
Deut.14.7. Leuit.11. them ſelues. But yet euen here they likewiſe faile of that they intend. For it doth not appeare that the conſideration, in regard whereof the lawe forbiddeth theſe thinges was, becauſe thoſe nations did vſe them. Likely enough it is that the Canaanites vſed to feede as well on ſheepes as on ſwines fleſh, and therfore if the for-
Leuit.19.19. bidding of the later had no other reaſon then diſſimilitude with that people, they which of their owne heads alleage this for reaſon can ſhow I thinke ſome reaſon more then we are able to find why the former was not alſo forbidde. Might there not be ſome other myſterie in this prohibition then they thinke of? Yeas, ſome o-
Deut.14. Leuit.11. ther myſterie there was in it by all likelihood. For what reaſon is there which ſhould but induce, and therefore much leſſe enforce vs to thinke that care of diſſimilitude betwene the people of God and the heathen nations about them, was any more the cauſe of forbidding them to put on garments of ſundry ſtuffe, then of charging them with all not to ſow their feildes with meſline; or that this was any more the cauſe of forbidding the to eate ſwines fleſh, then of charging them with all not to eate the fleſh of Eagles, Haukes, & the like? Wherfore although the
Ephe.2.14. Church of Rome were to vs, as to Iſraell the Ægyptians and Cananites were of olde; yet doth it not follow, that the wiſdome of God without reſpect doth teach vs to erect betweene vs and them a partition wall of difference in ſuch things indifferent, as haue bene hether to diſputed of.

That the example of the eldeſt Churches is not herein againſt vs.

7 Neither is the example of the eldeſt Churches a whit more auaileable to this purpoſe. Notwithſtanding ſome fault vndoubtedly there is in the very reſemblance of Idolaters. Were it not ſome kinde of blemiſh to bee like vnto Infidelesand heathens, it woulde not ſo vſually bee obiected; men woulde not thinke it any aduantage in the cauſes of Religion, to bee able therewith iuſtly to charge their aduerſaries as they doe. Wherfore to the end that it may a little more plainly appeare, what force this hath and howe far the ſame extendeth, wee are to note, how all men are naturally deſirous that they may

T.C.l.1.p.132 The Councels although they did not obſerue them ſelues alwaies in making of decrees the rule, yet haue kept this conſideration continually in making of their laws that they would haue the chriſtians differ frō others in their ceremonyes.

ſeeme

ſeeme neyther to iudge nor to doe amiſſe; becauſe euery error and offence is a ſtaine to the beautie of nature, for which cauſe it bluſheth thereat, but glorieth in the contrarie. From thence it riſeth, that they which diſgrace or depreſſe the credite of others, do it eyther in both or in one of theſe. To haue beene in either directed by a weake and vnperfect rule argueth imbecillitie and imperfection. Men being eyther led by reaſon or by imitation of other mens example, if their perſons be odious whoſe example we chooſe to followe, as namely if we frame our opinions to that which condemned heretiques thinke, or direct our actions according to that which is practiſed and done by them; it lyeth as an heauie preiudice againſt vs, vnleſſe ſomewhat mightier then their bare example did moue vs, to thinke or do the ſame things with thē. Chriſtian mē therfore hauing beſides the common light of all men ſo great helpe of heauenly direction from aboue, together with the lampes of ſo bright examples as the Church of God doth yeelde, it cannot but woorthily ſeeme reprochfull for vs to leaue both the one and the other, to become diſciples vnto the moſt hatefull ſort that liue, to do as they doe, onely becauſe wee ſee their example before vs and haue a delight to follow it. Thus we may therefore ſafely conclude, that it is not euill ſimply to concurre with the Heathens eyther in opinion or in action: and that conformitie with them is onely then a diſgrace, when eyther we follow them in that they thinke and doe amiſſe, or followe them generally in that they doe without other reaſon then only the liking we haue to the paterne of their example; which liking doth intimate a more vniuerſall approbation of them then is allowable. Fauſtus the Manichey therfore obiecting againſt the Iewes that they forſooke the Idols of the Gentils, but their temples and oblations, and altars, and Prieſthoods, and all kind of miniſterie of holy things they exerciſed euen as the Gentils did, yea more ſuperſtitiouſly a great deale; againſt the Catholike Chriſtians likewiſe, that betweene them and the Heathens there was in many things little difference, *From them* (ſayth *Fauſtus*) *ye haue learned to hold that one onely God is the author of all, their ſacrifices yee haue turned into feaſtes of charitie, their idols into Martyres whome ye honour with the like religious offices vnto theirs, the ghoſtes of the dead ye appeaſe with wine and delicates, the feſtiuall dayes of the Nations ye celebrate together with them, and of their kind of life ye haue verily changed nothing*: S. *Auguſtines* defence in behalfe of both is, that touching matters of action, Iewes & Catholique Chriſtians were free from the Gentils faultines, euen in thoſe things which were obiected as tokens of their agreement with Gentils; and concerning their cōſent in opinion, they did not hold the ſame with Gentils becauſe Gentils had ſo taught, but becauſe heauen & earth had ſo witneſſed the ſame to be truth, that neither the one ſort could erre in being fully perſwaded thereof, nor the other but erre in caſe they ſhould not conſent with them. In things of their owne nature indifferent, if eyther Coūcels or particular mē haue at any time with ſound iudgement miſliked conformitie betweene the Church of God & Infidels, the cauſe therof hath been ſomwhat elſe then only affectation of diſſimilitude. They ſaw it neceſſary ſo to do in reſpect of ſome ſpeciall accident, which the Church being not alwayes ſubiect vnto hath not ſtill cauſe to do the like. For exāple, in the dangerous daies of tryall,

To. 6. cont. Fauſt. Manich. lib. 20. cap. 4.

T. C. l. 1. p. 132. *Alſo it was decreed in another Councell that they ſhould not decke their houſes with bay leaues & greene boughes, becauſe the Pagans did vſe ſo, and that they ſhould not reſt frō their labour thoſe dayes that the Pagans did, that they ſhould not keepe the firſt day of euery month as they did.*

wherin there was no way for the truth of Ieſus Chriſt to tryumph ouer infidelitie, but through the cõſtancy of his Saints, whõ yet a naturall deſire to ſaue them ſelues frõ the flame might peraduenture cause to ioine with Pagans in externall cuſtomes, too far vſing the ſame as a cloake to conceale thẽſelues in, & a miſt to darken the eyes of Infidels withall: for remedie hereof thoſe lawes it might be were prouided, which forbad that Chriſtians ſhold deck their houſes with boughes as the Pagans did vſe to do, or reſt thoſe feſtiuall dayes wheron the Pagans reſted, or celebrate ſuch feaſtes as were, though not Heathniſh, yet ſuch that the ſimpler ſort of Heathens might be beguiled in ſo thinking thẽ. As for *Tertullians* iudgmẽt concerning the rites & orders of the Church, no mã hauing iudgemẽt can be ignorãt how iuſt exceptions may be takẽ againſt it. His opinion touching the Catholike Church was as vnindifferent, as touching our Church thopinion of thẽ that fauour this pretended reformation is. He iudged all thẽ who did not Montanize to be but carnally minded, he iudged thẽ ſtill ouer-abiectly to fawn vpon the Heathens, & to curry fauour with Infidels. Which as the Catholique Church did well prouide that they might not do indeed, ſo *Tertullian* ouer-oftẽ through diſcontentmẽt carpeth iniuriouſly at thẽ as though they did it euẽ whẽ they were free frõ ſuch meaning. But if it were ſo that eyther the iudgement of thoſe councels before alleaged, or of *Tertullian* himſelfe againſt the Chriſtians are in no ſuch cõſideration to be vnderſtood as we haue mentioned; if it were ſo that mẽ are condemned as well of the one as of the other, only for vſing the ceremonies of a religion *contrary* vnto their owne; & that *this cauſe* is ſuch as ought to preuaile no leſſe with vs then with thẽ; ſhall it not follow that ſeeing there is ſtill betweene our religion & Paganiſme the ſelfe ſame *contrarietie*, therefore we are ſtill no leſſe rebukeable, if we now decke our houſes with boughes, or ſende Newyeares-gifts vnto our friends, or feaſt on thoſe dayes which the Gentils thẽ did, or ſit after prayer as they were accuſtomed? For ſo they infer vpon the premiſes, that as great differẽce as cõmodiouſly may be, ther ſhold be in al outward ceremonies between the people of God & thẽ which are not his people. Again they teach as hath been declared, that there is not as great a difference as may be betweene thẽ, except thone do auoid whatſoeuer rites & ceremonies vncõmanded of God, thother doth embrace. So that generally they teach that the verie difference of ſpiritual cõdition it ſelfe betweene the ſeruants of Chriſt & others requireth ſuch difference in ceremonies betweene thẽ, although the one be neuer ſo far diſioyned in time or place frõ the other. But in caſe the people of God & *Belial* do chance to be neighbors, then as the danger of infection is greater, ſo the ſame difference they ſay is therby made more neceſſary. In this reſpect as the Iewes were ſeuered frõ the Heathen, ſo moſt eſpecially frõ the Heathen neereſt thẽ. And in the ſame reſpect we, which ought to differ howſoeuer frõ the church of Rome, are now they ſay by reaſon of our neernes more bound to differ frõ thẽ in ceremonies then frõ *Turkes*. A ſtrange kind of ſpeech vnto Chriſtiã eares, & ſuch as I hope they thẽſelues do acknowledge vnaduiſedly vttered. *We are not ſo much to feare infection frõ Turks as frõ Papiſts.* What of that? we muſt remẽber that by cõforminig rather our ſelues in that reſpect to *Turks*, we ſhold be ſpreaders of a worſe infectiõ into others, thẽ any we are likely to draw frõ Papiſts by our cõformity with thẽ in ceremonies. If they did hate, as *Turks* do, the Chriſtians; or as

T.C.l.1.p.132 *Tertullia ſaith, O, ſaith he, better is the religion of the Heathen; for they vſe no ſolemnitie of the Chriſtians, neither the Lords day, neither &c. but we are not afraid to be called Heathen.*

T.C.l.1.p.133 *But hauing ſhowed this in generall to be the policie of God firſt, and of his people afterward to put as much difference as can be commodiouſly betweene the people of God and others which are not, I ſhall not &c.*

Cananites

Cananites of old did the Iewiſh religion euen in groſſe, the circũſtance of locall neerenes in them vnto vs might happily enforce in vs a dutie of greater ſeparatiõ from them then from thoſe other mentioned. But for as much as Papiſts are ſo much in Chriſt neerer vnto vs then Turkes; is there any reaſonable man trowe you, but wil iudge it meeter that our ceremonies of Chriſtiã religion ſhould be Popiſh then Turkiſh or Heathniſh? Eſpecially conſidering that wee were not brought to dwell amongſt thẽ (as Iſraell in Canaan) hauing not beene of them. For euen a very part of them we were. And when God did by his good Spirite put it into our hearts, firſt to reforme our ſelues (whence grewe our ſeparation) and then by all good meanes to ſeeke alſo their reformation; had we not onely cut off their corruptions but alſo eſtranged our ſelues from them in thinges indifferent, who ſeeth not howe greatly preiudiciall this might haue beene to ſo good a cauſe, and what occaſion it had giuen them to thinke (to their greater obduration in euill) that, through a froward or wanton deſire of innouation, we did vnconſtrainedly thoſe things, for which conſcience was pretended? Howſoeuer the caſe doth ſtande, as Iuda had beene rather to chooſe conformitie in thinges indifferent with Iſraell when they were neereſt oppoſites, then with the fartheſt remoued Pagans: So we in the like caſe, much rather with Papiſts then with Turkes. I might adde further for more full and complete anſwere, ſo much concerning the large odds betweene the caſe of the eldeſt Churches in regard of thoſe Heathens & ours in reſpect of the church of Rome, that very cauillation it ſelfe ſhould be ſatisfied, and haue no ſhift to fly vnto.

8 But that no one thing may deteine vs ouer long, I returne to their reaſons againſt our conformitie with that Church. That extreme diſſimilitude, which they vrge vpon vs, is now commended as our beſt & ſafeſt policie for eſtabliſhment of ſound religion. The ground of which politique poſition is, that *Euils muſt be cured by their contraries*, and therfore the cure of the Church infected with the poyſon of Antichriſtianitie muſt be done by that which is therunto aſ cõtrary as may be. A medled eſtate of the orders of the Goſpell & the ceremonies of Popery is not the beſt way to baniſh popery: we are cõtrariwiſe of opinion that he which will perfectly recouer a ſicke and reſtore a diſeaſed body vnto health, muſt not endeuor ſo much to bring it to a ſtate of ſimple cõtrariety, as of fit proportion in contrarietie vnto thoſe euils which are to be cured. He that will take away extreme heate by ſetting the body in extremitie of cold, ſhal vndoubtedly remoue the diſeaſe, but together with it the diſeaſed too. The firſt thing therefore in skilfull cures is the knowledge of the part affected, the next is of the euill which doth affect it, the laſt is not onely of the kinde, but alſo of the meaſure of contrarie thinges whereby to remooue it. They which meaſure religion by diſlike of the Church of Rome, thinke euery man ſo much the more ſound, by how much he can make the corruptions thereof to ſeeme more large. And therefore ſome there are namely the Arrians in reformed Churches of Poland, which imagine the cancre to haue eaten ſo far into the verie bones and marrow of the Church of Rome, as if it had not ſo much as a ſound beliefe, no not cõcerning God himſelfe, but that the very beliefe of the Trinitie were a part of Antichriſtian corruption; and that the wonderfull prouidence of God did bring to paſſe, that the Biſhop of the Sea of Rome ſhould be famous for his triple crowne,

That it is not our beſt policie for the eſtabliſhment of ſound religion to haue in theſe things no agreement with the church of Rome being vnſound. T.C. lib. 1. p. 131. *Common reaſon alſo doth teach that contraries are cured by their cõtraries. Now Chriſtianitie and Antichriſtianitie, the Goſpell and Poperie be contraries, and therefore Antichriſtianity muſt be cured not by it ſelf, but by that which is (as much as may be) contrary vnto it.*

a ſenſible marke whereby the world might know him to be that myſticall beaſt ſpoken of in the Reuelation, to be that great and notorious Antichriſt in no one reſpect ſo much, as in this, that he maintaineth the doctrine of the Trinitie. Wiſdome therefore and skill is requiſite to knowe, what partes are founde in that Church, and what corrupted. Neither is it to all men apparent which complaine of vnſound parts, with what kind of vnſoundneſſe euery ſuch part is poſſeſſed. They can ſay that in *Doctrine*, in *Diſcipline*, in *Prayers*, in *Sacramentes* the Church of Rome hath (as it hath in deede) very foule and groſſe corruptions, the nature whereof notwithſtanding becauſe they haue not for the moſt part exact skill and knowledge to diſcerne, they thinke that amiſſe many times which is not, and the ſalue of reformation they mightily call for, but where and what the ſores are which neede it, as they wote full little, ſo they thinke it not greatly materiall to ſearch. Such mens contentment muſt be wrought by ſtratageme: the vſuall methode of art is not for them. But with thoſe that profeſſe more then ordinarie & common knowledge of good from euill, with thē that are able to put a difference betweene things naught, & things indifferent in the Church of Rome, we are yet at controuerſie about the maner of remouing that which is naught: whether it may not be perfectly helpt, vnleſſe that alſo which is indifferent be cut off with it, ſo farre till no rite or ceremonie remaine which the Church of Rome hath, being not found in the word of God. If we thinke this too extreme, they reply that to draw mē frō great exceſſe, it is not amiſſe though we vſe them vnto ſomewhat leſſe then is competent; & that a crooked ſtick is not ſtreightned vnleſſe it be bent as farre on the cleane contrarie ſide, that ſo it may ſettle it ſelfe at the length in a middle eſtate of euennes between both. But how can theſe cōpariſons ſtand them in any ſteede? When they vrge vs to extreme oppoſition againſt the Church of Rome, do they meane we ſhould be drawne vnto it onely for a time, and afterwardes returne to a mediocritie? or was it the purpoſe of thoſe reformed Churches, which vtterly aboliſhed all popiſh ceremonies, to come in the end back againe to the middle point of euenneſſe and moderation? Then haue we conceiued amiſſe of their meaning. For we haue alwayes thought their opinion to be, that vtter inconformitie with the Church of Rome was not an extremitie whereunto we ſhould be drawne for a time, but the very mediocritie it ſelfe wherein they ment we ſhould euer continue. Now by theſe compariſons it ſeemeth cleane contrarie, that howſoeuer they haue bent themſelues at firſt to an extreme contrarietie againſt the Romiſh Church, yet therin they will continue no longer then only till ſuch time as ſome more moderate courſe for eſtabliſhmēt of the Church may be concluded. Yea, albeit this were not at the firſt their intent, yet ſurely now there is great cauſe to leade thē vnto it. They haue ſeene that experience of the former policie, which may cauſe the authors of it to hange downe their heads. When Germanie had ſtrickē off that which appeared corrupt in the doctrine of the Church of Rome, but ſeemed neuertheleſſe in diſcipline ſtill to retcine therewith very great conformitie: France by that rule of policie which hath beene before mentioned,

tooke

T.C.l.1.p.132. *If a man would bring a drunken man to ſobrietie, the beſt and neareſt way is to carry him as farre from his exceſſe in drinke as may be: and if a man could not keepe a meane, it were better to fault in preſcribing leſſe thē he ſhould drinke, then to fault in giuing him more then he ought. As we ſee to bring a ſticke which is crooked to be ſtraight, we do not only bow it ſo farre vntill it come to be ſtraight, but we bend it ſo farre vntill we make it ſo crooked of the other ſide, as it was before of the firſt ſide, to this end that at the laſt it may ſtand ſtraight, and as it were in the midway betweene both the crookes.*

tooke away the popiſh orders which Germanie did reteine. But proceſſe of time hath brought more light vnto the world, whereby men perceiuing that they of the religion in France haue alſo reteined ſome orders which were before in the Church of Rome, and are not commaunded in the word of God, there hath ariſen a ſect in England, which following ſtill the very ſelfe ſame rule of policie, ſeeketh to reforme euen the French reformation, and purge out from thence alſo dregs of popery. Theſe haue not taken as yet ſuch roote that they are able to eſtabliſh any thing. But if they had, what would ſpring out of their ſtocke, and how farre the vnquiet wit of man might be carried with rules of ſuch policie, God doth knowe. The tryall which we haue liued to ſee, may ſomewhat teach vs what poſteritie is to feare. But our Lorde of his infinite mercie, auert whatſoeuer euill our ſwaruinges on the one hand or on the other may threaten vnto the ſtate of his Church.

That we are not to aboliſh our Ceremonies, either becauſe Papiſts vpbraide vs as hauing taken from them, or for that they are ſayde heereby to conceiue I knowe not what great hopes.

9 That the Church of Rome doth hereby take occaſion to blaſpheme, and to ſay, our religion is not able to ſtande of it ſelfe vnleſſe it leane vppon the ſtaffe of their Ceremonies, is not a matter of ſo great momẽt, that it did need to be obiected, or doth deſerue to receiue aunſwere. The name of blaſphemie in this place, is like the ſhoe of *Hercules* on a childes foote. If the Church of Rome doe vſe any ſuch kinde of ſilly exprobration, it is no ſuch ougly thing to the eare, that we ſhould thinke the honour and credite of our religion to receiue thereby any great wound. They which hereof make ſo perilous a matter doe ſeeme to imagine, that we haue erected of late a frame of ſome newe religion, the furniture whereof we ſhould not haue borrowed from our enimies, leaſt they relieuing vs might afterwards laugh and gibe at our pouertie; whereas in truth the Ceremonies which we haue taken from ſuch as were before vs, are not things that belong to this or to that ſect, but they are the auncient rites and cuſtomes of the Church of Chriſt; whereof our ſelues being a part, we haue the ſelfe ſame intereſt in them, which our fathers before vs had, from whom the ſame are deſcended vnto vs. Againe in caſe wee had beene ſo much beholding priuately vnto them, doth the reputation of one Church ſtande by ſaying vnto another, *I neede thee not?* If ſome ſhoulde bee ſo vaine and impotent as to marre a benefite with reproochfull vpbrayding, where at the leaſt they ſuppoſe themſelues to haue beſtowed ſome good turne; yet ſurely a wiſe bodies part it were not, to put out his fire, becauſe his fonde and fooliſh neighbour, from whom he borrowed peraduenture wherewith to kindle it, might happily caſt him therewith in the teeth, ſaying, were it not for me thou wouldeſt freeze, and not be able to heate thy ſelfe. As for that other argument deriued from the ſecret affection of Papiſtes, with whome our conformitie in certaine Ceremonies is ſayde to put them in great hope, that their whole religion in time will haue reentrance, and therefore none are ſo clamorous amongeſt vs for the obſeruation of theſe Ceremonies, as Papiſtes and ſuch as Papiſtes ſuborne to ſpeake for them, whereby it clearely appeareth howe much they reioyce, how much they tryumph in theſe things, our aunſwere hereunto is ſtill the ſame, that the benefite wee haue by ſuch

T.C. l. 3. p. 178. *By vſing of theſe Ceremonies the Papiſts take occaſion to blaſpheme, ſaying that our religion can not ſtande by it ſelfe, vnleſſe it leane vppon the ſtaffe of their Ceremonies.*

T.C. li. 3. pag. 179. *To proue the Papiſts tryumph and ioy in theſe thinges I alleaged further that there are none which make ſuch clamours for theſe ceremonies as the Papiſts and theſe which they ſuborne.*

ceremonies ouerweigheth euen this alſo. No man which is not exceeding partiall can well denie, but that there is moſt iuſt cauſe wherefore we ſhould be offended greatly at the Church of Rome. Notwithſtanding at ſuch times as we are to deliberate for our ſelues, the freer our mindes are from all diſtempered affections, the ſounder & better is our iudgemēt. When we are in a fretting mood at the Church of Rome, and with that angry diſpoſition enter into any cogitation of the orders & rites of our Church; taking particular ſuruey of them, we are ſure to haue alwayes one eye fixed vpon the countenance of our enimies, and according to the blith or heauie aſpect thereof, our other eye ſheweth ſome other ſuteable token eyther of diſlike or approbation towardes our owne orders. For the rule of our iudgement in ſuch caſe being onely that of *Homer*, *This is the thing which our enimies would haue*, what they ſeeme contented with euen for that very cauſe we reiect, & there is nothing but it pleaſeth vs much the better if we eſpie that it gauleth them. Miſerable were the ſtate & condition of that Church, the waightie affayres whereof ſhould be ordered by thoſe deliberations, wherein ſuch an humor as this were perdominant. We haue moſt heartily to thanke God therefore, that they amongeſt vs to whom the firſt conſultations of cauſes of this kinde fell, were men which ayming at an other marke, namely the glorie of God and the good of this his Church, tooke that which they iudged therunto neceſſarie, not reiecting any good or conuenient thing, onely becauſe the Church of Rome might perhaps like it. If wee haue that which is meete and right, although they be glad, wee are not to enuie them this their ſolace; we doe not thinke it a dutie of ours to be in euery ſuch thing their tormentors.

Οὐ κεν γηθήσαι Πρίαμος. Ili. a

T.C. lib. 3. pag. 179. *Thus they conceiuing hope of hauing the reſt of their poperie in the end, it cauſeth them to be more frozen in their wickednes &c. For not the cauſe, but the occaſion alſo ought to be taken away &c. Although let the reader iudge, whether they haue cauſe giuen to hope that the taile of Poperie yet remayning, they ſhall the eaſilier hale in the whole bodie after: conſidering alſo that Maſter Bucer noteth, that where theſe thinges haue beene left, there Poperie hath returned: but on the other part in places which haue beene clenſed of theſe dregges, it hath not beene ſeene that it hath had any entrance.*

And whereas it is ſayd that Popery for want of this vtter extirpation hath in ſome places taken roote and floriſhed againe, but hath not beene able to reeſtabliſh it ſelfe in any place, after prouiſion made againſt it by vtter euacuation of all Romiſh ceremonies; & therefore as long as we hold any thing like vnto them, we put them in ſome more hope, then if all were taken away; as we denie not but this may be true, ſo being of two euils to chooſe the leſſe, we hold it better, that the friends & fauourers of the Church of Rome ſhould be in ſome kind of hope to haue a corrupt religion reſtored, then both we and they conceiue iuſt feare, leaſt vnder colour of rooting out Poperie, the moſt effectuall meanes to beare vp the ſtate of religion be remooued, and ſo a way made eyther for Paganiſme, or for extreme barbaritie to enter. If deſire of weakening the hope of others ſhoulde turne vs away from the courſe we haue taken; how much more the care of preuenting our owne feare withholde vs from that wee are vrged vnto? Eſpecially ſeeing that our owne feare wee knowe, but wee are not ſo certaine what hope the rites and orders of our Church haue bred in the heartes of others. For it is no ſufficient argument thereof to ſaye, that in maintayning and vrging theſe Ceremonies none are ſo clamorous as Papiſtes, and they whome Papiſtes ſuborne, this ſpeech beeing more hard to iuſtifie then the former, and ſo their proofe more doubtfull then the thinge it ſelfe which they prooue.

He

He that were certaine that this is true, muſt haue marked who they be that ſpeake for Ceremonies; he muſt haue noted who amongſt them doth ſpeake oftneſt, or is moſt earneſt; he muſt haue bene both acquainted throughly with the religion of ſuch, and alſo priuie what conferences or compacts are paſſed in ſecret betweene them and others; which kindes of notice are not wont to be vulgar and common. Yet they which alleage this, would haue it taken as a thing that needeth no proofe, a thing which all men knowe and ſee. And if ſo be it were graunted them as true, what gaine they by it? Sundry of them that be Popiſh are eger in maintenance of Ceremonies. Is it ſo ſtraunge a matter to finde a good thing furthered by ill men of a ſiniſter intent and purpoſe, whoſe forwardnes is not therefore a bridle to ſuch as fauour the ſame cauſe with a better and ſincerer meaning? They that ſeeke, as they ſay, the remouing of all Popiſh orders out of the Church, and recken the ſtate of Biſhops in the number of thoſe orders, do (I doubt) not preſume that the cauſe which they proſecute is holy. Notwithſtanding it is their owne ingenuous acknowledgement, that euen this very cauſe which they terme ſo often by an excellencie, *The Lords cauſe, is gratiſsima, moſt acceptable vnto ſome which hope for pray and ſpoile by it, and that our age hath ſtore of ſuch, and that ſuch are the very ſectaries of Dionyſius the famous Atheiſt.* Now if hereupon we ſhould vpbraide them with irreligious, as they do vs with ſuperſtitious fauourers; if we ſhould follow them in their owne kinde of pleading and ſay, that the moſt clamorous for this pretended reformation, are either Atheiſts, or elſe procters ſuborned by Atheiſts; the anſwer which herein they would make vnto vs, let them applie vnto them ſelues, and there an end. For they muſt not forbid vs to preſume our cauſe in defence of our Church-orders to be as good as theirs againſt them, till the contrarie be made manifeſt to the world.

Eccleſ. diſc. fol. 94.

10 In the meane while ſorie we are that any good and godly mind ſhould be grieued with that which is done. But to remedie their griefe, lyeth not ſo much in vs as in them ſelues. They do not wiſh to be made glad with the hurt of the Church: and to remoue all out of the Church, whereat they ſhewe themſelues to be ſorrowfull, would be as we are perſwaded hurtfull, if not pernicious thereunto. Till they be able to perſwade the contrarie, they muſt and will I doubt not finde out ſome other good meanes to cheere vp them ſelues. Amongſt which meanes the example of *Geneua* may ſerue for one. Haue not they the old Popiſh cuſtome of vſing Godfathers and Godmothers in Baptiſme; the old Popiſh cuſtome of adminiſtring the bleſſed ſacrament of the holy Euchariſt with Wafer-cakes? Theſe things the godly there can digeſt. Wherefore ſhould not the godly heere learne to doe the like both in them and in the reſt of the like nature? Some further meane peraduenture it might be to aſſwage their griefe, if ſo be they did conſider the reuenge they take on them, which haue beene, as they interpret it, the workers of their continuance in ſo great griefe ſo long. For if the maintenance of Ceremonies be a corroſiue to ſuch as oppugne them, vndoubtedly to ſuch as maintaine them it can be no great pleaſure, when they behold how that which they reuerence is oppugned. And therefore they that iudge them ſelues Martyrs when they are grieued,

T. C. l. 3. p. 180. *There be numbers whiche haue Antichriſtianitie in ſuch deteſtation, that they cannot without griefe of mind behold them.* And afterwardes, *ſuch godly brethren are not eaſily to be grieued, which they ſeeme to be when they are thus martyred in their mindes, for Ceremonies which (to ſpeake the beſt of them) are vnprofitable.*

The griefe which they ſay godly brethren conceiue in regard of ſuch Ceremonies as we haue common with the Church of Rome.

grieued, ſhould thinke withall what they are when they grieue. For we are ſtill to put them in mind that the cauſe doth make no difference; for that it muſt be preſumed as good at the leaſt on our part as on theirs, till it be in the end decided who haue ſtood for truth and who for error. So that till then the moſt effectuall medicine and withall the moſt ſound to eaſe their griefe, muſt not be (in our opinion) the taking away of thoſe things whereat they are grieued, but the altering of that perſwaſion which they haue concerning the ſame. For this we therefore both pray and labour; the more becauſe we are alſo perſwaded, that it is but conceipt in them to thinke, that thoſe Romiſh Ceremonies whereof we haue hetherto ſpoken, are like leprous clothes, infectious vnto the Church, or like ſóft and gentle poyſons, the venome whereof being inſenſibly pernicious, worketh death, and yet is neuer felt working. Thus they ſay: but becauſe they ſay it only, and the world hath not as yet had ſo great experience of their arte in curing the diſeaſes of the Church, that the bare authoritie of their word ſhould perſwade in a cauſe ſo waightie; they may not thinke much if it be required at theyr handes to ſhewe, fyrſt, by what meanes ſo deadlie infection can growe from ſimilitude betweene vs and the Church of *Rome* in theſe things indifferent. Secondly, for that it were infinite if the Church ſhould prouide againſt euerie ſuch euill as may come to paſſe, it is not ſufficient that they ſhewe poſſibilitie of daungerous euent, vnleſſe there appeare ſome likelihood alſo of the ſame to followe in vs, except wee preuent it. Nor is this enough, vnleſſe it be moreouer made playne, that there is no good and ſufficient way of preuention, but by euacuating cleane, and by emptying the Church of euerie ſuch rite and Ceremonie, as is preſentlye called in queſtion. Till this be done, theyr good affection towardes the ſafetie of the Church is acceptable, but the way they preſcribe vs to preſerue it by muſt reſt in ſuſpenſe. And leaſt hereat they take occaſion to turne vpon vs the ſpeech of the Prophet *Ieremie* vſed againſt *Babilon*, *Behold wee haue done our endeuour to cure* the diſeaſes of *Babylon*, but ſhe through her wilfulnes doth reſt vncured: let them conſider into what ſtraightes the Church might driue it ſelfe in being guided by this their counſell. Theyr axiome is, that the ſound beleeuing Church of Ieſus Chriſt may not be like Hereticall Churches in any of thoſe indifferent thinges, which men make choice of, and doo not take by preſcript appointment of the word of God. In the word of God the vſe of bread is preſcribed, as a thing without which the Euchariſt may not be celebrated: but as for the kinde of bread it is not denyed to be a thing indifferent. Being indifferent of it ſelfe, wee are by this axiome of theirs to auoyde the vſe of vnleauened bread in that ſacrament, becauſe ſuch bread the Church of *Rome* being Hereticall vſeth. But doth not the ſelfeſame axiome barre vs euen from leauened bread alſo, which the Church of the Grecians vſeth; the opinions whereof are in a number of things the ſame, for which wee condemne the Church of *Rome*, and in ſome things erroneous, where the Church of *Rome* is acknowledged to be ſound; as namely in the Article about proceeding of the Holie Ghoſt? And leaſt heere they ſhould ſay that becauſe the Greeke Church is farther off, and the Church of *Rome* neerer, we are in that reſpect rather to vſe that which the Church

T.C.l.3.p.171 *Although the corruptions in them ſtrike not ſtraight to the hart, yet as gentle poyſons they conſume by little and little.*

Ierem.51.9.

Church of *Rome* vſeth not, let them imagin a reformed Church in the Citie of *Venice*, where a Greeke Church and a Popiſh both are. And when both theſe are equallie neere, let them conſider what the third ſhall doe. Without eyther leauened or vnleauened bread, it can haue no ſacrament: the word of God doth tye it to neither, and their axiome doth exclude it from both. If this conſtraine them, as it muſt, to grannt that their axiome is not to take any place ſaue in thoſe things only, where the Church hath larger ſcope; it reſteth that they ſearch out ſome ſtronger reaſon then they haue as yet alleaged; otherwiſe they conſtraine not vs to thinke that the Church is tyed vnto any ſuch rule or axiome, no not then when ſhe hath the wideſt field to walke in, and the greateſt ſtore of choice.

11 Againſt ſuch Ceremonies generally as are the ſame in the Church of *England* and of *Rome*, we ſee what hath bene hetherto alleaged. Albeit therefore we do not finde the one Churches hauing of ſuch things to be ſufficient cauſe why the other ſhould not haue them: neuertheleſſe in caſe it may be proued, that amongſt the number of rites and orders common vnto both, there are particulars, the vſe whereof is vtterly vnlawfull in regard of ſome ſpeciall bad and noyſome qualitie: there is no doubt but we ought to relinquiſh ſuch rites and orders, what freedome ſo euer we haue to retaine the other ſtill. As therefore we haue heard their generall exception againſt all thoſe things, which being not commanded in the word of God, were firſt receaued in the Church of *Rome*, and from thence haue bene deriued into ours; ſo it followeth that now we proceede vnto certaine kindes of them, as being excepted againſt not only for that they are in the Church of *Rome*, but are beſides either Iewiſh, or abuſed vnto Idolatrie, and ſo growne ſcandalous. The Church of *Rome*, they ſay, being aſhamed of the ſimplicitie of the Goſpell, did almoſt out of all religions take whatſoeuer had any faire & gorgeous ſhew, borrowing in that reſpect frō the *Iewes* ſundry of their aboliſhed Ceremonies. Thus by fooliſh and ridiculous imitation, all their Maſſing furniture almoſt they tooke from the lawe, leaſt hauing an Alter and a Prieſt, they ſhould want veſtments for their ſtage; ſo that whatſoeuer we haue in common with the Church of *Rome*, if the ſame be of this kind we ought to remoue it. *Conſtantine the Emperour ſpeaking of the keeping of the feaſt of Eaſter, ſayth, That it is an vnworthie thing to haue any thing common with that moſt ſpitefull companie of the Iewes. And a little after he ſayth, that it is moſt abſurd and againſt reaſon, that the Iewes ſhould vaunt and glorie that the Chriſtians could not keepe thoſe things without their doctrine. And in an other place it is ſayd after this ſort: It is conuenient ſo to order the matter, that we haue nothing common with that nation. The Councell of Laodicea, which was afterward confirmed by the ſixt generall Councell, decreed that the Chriſtians ſhould not take vnleauened bread of the Iewes, or Communicate with their impietie.* For the eaſier manifeſtation of truth in this point, two things there are which muſt be conſidered, namely, the cauſes wherefore the Church ſhould decline from Iewiſh Ceremonies, and how farre it ought ſo to do. One cauſe is that the *Iewes* were the deadlyeſt and ſpitefulleſt enemies of Chriſtianitie that were in the world, and in this reſpect their orders ſo farre forth to be ſhunned, as we haue alreadie ſet downe in handling the matter of heatheniſh Ceremonies. For no enemies being ſo venemous againſt Chriſt as *Iewes*, they were of all other moſt odious, and by that meane leaſt to be vſed as fit Church-paternes for imitation. Another cauſe is the ſollemne

Their exception againſt ſuch Ceremonies as wee haue receyued frō the Church of Rome, that Church hauing taken them from the Iewes.

Eccleſ. diſci. fol 98. And T.C.l.3.p.181 *Many of theſe popiſh ceremonies faults by reaſon of the pomp in them, where they ſhould be agreeable to the ſimplicitie of the Goſpell of Chriſt crucified.* T.C.l.1.p.132. Euſeb. lib.3. c.17. Socr. 1.lib. ca.9. To.1.Concil. Laod.can.38.

lemne abrogation of the Iewes ordinances, which ordinances for vs to reſume, were to check our Lord him ſelfe which hath diſanulled them. But how farre this ſecond cauſe doth extend, it is not on all ſides fully agreed vpon. And touching thoſe things whereunto it reacheth not, although there be ſmall cauſe wherefore the Church ſhould frame it ſelfe to the Iewes example, in reſpect of their perſons which are moſt hatefull; yet God him ſelfe hauing bene the author of their lawes, herein they are (notwithſtanding the former conſideration) ſtill worthie to be honored, and to be followed aboue others, as much as the ſtate of things will beare. Iewiſh ordinances had ſome things naturall, and of the perpetuitie of thoſe things no man doubteth. That which was poſitiue we likewiſe knowe to haue bene by the comming of Chriſt partly neceſſarie not to be kept, and partly indifferent to be kept or not. Of the former kinde Circumciſion and ſacrifice were. For this point *Steuen* was accuſed, and the euidence which his accuſers brought againſt him in iudgement was, *This man ceaſeth not to ſpeake blaſphemous words againſt this holy place and the lawe, for we haue heard him ſay that this Ieſus of Nazaret ſhall deſtroy this place, and ſhall change the ordinances that Moſes gaue vs.* True it is that this doctrine was then taught, which vnbeleeuers condemning for blaſphemie, did therein commit that which they did condemne. The Apoſtles notwithſtanding from whome *Steuen* had receiued it, did not ſo teach the abrogation, no not of thoſe things which were neceſſarily to ceaſe, but that euen the Iewes being Chriſtian, might for a time continue in them. And therefore in *Ieruſalem* the firſt Chriſtian Biſhop not Circumciſed was *Mark*, and he not Biſhop, till the daies of *Adrian* the Emperour after the ouerthrow of *Ieruſalem*, there hauing bene fifteene Biſhops before him which were all of the Circumciſion. The Chriſtian Iewes did thinke at the firſt not only them ſelues, but the Chriſtian Gentiles alſo bound, and that neceſſarily, to obſerue the whole lawe. There went forth certaine of the ſect of Phariſes which did belieue, and they comming vnto *Antioch*, taught that it was neceſſarie for the Gentiles to be circumciſed, and to keepe the lawe of *Moſes*. Whereupon there grew diſſention, *Paul* and *Barnabas* diſputing againſt them. The determination of the Councell held at *Ieruſalem* concerning this matter was finally this, *Touching the Gentils which belieue, we haue written and determined that they obſerue no ſuch thing*. Their proteſtation by letters is, *For as much as we haue heard that certaine which departed from vs haue troubled you with words, and combred your minds, ſaying, Ye muſt be circumciſed and keepe the lawe, knowe that we gaue them no ſuch commandement*. *Paule* therefore continued ſtill teaching the Gentiles, not only that they were not bound to obſerue the lawes of *Moſes*, but that the obſeruation of thoſe lawes, which were neceſſarily to be abrogated, was in them altogether vnlawfull. In which point his doctrine was miſreported, as though he had euery where preached this, not only concerning the Gentiles, but alſo touching the Iewes. Wherefore comming vnto *Iames*, and the reſt of the Cleargie at *Ieruſalem*, they tould him plainely of it ſaying, *Thou ſeeſt brother how many thouſand Iewes there are which belieue, and they are all zealous of the lawe. Now they are informed of thee, that thou teacheſt all the Iewes which are amongſt the Gentils to forſake Moſes, and ſayeſt that they ought not to circumciſe their children, neither to liue after the cuſtomes*. And hereupon they gaue him counſell to make it apparent in the eyes of all men, that thoſe flying reports were vntrue, and that himſelfe being a Iewe,

Act. 6. 13, 14.

Vide Niceph. lib. 3. ca. 25. & Sulpit. Seuer. pag. 149. in edit. Plant.

Act. 15.

Act. 21, 25.

Act. 15, 24.

Act. 21, 20.

Iewe, kept the lawe euen as they did. In ſome things therefore we ſee the Apoſtles did teach, that there ought not to be conformitie betwene the Chriſtian Iewes and Gentiles. How many things this lawe of inconformitie did comprehend, there is no need we ſhould ſtand to examine. This generall is true, that the Gentiles were not made conformable vnto the Iewes, in that which was neceſſarily to ceaſe at the comming of Chriſt. Touching things poſitiue, which might either ceaſe or continue as occaſion ſhould require, the Apoſtles tendering the zeale of the Iewes, thought it neceſſary to bind euen the Gentiles for a time to abſtaine as the Iewes did, frō things offered vnto idols, frō bloud, frō ſtrangled. Theſe Decrees were euerie where deliuered vnto the Gentiles to be ſtraightly obſerued and kept. In the other matters where the Gentiles were free, and the Iewes in their owne opinion ſtill tied, the Apoſtles doctrine vnto the Iewe was, *Condemne not the Gentile*; vnto the Gentile, *Deſpiſe not the Iewe*: the one ſort they warned to take heed, that ſcrupuloſitie did not make them rigorous, in giuing vnaduiſed ſentence againſt their brethren which were free; the other that they did not become ſcandalous, by abuſing their libertie and freedom to the offence of their weake brethren which were ſcrupulous. From hence therfore two concluſiōs there are which may euidently be drawne; the firſt, that whatſoeuer conformitie of poſitiue lawes the Apoſtles did bring in betweene the Churches of Iewes and Gentiles, it was in thoſe things only, which might either ceaſe or continue a ſhorter or a longer time, as occaſion did moſt require; the ſecond, that they did not impoſe vpon the Churches of the Gentiles any part of the Iewes ordinances with bond of neceſſary and perpetuall obſeruation (as we all both by doctrine and practiſe acknowledge) but only in reſpect of the conueniencie and fitnes for the preſēt ſtate of the Church as then it ſtood. The words of the Councels decree cōcerning the Gentiles are, *It ſeemed good to the holy Ghoſt and to vs, to lay vpō you no more burden ſauing only thoſe things of neceſsitie, abſtinence frō Idoll-offerings, frō ſtrangled and bloud and frō fornication.* So that in other things poſitiue which the cōming of Chriſt did not neceſſarily extinguiſh the Gentils were left altogether free. Neither ought it to ſeeme vnreaſonable that the Gentils ſhould neceſſarily be boūd and tied to Iewiſh ordinances, ſo far forth as that decree importeth. For to the Iew, who knew that their differēce frō other nations which were aliens & ſtrangers frō God, did eſpecially conſiſt in this, that Gods people had poſitiue ordināces giuen to thē of God himſelfe, it ſemed maruelous hard, that the Chriſtiā Gentils ſhould be incorporated into the ſame common wealth with Gods owne choſen people, and be ſubiect to no part of his ſtatutes, more then only the law of nature, which Heathens count thēſelues boūd vnto. It was an opinion cōſtantly receiued amongſt the Iews, that God did deliuer vnto the ſonnes of *Noah* 7. precepts, namely to liue in ſome formē of regimēt vnder 1. publike lawes, 2 to serue & call vpō the name of God, 3 to ſhun Idolatry, 4 not to ſuffer effuſion of bloud, 5 to abhor all vncleane knowledge in the fleſh, 6 to commit no rapine, 7 finallie, not to eate of any liuing creature whereof the bloud was not firſt let out. If therefore the Gentiles would be exempt from the lawe of *Moſes*, yet it might ſeeme hard they ſhould alſo caſt off euen thoſe things paſsing which were obſerued before *Moſes*, and which were not of the ſame kinde with lawes that were neceſſarily to ceaſe. And peraduenture hereupon the Councell ſawe it expedient to determine, that the Gentiles ſhould according vnto the third, the

Act. 15. 28.

Act. 16. 4.

Rom. 14. 10.

Lib. qui Seder Olam inſcribitur.

1 דינין
2 ברכת השם
3 ע"א
4 שפיכות דמים
5 גילוי ערוית
6 הגזל
7 אבר מן החי

the ſeuenth, and the fift of thoſe precepts, abſtaine from things ſacrificed vnto idoles, from ſtrangled and bloud, and from fornication. The reſt the Gentiles did of their owne accord obſerue, nature leading them thereunto. And did not nature alſo teach them to abſtaine from fornication? No doubt it did. Neither can we with reaſon thinke, that as the former two are poſitiue, ſo likewiſe this, being meant as the Apoſtle doth otherwiſe vſually vnderſtand it. But verie marriage within a number of degrees being not only by the lawe of *Moſes*, but alſo by the lawe of the ſonnes of *Noah* (for ſo they tooke it) an vnlawfull diſcouerie of nakednes, this diſcouerie of nakednes by vnlawfull mariages ſuch as *Moſes* in the Lawe reckoneth vp, I thinke it for mine owne part more probable to haue bene ment in the words of that Canon, then fornication according vnto the ſenſe of the lawe of nature. Words muſt be taken according to the matter whereof they are vttered. The Apoſtles commaund to abſtaine from bloud. Conſter this according to the lawe of nature, and it will ſeeme that Homicide only is forbidden. But conſter it in reference to the lawe of the Iewes about which the queſtion was, and it ſhall eaſilie appeare to haue a cleane other ſenſe, and in any mans iudgement a truer, when we expound it of eating, and not of ſheading bloud. So if we ſpeake of fornication, he that knoweth no lawe but only the lawe of nature, muſt needes make thereof a narrower conſtruction, then he which meaſureth the ſame by a lawe, wherein ſundry kindes euen of coniugall copulation are prohibited as impure, vncleane, vnhoneſt. Saint *Paule* himſelfe doth terme inceſtuous mariage fornication. If any do rather thinke that the Chriſtian Gentils them ſelues, through the looſe and corrupt cuſtome of thoſe times, tooke ſimple fornication for no ſinne, and were in that reſpect offenſiue vnto belieuing Iewes which by the lawe had bene better taught, our propoſing of another coniecture is vnto theirs no preiudice. Some things therefore we ſee there were, wherein the Gentiles were forbidden to be like vnto the Iewes, ſome things wherein they were commanded not to be vnlike. Againe, ſome things alſo there were, wherein no lawe of God did let, but that they might be either like or vnlike, as occaſion ſhould require. And vnto this purpoſe *Leo* ſayth, *Apoſtolicall ordinance (beloued) knowing that our Lord Ieſus Chriſt came not into this world to vndo the law, hath in ſuch ſort diſtinguiſhed the myſteries of the old teſtament, that certaine of them it hath choſen out to benefit euangelicall knowledge withall, and for that purpoſe appointed that thoſe things which before were Iewiſh, might now be Chriſtian cuſtomes.* The cauſe why the Apoſtles did thus conforme the Chriſtians, as much as might be, according to the patterne of the Iewes, was to reine them in by this meane the more, and to make them cleaue the better. The Church of Chriſt hath had in no one thing ſo manie and ſo contrarie occaſions of dealing as about Iudaiſme, ſome hauing thought the whole Iewiſh lawe wicked and damnable in it ſelfe; ſome not condemning it as the former ſort abſolutely, haue notwithſtanding iudged it either ſooner neceſſary to be abrogated, or further vnlawfull to be obſerued then truth can beare; ſome of ſcrupulous ſimplicitie vrging perpetuall and vniuerſall obſeruation of the law of *Moſes* neceſſarye, as the Chriſtian Iewes at the firſt in the Apoſtles times; ſome as Heretiques, holding the ſame no leſſe euen after the contrarie determination ſet downe by conſent of the Church at *Ieruſalem*; finallie ſome being herein reſolute through meere infidelitie, and with open profeſt enmitie

Heb. 13. 4. 1. Cor. 5. 11. Gal. 5. 19.

Leuit. 18.

1. Cor. 5. 1.

Leo in Ieiun. menſ. ſept. Ser. 9.

enmitie againſt Chriſt, as vnbelieuing *Iewes*. To controwle ſelanderers of the law and Prophets, ſuch as *Marcionites* and *Manichees* were, the Church in hir liturgies hath intermingled with readings out of the new Teſtament, leſſons taken out of the lawe and Prophets, whereunto *Tertullian* alluding, ſayth of the Church of Chriſt, *It intermingleth with euangelicall and apoſtolicall writings the lawe and the Prophets, and from thence it drinketh in that faith, which with water it ſealeth, clotheth with the ſpirit, nouriſheth with the Euchariſt, with martyrdome ſetteth forward.* They would haue wondered in thoſe times to heare, that any man being not a fauourer of hereſie ſhould terme this by way of diſdaine, *mangling of the Goſpels & Epiſtles*. They which honor the law as an image of the wiſdome of God himſelfe, are notwithſtanding to know that the ſame had an end in Chriſt. But what? was the lawe ſo aboliſhed with Chriſt, that after his aſcenſion the office of Prieſts became immediatly wicked, & the very name hatefull, as importing the exerciſe of an vngodly function? No, as long as the glorie of the temple continued, and till the time of that finall deſolation was accompliſhed, the very Chriſtian *Iewes* did continue with their ſacrifices and other parts of legall ſeruice. That verie lawe therefore which our Sauiour was to aboliſh, did not *ſo ſoone* become vnlawfull to be obſerued as ſome imagine: nor was it afterwards vnlawfull *ſo far*, that the very name of Aulter, of Prieſt, of Sacrifice it ſelfe, ſhould be baniſhed out of the world. For though God do now hate ſacrifice, whether it be Heathniſh or Iewiſh, ſo that we cannot haue the ſame things which they had, but with impietie, yet vnleſſe there be ſome greater let then the only euacuation of the law of *Moſes*, the names them ſelues may (I hope) be retained without ſinne, in reſpect of that proportion which things eſtabliſhed by our Sauiour haue vnto them which by him are abrogated. And ſo throughout all the writings of the auncient fathers we ſee that the words which were do continue, the only difference is, that whereas before they had a literall, they now haue a metaphoricall vſe, and are as ſo many notes of remembrance vnto vs, that what they did ſignifie in the letter, is accompliſhed in the truth. And as no man can depriue the Church of this libertie to vſe names whereunto the lawe was accuſtomed, ſo neither are we generally forbidden the vſe of things which the lawe hath; though it neither commaund vs any particular rite, as it did the Iewes a number, and the waightieſt which it did commaund them are vnto vs in the Goſpell prohibited. Touching ſuch as through ſimplicitie of error did vrge vniuerſall and perpetuall obſeruation of the lawe of *Moſes* at the firſt, we haue ſpoken already. Againſt Iewiſh heretikes and falſe Apoſtles teaching afterwards the ſelfe ſame, Saint *Paul* in euery Epiſtle commonly either diſputeth or giueth warning. Iewes that were zealous for the lawe, but withall infidels in reſpect of Chriſtianitie, and to the name of Ieſus Chriſt moſt ſpitefull enimies, did while they flouriſhed no leſſe perſecute the Church then Heathens. After their eſtate was ouerthrowne, they were not that way ſo much to be feared. Howbeit, becauſe they had their Sinagogues in euery famous Citie almoſt throughout the world, and by that meanes great opportunitie to withdrawe from the Chriſtian faith, whiche to doe they ſpared no labor, this gaue the Church occaſion to make ſundrye lawes againſt them. As in the Councell of *Laodicea*, *The feſtiuall preſents which Iewes or Heretikes vſe to ſend muſt not be receyued, nor Holie dayes ſolemniſed in their companie.*

Againe,

Tertull. de præſcript. aduerſ. hæret.

T.C.l.3.p.171 *What an abuſing alſo is it to affirme the mangling of the Goſpels and Epiſtles to haue beene brought into the Church by godly and learned men?*

T.C.l.1.p.216 *Seeing that the office and function of Prieſts was after our ſauiour Chriſts aſcēſion naught and vngodly, the name whereby they were called, which did exerciſe that vngodly function, cannot be otherwiſe takē then in the euil part.*

Concil. Laod. Can. 37. 38.

T.C. lib.1. pag.132. Againe, *From the Iewes men ought not to receiue their vnleauened, nor to communicate with their impieties.* Which Councell was afterwards in deed confirmed by the fixt generall Councell. But what was the true ſenſe or meaning both of the one and the other? Were Chriſtians here forbidden to communicate in vnleauened bread, becauſe the *Iewes* did ſo being enimies of the Church? He which attentiuely ſhall waigh the words will ſuſpect, that they rather forbid cõmunion with *Iewes*, then imitation of them: much more, if with theſe two decrees be compared a third in the Councell of *Cõſtantinople*, *Let no man either of the Cleargie or Laitie eate the vnleauened of the Iewes, nor enter into any familiaritie with them, nor ſend for them in ſicknes, nor take phiſick at their hãds, nor as much as goe into the bath with them. If any doe otherwiſe being a Clergie man, let him be depoſed, if being a lay perſon let excommunication be his puniſhment.* If theſe Canons were any argumẽt, that they which made them did vtterly condemne ſimilitude betwene the Chriſtians & *Iewes*, in things indifferẽt apperteining vnto religion, either becauſe the *Iewes* were enemies vnto the Church, or elſe for that their Ceremonies were abrogated; theſe reaſons had bin as ſtrong & effectuall againſt their keeping the feaſt of Eaſter on the ſame day the *Iewes* kept theirs, and not according to the cuſtome of the Weſt Church. For ſo they did frõ the firſt beginning till *Conſtantines* time. For in theſe two things the Eaſt & Weſt Churches did interchangeably both confront the *Iewes*, and concur with thẽ: the Weſt Church vſing vnleauened bread, as the *Iewes* in their paſſouer did, but differing frõ them in the day whereon they kept the feaſt of Eaſter; contrariwiſe the Eaſt Church celebrating the feaſt of Eſter on the ſame day with the *Iewes*, but not vſing the ſame kind of bread which they did. Now if ſo be the Eaſt Church in vſing leuened bread had done ill, either for that the *Iewes* were enimies to the Church, or becauſe Iewiſh ceremonies were abrogated; how ſhould wee think but that *Victor* the B. of *Rome* (whom all iudicious mẽ do in that behalf diſallow) did well to be ſo vehement & fierce in drawing them to the like diſſimilitude for the feaſt of Eaſter? Againe, if the Weſt Churches had in either of thoſe two reſpects affected diſſimilitude with the *Iewes* in the feaſt of Eſter, what reaſon had they to draw the Eaſterne Church herein vnto them, which reaſon did not enforce them to frame them ſelues vnto it in the ceremonie of leauened bread? Differẽce in rites ſhould breed no cõtrouerſie betwene one Church & an other, but if controuerſie be once bred, it muſt be ended. The feaſt of Eaſter being therfore litigious in the days of *Conſtantine*, who honored of all other Churches moſt the Church of *Rome*, which Church was the mother from whoſe breaſts he had drawn that food, which gaue him nouriſhmẽt to eternall life; ſith agreement was neceſſarie, and yet impoſſible, vnleſſe the one part were yeelded vnto; his deſire was that of the two the Eaſterne Church ſhould rather yeeld. And to this end he vſeth ſundry perſwaſiue ſpeches. When *Stephen* the Biſh. of *Rome* going about to ſhew what the Catholique Church ſhould do, had alleaged what the heretiques them ſelues did, namely, that they receiued ſuch as came vnto them and offered not to baptiſe them anew: S. *Cyprian* being of a contrarie mind to him about the matter at that time in queſtion which was *Whether heretikes conuerted ought to be rebaptiſed yea or no*, anſwered the allegatiõ of Pope *Stephen* with exceeding great ſtomack ſaying, *To this degree of wretchednes the Church of God and Spouſe of Chriſt is now come, that hir wayes ſhe frameth to the example of heretikes, that to celebrate the Sacramẽts which heuenly inſtructiõ hath deliuered, light it ſelf doth borrow frõ darknes, & Chriſtiãs do*

T.C. lib.3. pag.176.

Concil. Conſtantinop. 6. cap.11.

Cypr. ad Pompei. lib. cont. Epiſt. Stephani

that

that which Antichriſts doe. Now albeit *Conſtantine* haue done that to further a better cauſe, which *Cyprian* did to countenance a worſe, namely the rebaptization of heretiques, and haue taken aduantage at the odiouſnes of the Iewes, as *Cyprian* of heretiques, becauſe the Eaſterne Church kept their feaſt of Easter alwayes the fourteenth day of the Moneth as the Iewes did, what day of the weeke ſoeuer it fell: or how ſoeuer *Conſtantine* did take occaſion in the hãdling of that cauſe to ſay, *It is vnworthie to haue any thing common with that ſpiteſull nation of the Iewes*; ſhall euery motiue argument vſed in ſuch kinde of conferences be made a rule for others ſtill to cõclude the like by, concerning al things of like nature, when as probable inducements may leade them to the contrarie? Let both this and other allegations ſuteable vnto it ceaſe to barke any longer idlie againſt that truth, the courſe and paſſage whereof it is not in them to hinder.

Socr. Eccleſiaſt. hiſt. lib. 5. cap. 21. Plerique in Aſia minore antiquitus 14. die menſis, nulla ratione diei Sabbati habita hoc feſtum obſeruarunt. Quod dum faciebant, cum alijs qui aliam rationem in eodem feſto agendo ſequebantur vſque eò nequaquam diſſenſerunt, quoad Victor Epiſcopus Romanus ſupra modum iracundia inflammatus omnes in Aſia qui erant τεσσαρεσκαιδεκατίται appellati excommunicauerit. Ob quod factum Irenæus Epiſcopus Lugduni in Victorem per Epiſtolam grauiter inuectus eſt. Euſeb. de vita Conſtant. lib. 3. ca. 17. Quid præſtabilius quidne auguſtius eſſe poterat quam vt hoc feſtum per quod ſpem immortalitatis nobis oſtentatam habemus vno modo & ratione apud omnes integre ſincereq; obſeruaretur? Ac primum omnium indignum plane videbatur vt ritum & cõſuetudinem imitantes Iudæorum (qui quoniam ſuas ipſorum manus immani ſcelere polluerunt, merito, vt ſceleſtos decet, cæco animorum errore tenentur irretiti) iſtud feſtum ſanctiſſimum ageremus. In noſtra enim ſitum eſt poteſtate vt illorum more reiecto, veriore ac magis ſincero inſtituto (quod quidem vſque a prima paſſionis die hactenus recoluimus) huius feſti celebrationem ad poſterorum ſeculorũ memoriam propagemus. Nihil igitur ſit nobis cum Iudæorum turba omnium odioſa maxime.

12 But the waightieſt exception, and of all the moſt worthy to be reſpected, is againſt ſuch kind of Ceremonies, as haue bene ſo groſly and ſhamefully abuſed in the Church of *Rome*, that where they remayne, they are ſcandalous, yea, they cannot chooſe but be ſtumbling blocks, and grieuous cauſes of offence. Concerning this point therefore we are firſt to note, what properlie it is to be ſcandalous or offenſiue; ſecondly what kinde of Ceremonies are ſuch; and thirdly when they are neceſſarily for remedie therof to be taken away, and when not. The common conceipt of the vulgar ſort is, whenſoeuer they ſee any thing which they miſlike and are angry at, to thinke that euery ſuch thing is ſcandalous, and that them ſelues in this caſe are the men, concerning whome our Sauiour ſpake in ſo fearefull manner, ſaying, *Whoſoeuer ſhall ſcandalize or offend any one of theſe little ones which beliene in me* [that is as they conſter it, whoſoeuer ſhall anger the meaneſt and ſimpleſt Artizan which carrieth a good minde, by not remouing out of the Church ſuch rites and Ceremonies as diſpleaſe him] *better he were drowned in the bottom of the ſea.* But hard were the caſe of the Church of Chriſt if this were to ſcandalize. Men are ſcandalized when they are moued, led, and prouoked vnto ſinne. At good things euill men may take occaſion to do euill; and ſo Chriſt him ſelfe was a rock of offence in *Iſrael*, they taking occaſion at his poore eſtate and at the ignominie of his croſſe, to think him vnworthy the name of that great and glorious Meſſias, whom the Prophets deſcribe in ſuch ample & ſtately termes. But that which we therfore terme offenſiue becauſe it inuiteth mẽ to offend, and by a dumb kind of prouocation incourageth, moueth, or any way leadeth vnto ſinne, muſt of neceſſitie be acknowledged actiuely ſcandalous. Now ſome things are ſo euen by their very eſſence and nature, ſo that whereſoeuer they are found, they are not, neither can be without this force of prouocation vnto euill; of which kinde all examples of ſinne and wickednes are. Thus *Dauid* was ſcandalous in that bloudie acte, whereby he cauſed the

Their exception againſt ſuch Ceremonies as haue bene abuſed by the church of Rome, and are ſaid in that reſpect to be ſcandalous.

Matth. 18. 6.

1. Pet. 2. 8.

2. Sam. 12. 14.

enemyes of God to be blaſphemous: thus the whole ſtate of Iſrael ſcandalous, when their publique diſorders cauſed the name of God to be ill ſpoken of amongſt the nations. It is of this kind that *Tertullian* meaneth, *Offence or ſcandall, if I be not deceaued,* ſaith he, *is, when the example not of a good but of an euill thing doth ſet men forward vnto ſinne. Good things can ſcandalize none ſaue only euill mindes*: good things haue no ſcandalizing nature in them. Yet that which is of it owne nature either good or at leaſt not euill, may by ſome accident become ſcandalous at certaine times and in certaine places and to certaine men, the open vſe thereof neuertheleſſe being otherwiſe without daunger. The verie nature of ſome rites and Ceremonies therefore is ſcandalous, as it was in a number of thoſe which the Manichees did vſe, and is in all ſuch as the lawe of God doth forbid. Some are offenſiue only through the agreement of men to vſe them vnto euill, and not elſe, as the moſt of thoſe things indifferent which the Heathens did to the ſeruice of their falſe Gods; which an other in hart condemning their idolatrie, could not do with them in ſhew and token of approbation, without being guilty of ſcandall giuen. Ceremonies of this kinde are either deuiſed at the firſt vnto euill, as the Eunomian Heretiques in diſhonor of the bleſſed Trinitie, brought in the laying on of water but once, to croſſe the cuſtome of the Church which in Baptiſme did it thriſe; or elſe hauing had a profitable vſe, they are afterwards interpreted and wreſted to the contrarie, as thoſe Heretiques which held the Trinitie to be three diſtinct not perſons but natures, abuſed the Ceremonie of three times laying on water in Baptiſme vnto the ſtrengthning of their hereſie. The element of water is in Baptiſme neceſſarie: once to lay it on or twice is indifferent. For which cauſe *Gregorie* making mention thereof, ſayth, *To dyue an infant either thrice or but once in Baptiſme, can be no way a thing reproueable; ſeeing that both in three times waſhing, the Trinitie of perſons; and in one the Vnitie of Godhead may be ſignified.* So that of theſe two Ceremonies neither being hurtfull in it ſelfe, both may ſerue vnto good purpoſe, yet one was deuiſed, and the other conuerted vnto euill. Now where as in the Church of *Rome* certaine Ceremonies are ſayd to haue bene ſhamefully abuſed vnto euill, as the Ceremonie of Croſſing at Baptiſme, of kneeling at the Euchariſt, of vſing Wafer-cakes, and ſuch like, the queſtion is, whether for remedie of that euill wherein ſuch Ceremonies haue bene ſcandalous, and perhaps may be ſtill vnto ſome euen amongſt our ſelues, whome the preſence and ſight of them may confirme in that former error whereto they ſerued in times paſt, they are of neceſſitie to be remoued. Are theſe or any other Ceremonies wee haue common with the Church of *Rome* ſcandalous and wicked in their verie nature? This no man obiecteth. Are any ſuch, as haue bene polluted from their verie birth, and inſtituted euen at the firſt vnto that thing which is euill? That which hath bene ordeyned impiouſly at the firſt, may weare out that impietie in tract of time, and then what doth let, but that the vſe thereof may ſtand without offence. The names of our moneths and of our dayes wee are not ignorant from whence they came, and with what diſhonor vnto God they are ſayd to haue bene deuiſed at the firſt. What could be ſpoken againſt any thing more effectuall to ſtirre hatred, then that which ſometime the auncient Fathers in this caſe ſpeake? Yet thoſe verie names are at this day in vſe throughout Chriſtendome,

Rom. 2. 24. Ezech. 36. 20.

Tertul. lib. de virgin. veland.

Epiſt. ad Leandrum Hiſp.

dome, without hurt or ſcandall to any. Cleare and manifeſt it is, that things deuiſed by Heretiques, yea, deuiſed of a verie hereticall purpoſe euen againſt religion, and at their firſt deuiſing worthie to haue bene withſtood, may in time growe meete to be kept, as that cuſtome, the inuentors wherof were the Eunomian Heretiques. So that cuſtomes once eſtabliſhed and confirmed by long vſe, being preſently without harme, are not in regard of their corrupt originall to be held ſcandalous. But cõcerning thoſe our Ceremonies, which they recken for moſt Popiſh, they are not able to auouch, that any of them was otherwiſe inſtituted, then vnto good, yea, ſo vſed at the firſt. It followeth then that they all are ſuch, as hauing ſerued to good purpoſe, were afterward conuerted vnto the contrary. And ſith it is not ſo much as obiected againſt vs, that we reteine together with them the euill, wherwith they haue bin infected in the Church of *Rome*, I would demand who they are whom we ſcandalize, by vſing harmeles things vnto that good end for which they were firſt inſtituted. Amongſt our ſelues that agree in the approbation of this kinde of good vſe, no man wil ſay that one of vs is offenſiue and ſcandalous vnto another. As for the fauorers of the Church of *Rome*, they know how far we herein differ & diſſent frõ them, which thing neither we conceale, and they by their publike writings alſo profeſſe daily how much it grieueth them; ſo that of thẽ there will not many riſe vp againſt vs, as witneſſes vnto the inditement of ſcandal, whereby we might be cõdemned & caſt, as hauing ſtrengthned thẽ in that euil wherwith they pollute themſelues in the vſe of the ſame Ceremonies. And concerning ſuch as withſtãd the Church of *England* herein, and hate it becauſe it doth not ſufficiẽtly ſeeme to hate *Rome*, they (I hope) are far enough frõ being by this meane drawne to any kind of popiſh error. The multitude therfore of them, vnto whom we are ſcãdalous through the vſe of abuſed ceremonies, is not ſo apparẽt, that it can iuſtly be ſaid in generall of any one ſort of mẽ or other, we cauſe thẽ to offend. If it be ſo, that now or then ſome few are eſpied, who hauing bin accuſtomed heretofore to the rites & ceremonies of the Church of *Rome*, are not ſo ſcowred of their former ruſt, as to forſake their aunciẽt perſwaſion which they haue had, howſoeuer they frame thẽ ſelues to outward obedience of laws & orders: becauſe ſuch may miſconſter the meaning of our ceremonies, and ſo take thẽ as though they were in euery ſort the ſame they haue bin, ſhal this be thought a reaſon ſufficiẽt whereon to cõclude, that ſome law muſt neceſſarily be made to aboliſh al ſuch ceremonies? They anſwer that there is no law of God which doth bind vs to reteine thẽ. And S. *Pauls* rule is, that in thoſe things frõ which without hurt we may lawfully abſteine, we ſhould frame the vſage of our libertie with regard to the weakenes and imbecillitie of our brethren; Wherefore vnto them which ſtood vpon their owne defenſe, ſaying, *All things are lawfull vnto me*, hee replyeth, *But all things are not expedient* in regard of others. All things are cleane, all meates are lawfull; but euill vnto that man that eateth offenſiuely. If for thy meates ſake thy brother be grieued, thou walkeſt no longer according to charitie. Deſtroy not him with thy meate for whome Chriſt dyed. Diſſolue not for foodes ſake the worke of God. We that are ſtrong muſt beare the imbecillities

Hom. 1 1. de Paſch. Idololatriæ conſuetudo in tantum homines occœcauerunt, vt Solis, Lunæ, Martis atque Mercurii, Iouis, Veneris, Saturni, & diuerſis elementorum ac Dæmonum appellationibus dies vocitarent, & luci tenebrarum nomen imponerent. Beda de ration. temp. cap. 4. Octauus dies idem primus eſt, ad quem redit̃, indeq; rurſus hebdomada inchoatur. His nomina a planetis Gentilitas indidit habere ſe credentes a Sole Spiritum, a Luna corpus, a Marte ſanguinem, a Mercurio ingenium & linguam, a Ioue temperantiam, a Venere voluptatem, a Saturno tarditatem. Iſid. Hiſp. lib. 5. Etymol. ca. 30. Dies dicti a Dijs quorum nomina Romani quibuſdam ſyderibus ſacrauerunt.

1. Cor. 6. 12.

Rom. 14.
Rom. 15. 1.

of the impotent, and not pleaſe our ſelues. It was a weakenes in the Chriſtian Iewes, and a maime of iudgement in them, that they thought the Gentiles polluted by the eating of thoſe meates, which them ſelues were afraid to touch for feare of tranſgreſſing the lawe of *Moſes*; yea, hereat their hearts did ſo much riſe, that the Apoſtle had iuſt cauſe to feare, leaſt they would rather forſake Chriſtianitie, then endure any fellowſhip with ſuch, as made no cõſcience of that which was vnto them abhominable. And for this cauſe mention is made of deſtroying the weake by meates, and of diſſoluing the work of God, which was his Church, a part of the liuing ſtones whereof were belieuing Iewes. Now thoſe weake brethren before mẽtioned are ſaid to be as the Iewes were, and our Ceremonies which haue bene abuſed in the Church of *Rome*, to be as the ſcandalous meates, from which the Gentiles are exhorted to abſtaine in the preſence of Iewes, for feare of auerting them from Chriſtian faith. Therefore as charitie did bind them to refraine frõ that for their brethrens ſake, which otherwiſe was lawfull enough for them; ſo it bindeth vs for our brethrens ſake likewiſe to aboliſh ſuch Ceremonies, although we might lawfully elſe reteyne them. But betweene theſe two caſes there are great odds. For neither are our weake brethren as the Iewes, nor the ceremonies which we vſe as the meates which the Gentiles vſed. The Iewes were knowne to be generally weake in that reſpect, whereas contrariwiſe the imbecillitie of ours is not common vnto ſo many, that we can take any ſuch certain notice of them. It is a chance if here and there ſome one be found, and therefore ſeing we may preſume men commonly otherwiſe, there is no neceſſitie that our practiſe ſhould frame it ſelfe by that which th'Apoſtle doth preſcribe to the Gentiles. Againe, their vſe of meates was not like vnto our of Ceremonies, that being a matter of priuate action in common life, where euerie man was free to order that which himſelfe did; but this a publicke conſtitution for the ordering of the Church: and we are not to looke that the Church ſhould change her publique lawes and ordinances, made according to that which is iudged ordinarily, and commonly fitteſt for the whole, although it chance that for ſome particular men the ſame be found inconuenient, eſpecially whẽ there may be other remedy alſo againſt the ſores of particular inconueniences. In this caſe therefore where any priuate harme doth growe, we are not to reiect inſtruction, as being an vnmeete plaſter to applie vnto it; neither can we ſay, that he which appointeth teachers for phyſitions in this kind of euill, is as if a man *would ſet one to watch a child all day long leaſt he ſhould hurt him ſelfe with a knife, whereas by taking away the knife from him, the daunger is auoided, and the ſeruice of the man better imployed.* For a knife may be taken away from a childe, without depriuing them of the benefite thereof which haue yeares and diſcretion to vſe it. But the Ceremonies which children doe abuſe if we remoue quite and cleane, as it is by ſome required that we ſhould, then are they not taken from children only, but from others alſo; which is as though becauſe children may perhaps hurt them ſelues with knines, we ſhould conclude that therefore the vſe of knines is to be taken quite and cleane euen from men alſo. Thoſe particular Ceremonies, which they pretend to be ſo ſcandalous, we ſhall in the next booke haue occaſion more throughlie to ſift, where other things alſo traduced in the publike duties of the Church whereunto ech of theſe apperteineth, are together with theſe to be touched, and ſuch reaſons

Vide Harmenop. lib. 1. tit. 1. §. 28.

T.C.l.3.p.178

reasons to be examined as haue at any time beene brought eyther against the one or the other. In the meane while against the conueniencie of curing such euils by instruction, strange it is that they shold obiect the multitude of other necessarie matters, wherin Preachers may better bestow their time, then in giuing men warning not to abuse Ceremonies; a wonder it is that they should obiect this, which haue so manie yeares together troubled the Church with quarels concerning these things, and are euen to this very hower so earnest in them, that if they write or speake publiquely but fiue words, one of them is lightly about the dangerous estate of the Church of England in respect of abused ceremonies. How much happier had it beene for this whole Church, if they, which haue raysed contention therein about the abuse of rites and Ceremonies, had considered in due time that there is indeede store of matters fitter and better a great deale for teachers to spende time and labour in? It is through their importunate and vehement affeuerations, more then through any such experience which we haue had of our owne, that we are forced to thinke it possible for one or other nowe and then, at least wise in the prime of the reformation of our Church, to haue stumbled at some kinde of Ceremonie; wherein for as much as we are contented to take this vpon their credite, and to thinke it may be; sith also they further pretend the same to be so dangerous a snare to their soules, that are at any time taken therein, they must giue our teachers leaue for the sauing of those soules (be they neuer so fewe) to intermingle some time with other more necessarie thinges admonition concerning these not vnnecessarie. Wherin they should in reason more easily yeelde this leaue, considering that hereunto we shall not neede to vse the hundreth part of that time, which themselues thinke very needefull to bestowe in making most bitter inuectiues against the ceremonies of the Church.

T. C. l. 3. p. 177. *It is not so conuenient that the Minister hauing so many necessary pointes to beestowe his time in, should be driuen to spende it in giuing warning of not abusing them, of which (although they were vsed to the best) there is no profite.*

13 But to come to the last point of all, the Church of England is greeuously charged with forgetfulnesse of her dutie, which dutie had beene to frame her selfe vnto the patterne of their example, that went before her in the worke of reformation. For *as the Churches of Christ ought to be most vnlike the synagogue of Antichrist in their indifferent ceremonies; so they ought to be most like one vnto an other, and for preseruation of vnitie to haue as much as possible may be all the same Ceremonies. And therefore S. Paul to establish this order in the Church of Corinth, That they should make their gatherings for the poore vpon the first day of the Saboth (which is our sunday) alleageth this for a reason, that he had so ordeyned in other Churches.* Againe, *as children of one father and seruants of one familie, so all Churches should not onely haue one diet in that they haue one worde, but also weare as it were one liuerie in vsing the same Ceremonies.* Thirdly *this rule did the great Councell of Nice follow, when it ordeyned, that where certaine at the feast of Pentecoste did pray kneeling, they should pray standing; the reason whereof is added, which is, that one custome ought to be kept throughout all Churches. It is true that the diuersitie of Ceremonies ought not to cause the Churches to dissent one with another; but yet it maketh most to the auoyding of dissention, that there be amongst them an vnitie not onely in doctrine, but also in Ceremonies. And therefore our forme of*

Our ceremonies excepted against for that some Churches reformed before ours haue cast out those things which wee not withstanding their example to the contrarie doe reteine still.

T. C. l. 1. p. 133

1. Cor. 16. 1.

Can. 20. The Canon of that Councell which is here cited doth prouide against kneeling at prayer on Sundayes, or for fiue dayes after Easter on any day, and not at the feast of Pentecost onely.

seruice

ſeruice is to be amended, not onely for that it commeth too neere that of the Papiſtes, but
T. C. lib. 3. p. 182. 183. *alſo becauſe it is ſo different from that of the reformed Churches.* Beeing asked to what Churches ours ſhoulde conforme it ſelfe, and why other reformed Churches ſhould not as well frame themſelues to ours; their aunſwere is, *That if there be any Ceremonies which we haue better then others, they ought to frame themſelues to vs; if they haue better then we, then we ought to frame our ſelues to them; if the Ceremonies be alike commodious, the later Churches ſhould conforme themſelues to the*
Rom. 16. 5. 7. *firſt, as the younger daughter to the elder. For as S. Paule in the members, where all other things are equal, noteth it for a marke of honour aboue the reſt, that one is called before another to the Goſpell; ſo is it for the ſame cauſe amongeſt the Churches. And in this reſpect*
1. Cor. 14. 37. *he pincheth the Corinthes, that not being the firſt which receiued the Goſpell, yet they would haue their ſeuer all maners from other Churches. Moreouer where the Ceremonies are alike commodious, the fewer ought to conforme themſelues vnto the mo. For as much therefore as all the Churches* (ſo farre as they know which pleade after this manner) *of our confeſsion in doctrine, agree in the abrogation of diuers things which we reteine, our Churches ought eyther to ſhow that they haue done euill, or elſe ſhe is found to be in fault that doth not conforme her ſelfe in that, which ſhe cannot denie to be well abrogated.* In this axiome that preſeruation of peace and vnitie amongſt Christian Churches ſhould be by all good meanes procured, we ioyne moſt willingly and gladly with them. Neither deny we but that to thauoyding of diſſention it auayleth much, that there be amongſt thē an vnitie as well in ceremonies as in doctrine. The only doubt is about the manet of their vnity, how far Churches are bound to be vniforme in their ceremonies, & what way they ought to take for that purpoſe. Touching the one, the rule which they haue ſet down is; that in ceremonies indifferēt all churches ought to be one of them vnto another as like as *poſsibly* they may be. Which *poſsibly* we cannot otherwiſe conſter, then that it doth require thē to be euen as like as they may be, without breaking any poſitiue ordinance of God. For the ceremonies wherof we ſpeake being matter of poſitiue law; they are indifferent, if God haue neither himſelfe cōmanded nor forbidden thē, but left thē vnto the Churches diſcretion. So that if as great vniformitie be required as is poſſible in theſe things, ſeeing that the law of God forbiddeth not any one of thē; it followeth that from the greateſt vnto the leaſt they muſt be in euery Chriſtian Church the ſame, except meere impoſſibilitie of ſo hauing it be the hinderāce. To vs this opinion ſeemeth ouer extreme & violent; wee rather incline to thinke it a iuſt and reaſonable cauſe for any Church, the ſtate wherof is free and independent, if in theſe things it differ from other Churches, only for that it doth not iudge it ſo fit & expedient to be framed therin by the paterne of their example, as to be otherwiſe framed then they. That of *Gregorie* vnto *Leander* is a charitable ſpeech and a peaceable, *In vna fide nil officit Eccleſiæ ſanctæ conſuetudo diuerſa. Where the faith of the holy Church is one, a difference in cuſtomes of the Church doth no harme.* That of S. *Auguſtine* to *Caſſulanus* is ſomewhat more particular, and toucheth what kinde of ceremonies they are, wherein one Church may varie from the example of an other without hurt, *Let the faith of the whole Church how wide ſo euer it haue ſpred it ſelfe be alwayes one, although the vnitie of belieſe be famous for varietie of certain ordinances, whereby that which is rightly believed ſuffereth no kind of let or impediment.* Respon. ad Mediat. *Caluin* goeth further, *As concerning rites in particular let the ſentence of Auguſtine take place, which leaueth it free vnto all Churches to receiue ech their owne cuſtome.*

Yea

Yea ſometime it profiteth and is expedient that there be difference leaſt men ſhould thinke that religion is tyed to outward ceremonyes. Alwayes prouided that there be not any emulation, nor that Churches delighted with noueltie affect to haue that which others haue not.
They which graunt it true that the diuerſitie of Ceremonies in this kind ought not to cauſe diſſention in Churches, muſt eyther acknowledge that they graunt in effect nothing by theſe words; or if any thing be granted, there muſt as much be yeelded vnto, as we affirme againſt their former ſtrict aſſertion. For if Churches be vrged by way of dutie to take ſuch ceremonies as they like not of; how can diſſention be auoyded? Will they ſay that there ought to be no diſſention, becauſe ſuch as be vrged ought to like of that whereunto they are vrged? If they ſay this, they ſay iuſt nothing. For how ſhould any Church like to be vrged of dutie, by ſuch as haue no authoritie or power ouer it, vnto thoſe things which being indifferent it is not of dutie bound vnto them? Is it their meaning, that there ought to be no diſſention, becauſe that which Churches are not bound vnto, no man ought by way of dutie to vrge vppon them; and if any man doe, he ſtandeth in the ſight both of God and men moſt iuſtly blameable, as a needeleſſe diſturber of the peace of Gods Church and an author of diſſention? In ſaying this they both condemne their owne practiſe, when they preſſe the Church of England with ſo ſtrict a bond of dutie in theſe thinges; and they ouerthrowe the grounde of their practiſe, which is, that there ought to be in all kinde of ceremonies vniformitie, vnleſſe impoſſibilitie hinder it. For proofe whereof it is not enough to alleage what S. Paul did about the matter of collections, or what Noble-men doe in the liueries of their ſeruants, or what the Councell of Nice did for ſtanding in time of prayer on certain dayes; becauſe though S. Paule did will them of the Church of Corinth, euery man to lay vp ſomewhat by him vppon the Sunday, and to reſerue it in ſtore, till himſelfe did come thether to ſende it vnto the Church of Ieruſalem for reliefe of the poore there; ſignifying withall that he had taken the like order with the Churches of Galatia; yet the reaſon which he yeeldeth of this order taken both in the one place and the other, ſheweth the leaſt part of his meaning to haue beene that, whereunto his wordes are writhed. *Concerning collection for the Saintes* (he meaneth them of Ieruſalem) *as I haue giuen order to the Church of Galatia, ſo likewiſe doe ye*, (ſayth the Apoſtle) *that is, in euery firſt of the weeke let each of you lay aſide by himſelfe, and reſerue according to that which God hath bleſſed him with, that when I come collections be not then to make; and that when I am come, whom you ſhall chooſe, them I may foorthwith ſende away by letters to carry your beneficence vnto Ieruſalem.* Out of which words to conclude the dutie of vniformitie througout all Churches in all maner of indifferent ceremonies will be very hard, and therefore beſt to giue it ouer. But perhaps they are by ſo much the more loth to forſake this argument, for that it hath, though nothing elſe, yet the name of Scripture, to giue it ſome kinde of countenance more then the next of liuerie cotes affordeth them. For neyther is it any mans dutie to cloth all his children or all his ſeruantes with one weede, nor theirs to cloth themſelues ſo, if it were left to their owne iudgements, as theſe ceremonies are left of God to the iudgement of the Church. And ſeeing Churches are rather in this

T.C.l.1.p.133. *And therefore S. Paule to eſtabliſh this order in the Church of Corinth that they ſhold make their gatherings for the poore vpon the firſt day of the Saboth (which is our ſunday) alleageth this for a reaſon that he had ſo ordeyned in other Churches.*

1.Cor.16.1.

T.C.li.3. pag. 133. *So that as children of one father and ſeruants of one maſter he will haue al the Churches*

not only haue one dyet in that they haue one word, but also weare as it were one liuery in vsing the same ceremonies.

this case like diuerse families then like diuers seruants of one familie; because euery Church, the state whereof is independent vpon any other, hath authority to appoint orders for it selfe in thinges indifferent; therefore of the two we may rather inferre, that as one familie is not abridged of libertie to be clothed in fryers gray, for that another doth weare clay-colour; so neither are all Churches bound to the selfe same indifferent Ceremonies which it liketh sundry to vse. As for that Canon in the Councell of Nice, let them but read it and waigh it well.

T.C.l.1.p.133 *This rule did the great councell of Nice follow, &c.*

The auncient vse of the Church throughout all Christendome was for fiftie dayes after Easter (which fiftie dayes were called Pentecost, though most commonly the last day of them which is Whitsunday be so called) in like sort on all the Sundayes throughout the whole yeare their manner was to stand at prayer, whereupon their meetinges vnto that purpose on those dayes had the name of *Stations* giuen them. Of which custome *Tertullian* speaketh in this wise, *It is not with vs thought fit eyther to fast on the Lordes day, or to pray kneeling. The same immunitie from fasting and kneeling we keepe all the time which is betweene the Feastes of Easter and Pentecost.* This being therefore an order generally receiued in the Church, when some began to be singular and different from all others, and that in a ceremonie which was then iudged very conuenient for the whole Church euen by the whole, those fewe excepted which brake out of the common pale: the Councell of Nice thought good to inclose them againe with the rest, by a lawe made in this sort, *Because there are certaine which will needes kneele at the time of praier on the Lordes day, and in the fistie dayes after Easter, the holy Synode iudging it meete that a conuenient custome be obserued throughout all Churches, hath decreed that standing we make our prayers to the Lord.* Whereby it plainely appeareth that in things indifferent, what the whole Church doth thinke conuenient for the whole, the same if any part doe wilfully violate, it may be reformed and inrayled againe by that generall authoritie whereunto ech particular is subiect, and that the spirit of singularitie in a few ought to giue place vnto publike iudgement; this doth clearely enough appeare, but not that all Christian Churches are bound in euery indifferent ceremonie to be vniforme: because where the whole hath not tyed the partes vnto one and the same thing, they being therein left ech to their owne choyce, may eyther do as other do or else otherwise, without any breach of dutie at all. Concerning those indifferent thinges, wherein it hath beene heretofore thought good that all Christian Churches should bee vniforme, the way which they now conceiue to bring this to passe was then neuer thought on. For till now it hath beene iudged, that seeing the law of God doth not prescribe all particular ceremonies which the Church of Christ may vse, and in so great varietie of them as may be found out, it is not possible that the lawe of nature and reason should direct all Churches vnto the same things, ech deliberating by it selfe what is most conuenient: the way to establish the same things indifferent throughout them all must needes be the iudgement of some iudiciall authority drawne into one only sentence, which may be a rule for euery particular to follow. And because such authoritie ouer all Churches, is too much to be granted vnto any one mortall man, there yet remayneth that which hath beene alwayes followed, as the best, the safest, the most sincere and reasonable way, namely, the verdict of the whole Church orderly taken, and set downe in the assembly

Die Dominico & per omnem Pentecostem nec de geniculis adorare & ieiunium soluere. De Coro. Militis.

of

of some generall councell. But to maintaine that all Christian Churches ought for vnities sake to be vniforme in all ceremonies, and then to teach that the way of bringing this to passe must be by mutuall imitation, so that where wee haue better ceremonies then others they shall be bound to followe vs, and we them where theirs are better; how should we thinke it agreeable and consonant vnto reason? For sith in thinges of this nature there is such varietie of particular inducements, whereby one Church may be led to thinke that better which another Church led by other inducementes iudgeth to be worse: (For example, the East Church did thinke it better to keepe Easter day after the manner of the Iewes, the West Church better to do otherwise; the Greeke Church iudgeth it worse to vse vnleauened bread in the Eucharist, the Latin Church leauened; one Church esteemeth it not so good to receiue the Eucharist sitting as standing, another Church not so good standing as sitting; there being on the one side probable motiues as well as on the other) vnlesse they adde somewhat else to define more certainely what ceremonies shall stand for best, in such sort that all Churches in the world shall know them to be the best, and so knowe them that there may not remaine any question about this point; we are not a whit the neerer for that they haue hitherto sayd. They themselues although resolued in their owne iudgements what ceremonies are best, yet foreseeing that such as they are addicted vnto, be not all so clearely and so incomparably best, but others there are or may be at least wise, when all things are well considered, as good, knewe not which way smothly to rid their handes of this matter, without prouiding some more certaine rule to be followed for establishment of vniformitie in ceremonies, when there are diuers kindes of equall goodnesse; and therefore in this case they say, that the later Churches and the fewer should conforme themselues vnto the elder and the mo. Hereupon they conclude, that for as much as all the reformed Churches (so farre as they knowe) which are of our confession in doctrine, haue agreed alreadie in the abrogation of diuers thinges which we reteine: our Church ought eyther to shew that they haue done euill, or else she is found to be in fault for not conforming her selfe to those Churches, in that which she cannot denie to be in them well abrogated. For the authoritie of the first Churches (and those they accompt to be the first in this cause which were first reformed) they bring the comparison of younger daughters conforming themselues in attire to the example of their elder sisters; wherein there is iust as much strength of reason as in the liuerie coates before mentioned. S. Paule, they say, noteth it for a marke of speciall honour, that *Epaenetus* was the first man in all *Achaia* which did embrace the Christian faith; after the same sort he toucheth it also as a speciall preeminence of *Iunias* and *Andronicus*, that in Christianitie they were his auncientes; the *Corinthians* he pincheth with this demaund, *Hath the word of God gone out from you, or hath it lighted on you alone?* But what of all this? If any man should thinke that alacritie & forwardnes in good thinges doth adde nothing vnto mens commendation, the two former speeches of S. Paul might leade him to reforme his iudgement. In like sort to take downe the stomacke of proud conceited men, that glorie as though they were able to set all others to schoole, there can be nothing more fit then some such wordes as the Apostles third sentence doth conteine; wherein he teacheth the Church of *Corinth* to know,

T.C. lib. 3. p. 183. *If the ceremonies be alike commodious, the later Churches should conforme themselues to the first &c.* And againe, *The fewer ought to conforme themselues vnto the moe.*

Rom. 16. 5.

1. Cor. 14. 36.

knowe, that there was no such great oddes betweene them and the rest of their brethren, that they should thinke themselues to be golde and the rest to be but copper. He therefore vseth speech vnto them to this effect: *Men instructed in the knowledge of Iesus Christ there both were before you, and are besides you in the worlde; ye neyther are the fountaine from which first, nor yet the riuer into which alone the worde hath flowed.* But although as *Epenetus* was the first man in all *Achaia*, so *Corinth* had beene the first Church in the whole world that receiued Christ: the Apostle doth not shew that in any kind of things indifferent whatsoeuer, this should haue made their example a law vnto all others. Indeede the example of sundry Churches for approbation of one thing doth sway much; but yet still as hauing the force of an example onely, and not of a lawe. They are effectuall to mooue anie Church, vnlesse some greater thing doe hinder; but they binde none, no not though they be many; sauing onely when they are the maior part of a generall assembly, and then their voyces being moe in number must ouersway their iudgementes who are fewer, because in such cases the greater halfe is the whole. But as they stande out single ech of them by it selfe, their number can purchase them no such authoritie, that the rest of the Churches beeing fewer should be therefore bound to followe them, and to relinquish as good ceremonies as theirs for theirs. Whereas therefore it is concluded out of these so weake premisses, that the reteyning of diuers thinges in the Church of Englande, which other reformed Churches haue cast out, must needes argue that we doe not well, vnlesse we can shewe that they haue done ill; what needed this wrest to drawe out from vs an accusation of forraine Churches? It is not prooued as yet that if they haue done well, our dutie is to follow them, and to forsake our owne course, because it differeth from theirs, although indeede it be as well for vs euery way, as theirs for them. And if the proofes alleaged for conformation hereof had beene sound, yet seeing they leade no further then onely to shewe, that where wee can haue no better ceremonies theirs must be taken; as they cannot with modestie thinke themselues to haue found out absolutely the best, which the wit of men may deuise, so liking their owne somewhat better then other mens, euen because they are their owne, they must in equitie allowe vs to be like vnto them in this affection; which if they doe, they ease vs of that vncourteous burden, whereby we are charged either to condemne them, or else to follow them. They grant we needs not follow them if our owne wayes already be better. And if our owne be but equall, the law of common indulgence alloweth vs to thinke them at the least halfe a thought the better because they are our owne; which we may very well do and neuer drawe any inditement at all against theirs, but thinke commendably euen of them also.

T.C.l.3.p.183 *Our Church ought eyther to shew that they haue done euill, or else she is found to be in faults that doth not conforme her selfe in that which she can not deny to be well abrogated.*

A declaration of the proceedings of the Church of England for establishment of thinges as they are.

14 To leaue reformed Churches therfore and their actions for him to iudge of, in whose sight they are as they are, and our desire is that they may euen in his sight be found such, as we ought to endeuour by all meanes that our owne way likewise be; somewhat we are inforced to speake by way of simple declaration, concerning the proceedings of the Church of England in these affayres, to the end that men whose minds are free from those partiall constructions, wherby the onely name of difference frō some other Churches is thought cause sufficient to condemne

condēne ours, may the better diſcerne whether that we haue done be reaſonable, yea or no. The Church of England being to alter her receaued lawes concerning ſuch orders rites and ceremonies, as had beene in former times an hinderance vnto pietie and Religious ſeruice of God, was to enter into conſideration firſt, that the change of lawes, eſpecially concerning matter of Religion, muſt be warily proceeded in. Lawes, as all other thinges humaine, are many times full of imperfection, and that which is ſuppoſed behoofull vnto men, proueth often times moſt pernicious. The wiſedome which is learned by tract of time, findeth the lawes that haue bene in former ages eſtabliſht, needefull in later to be abrogated. Beſides that which ſometime is expedient doth not alwaies ſo continue: and the number of needleſſe lawes vnabroliſht doth weaken the force of them that are neceſſarie. But true withall it is, that alteration though it bee from worſe to better hath in it inconueniences, and thoſe weightie, vnleſſe it be in ſuch lawes as haue bene made vpon ſpeciall occaſions, which occaſions ceaſing, lawes of that kinde doe abrogate them ſelues. But when we abrogate a lawe as being ill made, the whole cauſe for which it was made ſtill remaining; doe we not herein reuoke our very owne deede and vpbraid our ſelues with folly, yea, all that were makers of it with ouer ſight and with error? Furder if it be a lawe which the cuſtome and continuall practiſe of many ages or yeares hath confirmed in the mindes of men, to alter it muſt needes be troubleſome and ſcandalous. It amazeth them, it cauſeth them to ſtand in doubt whether any thing be in it ſelf by nature either good or euil, & not al things rather ſuch as men at this or that time agree to accompt of them, when they behold euen thoſe thinges diſproued, diſanulled, reiected, which vſe had made in a maner naturall. What haue we to induce men vnto the willing obedience and obſeruation of lawes, but the waight of ſo many mens iudgment, as haue with deliberate aduiſe aſſented thereunto; the waight of that long experience, which the world hath had thereof with conſent and good liking? So that to change any ſuch lawe muſt needes with the common ſorte impaire and weaken the force of thoſe groundes, whereby all lawes are made effectuall. Notwithſtanding we doe not denie alteration of lawes to be ſometimes a thing neceſſary, as when they are vnnaturall, or impious, or otherwiſe hurtefull vnto the publique communitie of men, and againſt that good for which humaine ſocieties were inſtituted. When the Apoſtles of our Lord and Sauiour were ordained to alter the lawes of heathniſh Religion receaued throughout the whole world; choſen I graunt they were (Paul excepted) the reſt ignorant, poore, ſimple, vnſchooled altogether and vnlettered men; howbeit extraordinarily indued with ghoſtly wiſedome from aboue before they euer vndertooke this enterpriſe, yea their authoritie confirmed by miracle, to the ende it might plainely appeare that they were the Lordes Ambaſſadors, vnto whoſe Soueraigne power for all fleſh to ſtoope, for all the kingdomes of the earth to yeeld them ſelues willingly conformable in whatſoeuer ſhould be required, it was their dutie. In this caſe therefore their oppoſitions in maintenance of publique ſuperſtition againſt Apoſtolique endeuours, as that they might not condemne the waies of their auncient predeceſſors, that they muſt keepe *Religiones traditas*, the rites which from age to age had deſcended, that the ceremonies of Religion had beene euer accompted by ſo much holier as elder, theſe and the like allegations in this caſe were vaine and fri-

nolous. Not to ſtay longer therefore in ſpeech concerning this point wee will conclude, that as the change of ſuch lawes as haue bene ſpecified is neceſſary, ſo the euidence that they are ſuch muſt be great. If we haue neither voice from heauen that ſo pronounceth of them, neither ſentence of men grounded vppon ſuch manifeſt and cleare proofe, that they in whoſe handes it is to alter them may likewiſe infallibly euen in hart and conſcience iudge them ſo; vpon neceſſitie to vrge alteration is to trouble and diſturbe without neceſſitie. As for arbitrarie alterations, when lawes in them ſelues not ſimply bad or vnmeete are changed for better and more expedient; if the benefit of that which is newly better deuiſed bee but ſmall, ſith the cuſtome of eaſines to alter and change is ſo euill, no doubt but to beare a tollerable ſoare is better then to venter on a daungerous remedie. Which being generally thought vpon as a matter that touched neerely their whole enterpriſe, whereas change was notwithſtanding concluded neceſſary, in regarde of the great hurt which the Church did receiue by a number of thinges then in vſe, whereupon a great deale of that which had bene was now to be taken away and remoued out of the Church; yeat ſith there are diuerſe waies of abrogating thinges eſtabliſhed, they ſaw it beſt to cut of preſently ſuch thinges, as might in that ſorte be extinguiſhed without daunger, leauing the reſt to bee aboliſhed by diſuſage through tract of time. And as this was done for the manner of abrogation: ſo touching the ſtint or meaſure thereof, rites and ceremonies and other externall thinges of like nature being hurtfull vnto the Church, either in reſpect of their qualitie or in regard of their number; in the former there could be no doubt or difficultie what ſhould be done, their deliberation in the later was more hard. And therefore in as much as they did reſolue to remoue only ſuch thinges of that kinde as the Church might beſt ſpare, reteining the reſidue; their whole counſel is in this point vtterly condemned, as hauing either proceeded from the blindnes of thoſe times, or from negligence, or from deſire of honour and glorie, or from an erroneous opinion that ſuch thinges might be tolerated for a while, or if it did proceed (as they which woulde ſeeme moſt fauourable are content to thinke it poſſible) from a purpoſe *partely the eaſilyer to drawe Papiſts vnto the Goſpell*, by keeping ſo many orders ſtill the ſame with theirs, *and partly to redeeme peace thereby, the breach whereof they might feare would inſue vpon more thorow alteration*, or howſoeuer it came to paſſe; the thing they did is iudged euill. But ſuch is the lot of all that deale in publique affaires whether of Church or cõmon wealth, that which men liſt to ſurmiſe of their doinges be it good or ill, they muſt before hand patiently arme their minds to indure. Wherfore to let go priuat ſurmiſes, wherby the thing in it ſelfe is not made either better or worſe, if iuſt and allowable reaſons might lead them to do as they did, then are theſe cenſures all fruſtrate. Touching ceremonies harmeles therefore in thẽ ſelues, and hurteful onely in reſpect of number: was it amiſſe to decree, that thoſe thinges which were leaſt needfull and nuelieſt come ſhould be the firſt that were taken away, as in the abrogating of a number of Saincte daies and of other the like cuſtomes it appeareth they did, till afterwardes the forme of common prayer being perfited, articles of ſound Religion and diſcipline agreed vpon, Catechiſmes framed for the needfull inſtruction of youth, Churches purged of thinges that indeede were burthenſome to the people or to the ſimple offenſiue and ſcandalous, all was brought at the length vnto that

T. C. l. 2. p. 29. *It may well bee there purpoſe was by that temper of Popiſh ceremonies with the Goſpell, partly the eaſilyer to drawe the Papiſtes to the Goſpell &c. Partly to redeeme peace thereby.*

that wherein now wee ſtand? Or was it amiſſe, that hauing this way eaſed the Church as they thought of ſuperfluitie, they went not on till they had pluckt vp euen thoſe thinges alſo, which had taken a great deale ſtronger and deeper roote; thoſe thinges which to abrogate without conſtraint of manyfeſt harme thereby ariſing, had bene to alter vnneceſſarily (in their iudgements) the auncient receaued cuſtome of the whole Church, the vniuerſall practiſe of the people of God, and thoſe very decrees of our fathers, which were not onely ſet downe by agreement of generall councels, but had accordingly bene put in vre and ſo continued in vſe till that very time preſent? True it is that neither councels nor cuſtomes, be they neuer ſo auncient and ſo generall, can let the Church from taking away that thing which is hurtefull to be retained. Where thinges haue beene inſtituted which being conuenient and good at the firſt, do afterwardes in proceſſe of time waxe otherwiſe, we make no doubt but they may be altered, yea, though councells or cuſtomes generall haue receaued them. And therefore it is but a needleſſe kinde of oppoſition which they make who thus diſpute, *If in thoſe thinges, which are not expreſſed in the Scripture, that is to be obſerued of the Church, which is the cuſtome of the people of God and decree of our forefathers; then how can theſe thinges at any time bee varied*, which heretofore haue bene once ordained in ſuch ſorte? Whereto wee ſay, that things ſo ordained are to bee kept, howbeit not neceſſarily any longer, then till there growe ſome vrgent cauſe to ordaine the contrary. For there is not any poſitiue lawe of men, whether it be generall or particular, receiued by formall expreſſe conſent, as in councels; or by ſecret approbation, as in cuſtomes it commeth to paſſe, but the ſame may be taken away if occaſion ſerue. Euen as we all know, that many thinges generally kept heretofore are now in like ſorte generally vnkept and aboliſhed euery where. Notwithſtanding till ſuch thinges be aboliſhed, what exception can there be taken againſt the iudgement of S. Auguſtine who ſaith, that, Of things harmeleſſe whatſoeuer there is, which the whole Church doth obſerue throughout the world; to argue for any mans immunitie from obſeruing the ſame, it were a point of moſt inſolent madnes. And ſurely odious it muſt needes haue bene for one Chriſtian Church to aboliſh that, which all had receiued and held for the ſpace of many ages, and that without any detriment vnto Religion ſo manyfeſt and ſo great, as might in the eyes of vnpartiall men appeare ſufficient to cleare thē from all blame of raſh and inconſiderate proceeding, if in feruour of zeale they had remoued ſuch thinges. Whereas contrariwiſe ſo reaſonable moderation herein vſed hath freed vs from being deſeruedly ſubiect vnto that bitter kinde of obloquie, wherby as the Church of Rome doth vnder the colour of loue towards thoſe thinges which be harmeleſſe, maintaine extremely moſt hurtfull corruptions; ſo we peraduenture might be vpbrayded, that vnder colour of hatred towardes thoſe thinges that are corrupt, wee are on the other ſide as extreme, euen againſt moſt harmeleſſe ordinances. And as they are obſtinate to retaine that, which no man of any conſcience is able well to defende; ſo we might be reckoned fierce and violent to teare away that, which if our owne mouthes did condemne, our conſciences would ſtorme and repine thereat. The Romans hauing baniſhed Tarquinius the proud, and taken a ſollemne oath that they neuer woulde permit anye man more to raigne, coulde not herewith content them ſelues, or thinke that tyrannie was throughlye

T.C.l.1.p.30.

Aug.epiſt.118

extinguiſhed, till they had driuen one of their Conſuls to depart the Citie, againſt whom they found not in the world what to obiect, ſauing onely that his name was *Tarquine*, and that the common wealth could not ſeeme to haue recouered perfect freedome, as long as a man of ſo daungerous a name was left remayning. For the Church of England to haue done the like in caſting out of Papall tyranny and ſuperſtition, to haue ſhewed greater willingnes of accepting the verie ceremonies of the Turke Chriſtes profeſſed enemie, then of the moſt indifferent things which the Church of Rome approueth, to haue left not ſo much as the names which the Church of Rome doth giue vnto thinges innocent, to haue eiected whatſoeuer that Church doth make accompt of, be it neuer ſo harmeleſſe in it ſelfe, and of neuer ſo auncient continuance, without any other crime to charge it with, then onely that it hath beene the hap thereof to be vſed by the Church of Rome, and not to be commaunded in the worde of God; this kind of proceeding might happily haue pleaſed ſome few men, who hauing begun ſuch a courſe themſelues muſt needes be glad to ſee their example followed by vs. But the Almightie which giueth wiſedome and inſpireth with right vnderſtanding whō ſoeuer it pleaſeth him, he foreſeeing that which mans wit had neuer been able to reach vnto, namely, what tragedies th'attempt of ſo extreme alteration would raiſe in ſome parts of the Chriſtian worlde, did for the endleſſe good of his Church (as we cannot chooſe but interpret it) vſe the bridle of his prouidēt reſtrayning hand, to ſtay thoſe eager affections in ſome, and to ſettle their reſolution vpon a courſe more calme and moderate; leaſt as in other moſt ample and heretofore moſt flouriſhing dominions it hath ſince fallen out, ſo likewiſe if in ours it had come to paſſe, that the aduerſe part being enraged, and betaking it ſelfe to ſuch practiſes as men are commonly woont to embrace, when they behold things brought to deſperate extremities, and no hope left to ſee any other end, then only the vtter oppreſſion and cleane extinguiſhment of one ſide; by this meane Chriſtendome flaming in all partes of greateſt importance at once, they all had wanted that comfort of mutual reliefe, whereby they are nowe for the time ſuſteyned (and not the leaſt by this our Church which they ſo much impeach) till mutuall combuſtious bloudſheads and waſtes (becauſe no other inducement will ſerue) may enforce thē through verie faintnes, after the experience of ſo endleſſe miſeries, to enter on all ſides at the length into ſome ſuch conſultation, as may tende to the beſt reeſtabliſhment of the whole Church of Ieſus Chriſt. To the ſingular good wherof it can not but ſerue as a profitable direction to teach men what is moſt likely to proue auayleable, when they ſhall quietly conſider the tryall that hath beene thus long had of both kinds of reformation, as well this moderate kind, which the church of England hath taken, as that other more extreme and rigorous which certaine Churches elſewhere haue better liked. In the meane while it may be, that ſuſpence of iudgement and exerciſe of charitie were ſafer and ſeemelier for Chriſtian men, then the whot purſute of theſe controuerſies, wherein they that are moſt feruent to diſpute, ſee not alwayes the moſt able to determine. But who are on his ſide and who againſt him, our Lorde in his good time ſhall reueale. And ſith thus farre we haue proceeded in opening the things that haue bene done, let not the principall doers them ſelues be forgotten. When the ruines of the

T.C.l.1.p.131 *For indeede it were more ſafe for vs to conforme our indifferent ceremonies to the Turkes which are farre off, then to the Papiſtes which are ſo neare.*

the houſe of God (that houſe which conſiſting of religious ſoules is moſt immediatlie the pretious temple of the holie Ghoſt) were become not in his ſight alone, but in the eyes of the whole world ſo exceeding great, that verie ſuperſtition began euen to feele it ſelfe too farre growne: the firſt that with vs made way to repaire the decayes thereof by beheading ſuperſtition, was King *Henry* the eyght. The ſonne and ſucceſſor of which famous King as we knowe was *Edward* the Saint: in whome (for ſo by the euent we may gather) it pleaſed God righteous and iuſt to let *England* ſee what a bleſſing ſinne and iniquitie would not ſuffer it to enioy. Howbeit that which the wiſe man hath ſayd concerning *Enoch* (whoſe dayes were though many in reſpect of ours, yet ſcarce as three to nine in compariſon of theirs with whome he liued) the ſame to that admirable child moſt worthilie may be applied, *Though he departed this world ſoone, yet fulfilled he much time.* Sap. 4. 13. But what enſued? That worke, which the one in ſuch ſort had begun, and the other ſo farre proceeded in, was in ſhort ſpace ſo ouerthrowne, as if almoſt it had neuer bene: till ſuch time as that God, whoſe propertie is to ſhew his mercies then greateſt when they are neereſt to be vtterlie deſpaired of, cauſed in the depth of diſcomfort and darknes a moſt glorious ſtarre to ariſe, and on hir head ſetled the Crowne, whome him ſelfe had kept as a lambe from the ſlaughter of thoſe bloudie times, that the experience of his goodnes in hir owne deliuerance might cauſe hir mercifull diſpoſition to take ſo much the more delight in ſauing others, whome the like neceſſitie ſhould preſſe. What in this behalfe hath bene done towards nations abroad, the parts of Chriſtendome moſt afflicted can beſt teſtifie. That which eſpecially concerneth our ſelues, in the preſent matter we treate of, is the ſtate of reformed religion, a thing at hir comming to the Crowne euen rayſed as it were by myracle from the dead; a thing which we ſo little hoped to ſee, that euen they which beheld it done, ſcarcely belieued their own ſenſes at the firſt beholding. Yet being then brought to paſſe, thus many yeares it hath cõtinued, ſtanding by no other worldly meane but that one only hand which erected it, that hand which as no kind of imminent daunger could cauſe at the firſt to withhold it ſelfe, ſo neyther haue the practiſes ſo manie ſo bloudie following ſince bene euer able to make wearie. Nor can we ſay in this caſe ſo iuſtlie, that *Aaron* and *Hur* the Eccleſiaſticall and Exod. 17. 12. Ciuill ſtates haue ſuſtained the hand which did lift it ſelfe to heauen for them, as that heauen it ſelfe hath by this hand ſuſtained them, no aide or helpe hauing thereunto bene miniſtred, for performance of the worke of reformation, other then ſuch kind of helpe or aide as the Angell in the Prophet *Zacharie* ſpeaketh Zach. 4. 6. of, ſaying *Neither by an armie nor ſtrength, but by my ſpirit ſaith the Lord of hoſts.* Which grace and fauour of diuine aſſiſtance hauing not in one thing or two ſhewed it ſelfe, nor for ſome few dayes or yeares appeared, but in ſuch ſort ſo long continued, our manifold ſinnes and tranſgreſſions ſtriuing to the contrarie, what can we leſſe thereupon conclude, then that God would at leaſtwiſe by tract of time teach the world, that the thing which he bleſſeth, defendeth, keepeth ſo ſtrangelie, cannot chooſe but be of him? Wherefore if any refuſe to belieue vs diſputing for the veritie of religion eſtabliſhed, let them belieue God himſelfe thus myraculouſlie working for it, and wiſh life euen for euer and euer vnto that glorious and ſacred inſtrument whereby he worketh.

An aduertisement to the Reader.

I Haue for some causes (gentle Reader) thought it at this time more fit to let goe these first foure bookes by themselues, then to stay both them and the rest, till the whole might together be published. Such generalities of the cause in question as here are handled, it will be perhaps not amisse to consider apart, as by way of introduction vnto the bookes that are to followe concerning particulars. In the meane while thine helping hand must be craued, for the amendment of such faults committed in printing, as (omitting others of lesse moment) I haue set downe.

Pag.	line.	fals.	Cor.
20.	5.	in many	in any
25.	33.	extempo all disputers	extempo all disputes
29.	32.	shew all the bookes	shew that all the bookes
32.	26.	lucked things	lucked those things
34.	20.	the rest from whom	the rest : from whom
35.	18.	Ministers a thing repugnant	Ministers, a thing repugnant
35.	marg.	to the 1.	to the 1. L.
36.	15.	a mans will	a meere will
46.	15.	religious duties	religious duties
58.	23.	which hault no better	which haue no better
65.	marg.	1. in arenam.	1. in arenam.
73.	33.	with all differencie	witholl indifferencie
76.	41.	cause allo is moued	cause allo as moued
77.	12.	Religious and sacred	religious and sacred
78.	12.	or dissenting	of dissenting

Pag.	line.	fals.	Correction.
78.	24.	receiued externally	receiue externally
79.	8.	with reuerence	with reference
79.	28.	power & sciencie	power and facultie
80.	41.	somewhat Ecclesiasticall diuine	somewhat diuine
29.	marg.	τὸ κρίνειν, ορ θ	τὸ κρῖνει ὀρθῶς
93.	6.	permanent	pertinent
104.	15.	the varietie whereof	the veritie whereof
112.	marg.	the Apostle imagineth	the A. imagineth
124.	16.	did only contayne	did not only containe
136.	28.	necessities	necessaries
146.	33.	as euident	is euident
147.	21.	oft his	of this
153.	19.	Iudiciall	Iudicials
175.	5.	to confirme	to conforme
175.	16.	vtter inconformitie	vtter inconformitie
204.	42.	our owne way	our one way

B: 2/5.

OF THE LAWES of Eccleſiaſticall Politie.

The fift Booke.

By Richard Hooker.



LONDON
Printed by *John Windet* dvvelling at Povvles wharfe at the ſigne of the Croſſe Keyes and are there to be ſoulde.
1597.

OF

THE LAWES

of Ecclesiasticall

Politie.

TO THE MOST

Reuerend Father in God my verie good Lord, the *Lord Archbishop of Canterburie his Grace, Primate and Metropolitane of all England.*



MOst Reuerend in Christ, the long continued & more then ordinarie fauour which hitherto your Grace hath bene pleased to shew towards me may iustly claime at my hands some thankful acknowledgement therof. In which consideration, as also for that I embrace willingly the ancient receiued course and conueniencie of that Discipline which teacheth inferiour degrees and orders in the Church of God to submit their writings to the same authoritie from which their allowable dealings whatsoeuer in such affaires must receiue approbation, I nothing feare but that your accustomed clemencie wil tak in good worth the offer of these my simple & meane labours bestowed for the necessaric iustification of lawes here tofore made questionable because as I take it they were not perfectly vnderstoode. For surely I cannot find any great cause of iust complaint that good laws haue so much beene wanting vnto vs as we to them.

To ſeeke reformation of euill lawes is a commendable endeuour, but for vs the more neceſſarie is a ſpedie redreſſe of our ſelues. Wee haue on all ſides loſt much of our firſt feruencie towards God; and therefore concerning our owne degenerated waies wee haue reaſon to exhort with S. Gregorie ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἡμώμεθα, *Let vs returne againe vnto that which we ſometime were:* but touching the exchange of lawes in practiſe, with lawes in deuiſe which they ſay are better for the ſtate of the Church if they might take place, the farther we examine them the greater cauſe wee find to conclude μένομεν ὅπερ ἐσμέν, *although we continue the ſame we are the harme is not great.* Theſe feruent reprehenders of things eſtabliſhed by publike authoritie are alwaies confident and bolde ſpirited men. But their confidence for the moſt part riſeth from too much credit giuen to their owne wits, for which cauſe they are ſeldome free from error. The errors which we ſeeke to reforme in this kind of men are ſuch as both receiued at your owne hands their firſt wound, and from that time to this preſent haue bene proceeded in with that moderatiõ which vſeth by patience to ſuppreſſe boldnes and to make thẽ conquer that ſuffer. Wherin conſidering the nature and kinde of theſe controuerſies, the dangerous ſequels vvherunto they vvere likly to grovv, & hovv many vvaies vve haue bene thereby taught vviſdome, I may boldly auerre concerning the firſt, that as the vvaightieſt conflicts the Church hath had vvere thoſe vvhich touched the head, the perſon of our Sauiour Chriſt, and the next of importance thoſe queſtions which are at this

Greg. Naz.

day

daie betweene vs & the Church of Rome about the actions of the body of the Church of God, ſo theſe which haue laſtly ſproong vp for complements, rites & ceremonies of Church actions are in truth for the greateſt part ſuch ſilly things, that very eaſines doth make them hard to be diſputed of in ſerious manner. Which alſo may ſeeme to bee the cauſe why diuers of the reuerend prelacy & other moſt iudicious men haue eſpecially beſtowed their paines about the matter of iuriſdiction. Notwithſtanding led by your G. example my ſelfe haue thought it conuenient, to wade thorough the whole cauſe, following that methodwhich ſearcheth the truth by the cauſes of truth. Now if any meruaile how a thing in it ſelfe ſo weake could import any great daunger, they muſt conſider not ſo much how ſmall the ſparke is that flieth vp as how apt things about it are to take fier. Bodies politique being ſubiect as much as naturall to diſſolution by diuers meanes, ther are vndoubtedly moe eſtates ouerthrowne through diſeaſes bred within themſelues then through violence from abroade, becauſe our manner is alwaies to caſt a doubtfull and a more ſuſpitious eye towards that ouer which we know we haue leaſt power, and therefore the feare of external daungers cauſeth forces at home to be the more vnited, it is to all ſorts a kind of bridle, it maketh vertuous minds watchfull, it holdeth contrarie diſpoſitions in ſuſpence, & it ſetteth thoſe wits on worke in better things which would be elſe imploied in worſe; whereas on the other ſide domeſticall euils, for that we think

we can maſter them at all times are often permitted to run on forward till it bee too late to recall them. In the meane while the common-wealth is not onely through vnſoundnes ſo farre impaired as thoſe euils chance to preuaile, but farther alſo thorough oppoſition ariſing between the vnſound parts & the ſound, where ech endeuoureth to draw euermore contrary waies til diſtraction in the end bring the whole to ruine. To reckon vp how many cauſes ther are by force whereof diuiſions may grow in a common-wealth is not here neceſſarie. Such as riſe frō varietie in matter of Religion are not onely the fartheſt ſpred, becauſe in Religion al men preſume themſelues intereſſed alike; but they are alſo for the moſt parte hotlier proſecuted & purſued then other ſtrifes, for as much as coldnes which in other contentions may be thought to proceede from moderation is not in theſe ſo fauourably conſtred. The parte which in this preſent quarell ſtriueth againſt the current and ſtreame of lawes was a long while nothing feared, the wiſeſt contented not to call to mind how errors haue their effect many times not proportioned to that litle appearance of reaſon whereupon they woulde ſeeme built, but rather to the vehement affection or fancie which is caſt towards them & proceedeth from other cauſes. For ther are diuers motiues drawing men to fauor mightily thoſe opinions wherein their perſwaſions are but weakly ſetled; & if the paſsions of the mind be ſtrong they eaſily ſophiſticate the vnderſtanding, they mak it apt to belieue vpon very ſclender warrant and to imagine

imagine infallible truth where ſcarce any probable ſhovv appeareth. Thus vvere thoſe poore ſeduced creatures *Hacquet* & his other two adherents whom I can neither ſpeak nor thinke of but with much com miſeration and pitie, thus were they trained by faire waies firſt accompting their own extraordinarie loue to this Diſcipline a token of Gods more then ordinarie loue towardes them; from hence they grewe to a ſtrong conceipt that God which had moued them to loue his Diſcipline more then the common ſorte of men did might haue a purpoſe by their meanes to bring a wonderfull worke to paſſe beyond all mens expectation for the aduancment of the throne of diſcipline by ſome tragicall execution, with the particularities whereof it was not ſafe for their friendes to bee made acquainted, of whome they did therefore but couertly demaund what they thought of extraordinarie motions of the ſpirit in theſe daies, & withall requeſt to be commended vnto God by their prayers whatſoeuer ſhould bee vndertaken by men of God in mere zeale to his glorie and the good of his diſtreſſed Church. With this vnuſuall and ſtrange courſe they went on forward till God, in whoſe heauieſt worldly iudgements I nothing doubt but that there may lie hidden mercy, gaue them ouer to their owne inuentions and left them made in the ende an example for head-ſtrong and inconſiderate zeale no leſſe fearefull, then Achitophell for proud and irreligious wiſedome. If a ſparke of error haue thus farre preuailed falling euen where the woode was greene

and fartheſt of to al mens thinking frō any inclination vnto furious attempts, muſt not the perill thereof be greater in men whoſe minds are of themſelues as dry fevvell, apt before hand vnto tumults ſeditions and broyles? But by this we ſee in a cauſe of Religion to how deſperate aduentures men will ſtraine themſelues for reliefe of their owne part hauing law & authoritie againſt them. Furthermore let not any man thinke that in ſuch diuiſions either parte can free it ſelfe frō inconueniences ſuſtained not only through a kind of truce which vertue on both ſides doth mak with vice during war betweene truth and error; but alſo in that there are hereby ſo fit occaſions miniſtred for men to purchaſe to themſelues welwillers by the colour vnder which they oftentimes proſecute quarels of enuie or inueterate malice, and eſpecially becauſe contentions were as yet neuer able to preuent tvvo euils, the one a mutuall exchange of vnſeemely and vniuſt diſgraces offered by men whoſe tongues and paſsions are out of rule, the other a common hazard of both to be made a pray by ſuch as ſtudy how to worke vpon all occurrents with moſt aduantage in priuate. I denie not therefore but that our Antagoniſts in theſe controuerſies maye peraduenture haue met with ſome not vnlike to *Ithacius* who mightily bending himſelfe by all meanes againſt the hereſie of *Priſcillian*, the hatred of which one euill was all the vertue he had, became ſo wiſe in the end that euerie man carefull of vertuous conuerſation, ſtudious of Scripture and giuen vnto any abſtinence in

Sulp. Seuer. Epi. hiſt. Eccl.

diet

diet, was ſet downe in his Kalender of ſuſpected Priſcillianiſts for whome it ſhould bee expedient to approue their ſoundneſſe of faith by a more licentious and looſe behauiour. Such Proctors and Patrons the truth might ſpare. Yet is not their groſnes ſo intolerable as on the contrarie ſide the ſcurrilous and more then Satyricall immodeſtie of Martiniſme, the firſt publiſhed ſchedules whereof being brought to the hands of a graue and a very honourable Knight, with ſignification giuen that the Booke woulde refreſh his ſpirits, hee tooke it, ſaw what the title vvas, red ouer an vnſauerie ſentence or two, and deliuered backe the Libell with this anſwere, *I am ſorie you are of the mind to be ſolaced with theſe ſports, and ſorier you haue herein thought mine affection to bee like your owne.* But as theſe ſoares on al hands lie open, ſo the deepeſt wounds of the Church of God haue bene more ſoftly and cloſly giuen. It being perceiued that the plot of Diſcipline did not only bend it ſelfe to reforme ceremonies, but ſeeke farther to erect a popular authoritie of Elders, and to take avvay Epiſcopal iuriſdiction together with all other ornaments and meanes wherby any difference or inequalitie is vpheld in the Eccleſiaſticall order, towards this deſtructiue parte they haue found many helping handes, diuers although peraduenture not willing to bee yoked with Elderſhips, yet contented (for vvhat intent God doth know) to vpholde oppoſition againſt Biſhops not without greater hurt to the courſe of their whole proceedings in the buſineſſe of God and her Maieſt-

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ies seruice thē otherwise much more waightie aduersaries had beene able by their owne power to haue brought to passe. Men are naturally better contented to haue their commendable actions suppreſt then the contrarie much divulged. And becauſe the wits of the multitude are ſuch, that many things they cannot lay hold on at once, but being poſſeſt with ſome notable either diſlike or liking of any one thing what ſoeuer, ſundrie other in the meane time may eſcape them vnperceiued; therefore if men deſirous to haue their vertues noted doe in this reſpect grieue at the fame of others whoſe glorie obſcureth and darkneth theirs, it cannot be choſen but that when the eares of the people are thus continually beaten with exclamations againſt abuſes in the Church, theſe tunes come alwaies moſt acceptable to them whoſe odious and corrupt dealings in ſecular affaires both paſſe by that meane the more couertly, & whatſoeuer happen doe alſo the leaſt feele that ſcourge of vulgar imputation which notwithſtanding they moſt deſerue. All this conſidered as behoueth, the ſequell of dutie on our part is only that which our Lord and Sauiour requireth, harmleſſe diſcretion, the wiſedome of Serpents tempered with the innocent meekneſſe of doues. For this world will teach them wiſedome that haue capacitie to apprehend it. Our wiſedome in this caſe muſt be ſuch as doth not propoſe to it ſelfe our owne particular the partiall and immoderate deſire wherof poiſoneth whereſoeuer it taketh place, but the ſcope and marke which we are to aime at is , the pub-

Matth. 10.16.

like

lique and common good of all for the easier procurement whereof our diligence must search out all helps & furtherances of direction which Scriptures, councels, Fathers, Histories, the lawes and practises of all Churches, the mutuall conference of all mens collections and obseruations may afford, our industrie must euen anatomize euery particle of that body which we are to vphold sound, & because be it neuer so true which wee teach the world to beleiue, yet if once their affectiõs begin to be alienated, a smal thing perswadeth thẽ to change their opinions, it behoueth that we vigilantly note & preuent by al meanes those euils whereby the harts of men are lost, which euils for the most part being personall do arme in such sort the aduersaries of God & his Church against vs that if through our too much neglect and securitie the same should run on, soone might wee feele our estate brought to those lamentable termes wherof this hard and heauie sentence was by one of the ancient vttred vpon like occasions, *Dolens dico, gemens denuntio, sacerdotium quod apud nos intus cecidit foris diu stare non poterit*. *Leg. Carol. Mag. fol. 421.* But the gracious prouidẽce of almightie God hath I trust put these thornes of contradiction in our sides least that should steale vpõ the Church in a slumber, which now I doubt not but through his assistance may be turned away from vs bending thereunto our selues with constancie, constancie in labour to doe all men good, constancie in praier vnto God for all men, her especially whose sacred power matched with incomparable goodnes of nature hath hither-

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to beene Gods most happie instrument by him miraculously kept for workes of so miraculous preseruation and safetie vnto others, that as, *By the sword of God and Gedeon,* was sometime the crie of the people Israel, so it might deseruedly be at this day the ioyfull song of innumerable multitudes, yea the Embleme of some estates and Dominions in the world, and (which must be eternally confest euen with teares of thankfulnesse) the true inscription stile or title of all Churches as yet standing within this Realme, *By the goodnes of almightie God and his seruant Elizabeth we are.* That God who is able to make mortalitie immortall giue her such future continuance as may be no lesse glorious vnto all posteritie then the daies of her regiment past haue bene happie vnto our selues, and for his most deare annointeds sake graunt them all prosperitie whose labours cares and counsels vnfainedly are referred to her endlesse welfare, through his vnspeakable mercie vnto whom we all owe euerlasting praise. In which desire I will here rest,

Iud.7.20.

humbly beseching your Grace to pardon my great boldnes and God to multiply his blessings vpon them that feare his name.

Your Graces in all dutie.

Richard Hooker.

Matter contained in this fift Booke.

1 TRue Religion is the roote of all true vertues and the ſtay of all well ordered common-wealths.
2 The moſt extreame oppoſite to true Religion is affected Atheiſme.
3 Of ſuperſtition and the roote thereof either miſguided zeale or ignorant feare of diuine glorie.
4 Of the redreſſe of ſuperſtition in Gods Church and concerning the queſtion of this Booke.
5 Foure generall propoſitions demaunding that which may reaſonably bee graunted concerning matters of outward forme in the exerciſe of true Religion. And fiftly of a rule not ſafe nor reaſonable in theſe caſes.
6 The firſt Propoſition touching iudgement what things are conuenient in the outward publike ordering of Church affaires.
7 The ſecond Propoſition.
8 The third Propoſition.
9 The fourth Propoſition.
10 The rule of mens priuate Spirits not ſafe in theſe caſes to be followed.
11 Places for the publique ſeruice of God.
12 The ſolemnitie of erecting Churches condemned, the hallowing and dedicating of them ſcorned by the aduerſarie.
13 Of the names whereby we diſtinguiſh our Churches.
14 Of the faſhion of our Churches.
15 The ſumptuouſneſſe of Churches.
16 What holineſſe and vertue we aſcribe to the Church more then other places.
17 Their pretenſe that would haue Churches vtterly razed.
18 Of publique teaching or preaching and the firſt kind thereof Catechiſing.
19 Of Preaching by reading publikly the Bookes of holy Scripture, and concerning ſuppoſed vntruths in thoſe Tranſlations of Scripture which we allow to be read, as alſo of the choyce which we make in reading.
20 Of Preaching by the publike reading of other profitable inſtructions, and concerning bookes Apocriphall.
21 Of Preaching by Sermons, and whether Sermons be the onely ordinarie way of teaching whereby men are brought to the ſauing knowledge of Gods truth.
22 What they attribute to Sermons onely and what we to reading alſo.
23 Of Prayer.
24 Of publike Prayer.
25 Of the forme of Common Prayer.
26 Of them which like not to haue any ſet forme of common Prayer.

27 Of them who allowing a set forme of praier yet allowe not ours.
28 The forme of our Liturgie too neere the Papists, too farre different from that of other reformed Churches as they pretend.
29 Attire belonging to the seruice of God.
30 Of gesture in praying and of different places chosen to that purpose.
31 Easinesse of praying after our forme.
32 The length of our seruice.
33 In steade of such praiers as the Primitiue Churches haue vsed and those that be reformed now vse we haue (they say) diuers short cuts or shreddings rather wishes then prayers.
34 Lessons intermingled with our prayers.
35 The number of our praiers for earthly things and our oft rehearsing of the Lordes prayer.
36 The peoples saying after the Minister.
37 Our manner of reading the Psalmes otherwise then the rest of the Scripture.
38 Of Musique with Psalmes.
39 Of singing or saying Psalmes and other parts of common Praier wherein the people and the Minister answere one another by course.
40 Of Magnificat, Benedictus, and Nunc dimittis.
41 Of the Letanie.
42 Of Athanasius Creede and Gloria patri.
43 Our want of particular thanksgiuing.
44 In some things the matter of our prayer as they affirme is vnsound.
45 When thou hadst ouercome the sharpnesse of death thou didst open the kingdome of heauen vnto all beleeuers.
46 Touching praier for deliuerance from suddaine death.
47 Praier that those things which we for our vnworthinesse dare not aske, God for the worthinesse of his Sonne would vouchsafe to graunt.
48 Prayer to be euermore deliuered from all aduersitie.
49 Prayer that all men may find mercie.
50 Of the name, the author and the force of Sacraments, which force consisteth in this that God hath ordained them as meanes to make vs partakers of him in Christ and of life through Christ.
51 That God is in Christ by the personall incarnation of the Sonne who is very God.
52 The misinterpretations which heresie hath made of the manner how God and man are vnited in one Christ.
53 That by the vnion of the one with the other nature in Christ there groweth neither gaine nor losse of essentiall properties to either.
54 What Christ hath obtained according to the flesh by the vnio of his flesh with deitie.
55 Of the personall presence of Christ euery where and in what sense it may be graunted he is euery where present according to the flesh.
56 The vnion or mutuall participation which is betweene Christ and the Church of Christ in this present world.
57 The necessitie of Sacraments vnto the participation of Christ.
58 The substance of Baptisme, the rites or solemnities therunto belonging, & that the substance thereof being kept, other things in Baptisme may giue place to necessitie.
59 The ground in Scripture whereupon a necessitie of outward Baptisme hath bin built.
60 What

60 What kind of neceſsitie in outward Baptiſme hath beene gathered by the words of our Sauiour Chriſt, and what the true neceſsitie thereof indeede is.
61 What things in Baptiſme haue beene diſpenſed with by the fathers reſpecting neceſsitie.
62 Whether Baptiſme by women be true Baptiſme good and effectuall to them that receiue it.
63 Of interrogatories in Baptiſme touching faith and the purpoſe of a Chriſtian life.
64 Interrogatories propoſed vnto infants in Baptiſme and anſwered as in their names by Godfathers.
65 Of the Croſſe in Baptiſme.
66 Of confirmation after Baptiſme.
67 Of the Sacrament of the body and bloud of Chriſt.
68 Of faults noted in the forme of adminiſtring that holy Sacrament.
69 Of Feſtiuall dayes and the naturall cauſes of their conuenient inſtitution.
70 The manner of celebrating Feſtiuall dayes.
71 Exceptions againſt our keeping of other Feſtiuall daies beſides the Sabboth.
72 Of daies appointed as well for ordinarie as for extraordinarie faſts in the Church of God.
73 The celebration of Matrimonie.
74 The Churching of women.
75 The rites of Buriall.
76 Of the nature of that miniſterie which ſerueth for performance of diuine duties in the Church of God and how happineſſe not eternall onely but alſo temporall doth depend vpon it.
77 Of power giuen vnto men to execute that heauenly office, of the gift of the holy Ghoſt in ordination; & whether conueniently the power of order may be ſought or ſued for.
78 Of degrees wherby the power of order is diſtinguiſhed, and concerning the attire of Miniſters.
79 Of oblations, foundations, endowments, Tithes, all intended for perpetuitie of Religion, which purpoſe being chiefly fulfilled by the Cleargies certaine and ſufficient maintenance muſt needs by alienation of Church liuings be made fruſtrate.
80 Of ordinations lawfull without title and without any popular election precedent, but in no caſe without regard of due information what their qualitie is that enter into holy orders.
81 Of the learning that ſhould be in Miniſters, their Reſidence and the number of their liuings.

The fift Booke.

Of their fourth Assertion, that touching the seuerall *publique duties of Christian Religion, there is amongst vs* much superstition retained in them; and concerning persons which for *performance of those duties are indued with the power of Ecclesiasticall order, our Lawes and proceedings according thereunto are many waies herein also corrupt.*



FEw there are of so weake capacitie, but publique euils they easily espie; fewer so patient, as not to complaine, when the grieuous inconueniences thereof worke sensible smart. Howbeit to see wherein the harme which they feele consisteth, the seedes from which it sprang, and the method of curing it, belongeth to a skill, the studie wherof is so ful of toyle, and the practise so beset with difficulties, that wary and respectiue men had rather seeke quietly their owne, and wish that the world may goe well, so it be not long of them, then, with paine and hazard, make themselues aduisers for the common good. We which thought it at the verie first a signe of colde affection towards the Church of God, to preferre priuate ease before the labour of appeasing publique disturbance, must now, of necessitie, referre euents to the gracious prouidence of Almightie God, and, in discharge of our dutie towards him, proceede with the plaine, and vnpartiall defence of a common cause. Wherein our endeuour is not so much to ouerthrow them with whom we contend, as to yeeld them iust and reasonable causes of those things, which, for want of due consideration heretofore, they misconceiued, accusing lawes for mens ouer sights, imputing euils growne through personall defects vnto that which is not euill, framing to some soares vnholsome plasters, and applying other some where no soare is. To make therfore our beginning that which to both parts is most acceptable, *We agree* that pure & vnstained religion ought to be the highest of all cares appertaining to publique regiment: as well in

True Religion is the roote of all true vertues and the stay of all wel ordered common-wealthes.

regarde of that [a] aide and protection, which they, who faithfully ſerue God, confeſſe they receiue at his mercifull hands; as alſo for the force which religion hath to qualifie all ſortes of men, and to make them in publike affaires the more ſeruiceable, gouernors the apter to rule with conſcience, inferiours for conſcience ſake the willinger to obay. It is no peculiar conceite, but a matter of ſound conſequẽce, that all duties are by ſo much the better performed, by how much the men are more religious from whoſe habilities the ſame proceede. For if [b] the courſe of politique affaires cannot in any good ſort goe forwarde without fit inſtruments, and that which fitteth them be their vertues, let Politie acknowledge it ſelfe indebted to religion, godlineſſe being the [c] chiefeſt top and welſpring of all true vertues, euen as God is of all good things. So naturall is the vnion of religion with iuſtice, that we may boldly deeme there is neither, where both are not. For how ſhould they be vnfainedly iuſt, whome religon doth not cauſe to be ſuch; or they religious, which are not found ſuch by the proofe of their iuſt actions? If they, which imploy their labour and trauaile about the publique adminiſtration of iuſtice, follow it onely as a trade, with vnquenchable and vnconſcionable thirſt of gaine, being not in heart perſwaded that [d] iuſtice is Gods owne worke, and themſelues his agents in this buſineſſe, the ſentence of right Gods owne verdict, and themſelues his prieſts to deliuer it; formalities of iuſtice doe but ſerue to ſmother right, and that, which was neceſſarily ordained for the common good, is through ſhamefull abuſe made the cauſe of common miſerie. The ſame pietie, which maketh them that are in authoritie deſirous to pleaſe and reſemble God by iuſtice, inflameth euerie way men of action with zeale to doe good (as farre as their place will permit) vnto all. For [e] that they know, is moſt noble and diuine. Whereby, if no naturall nor caſuall inhabilitie croſſe their deſires, they alwaies delighting to inure themſelues with actions moſt beneficiall to others, cannot but gather great experience, and through experience the more wiſedome, becauſe conſcience and the feare of ſwaruing from that which is right, maketh them diligent obſeruers of circumſtances, the looſe regarde whereof is the nurce of vulgar folly, no leſſe then *Salomons* attention thereunto was of naturall furtherãces the moſt effectuall to make him eminent aboue others. For he [f] gaue good heede, and pearced euerie thing to the verie ground, and by that meane became the author of many parables. Concerning fortitude, ſith euils great and vnexpected (the true touchſtone of conſtant minds) do cauſe oftentimes euen them to thinke vpon diuine power with [g] fearefulleſt ſuſpitions, which haue beene otherwiſe the moſt ſecure deſpiſers thereof, how ſhould we looke for any conſtant reſolution of minde in ſuch caſes ſauing onely where vnfained affection to God-ward hath bred the moſt aſſured confidence to be aſſiſted by his hand? For proofe whereof, let but the actes of the auncient Iewes bee indifferently wayed; from whoſe magnanimitie, in cauſes of moſt extreme hazard, thoſe ſtraunge and vnwonted reſolutions haue growne, which for all circumſtances no people vnder the roofe of heauen did euer hitherto match. And that which did alwaies animate them was their meere religion. Without which, if ſo be it were poſſible that all other ornaments of minde might be had in their full perfection, neuertheleſſe the minde that ſhould poſſeſſe them diuorced from pietie, could be but a ſpectacle of commiſeration; euen as that body is, which adorned

a *Pſal.144.3. C.Th. lib.16. tit.2. Gaudere & gloriari ex fide ſemper volumus ſcientes magis religionibus quam officijs & labore corporis vel ſudore noſtram rempublicam contineri.*

b Ἐστι δ' οὐδὲν ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς δυνατὸν πρᾶξαι ἄνευ τοῦ ποιόν τινα εἶναι, λέγω δὲ οἷον σπουδαῖον. τοῦτο δὲ σπουδαῖον εἶναι ἐστὶ τὸ τὰς ἀρετὰς ἔχειν. *Ariſt. magn. moral. lib.1. cap.1.*

c Ἀρχὴ δ' ἁπάσης πάντων τῶν ὄντων θεὸς, ἀρετῶν δ' εὐσέβεια. *Philo. de dec. precep.*

d *2.Chro.19.6.*

e Ἀγαπητὸν μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἐνὶ μόνῳ, κάλλιον δὲ καὶ δεύτερον ἔθνει καὶ πόλει σιν. *Ariſt. Eth.1.ca.2.*

f *Eccleſ.12.10.*

g *Wiſd.17.13.*

dorned with ſundry other admirable bewties, wanteth eyeſight, the chiefeſt grace that nature hath in that kinde to beſtowe. They which commend ſo much the felicitie of that innocent world, wherein it is ſaide, that men of their owne accord did imbrace fidelitie and honeſtie, not for feare of the Magiſtrate, or becauſe reuenge was before their eyes, if at any time they ſhould do otherwiſe, but that which held the people in awe was the ſhame of ill doing, the loue of equitie and right it ſelfe a barre againſt all oppreſſions which greatnes of power cauſeth, they which deſcribe vnto vs any ſuch eſtate of happines amongſt men, though they ſpeake not of religion, do notwithſtanding declare that which is in truth her only working. For if religion did poſſeſſe ſincerely and ſufficiently the harts of all men, there would neede no other reſtraint from euill. This doth not only giue life and perfection to all endeuours wherewith it concurreth; but what euent ſoeuer enſue, it breedeth, if not ioy and gladnes alwayes, yet alwayes patience, ſatisfaction, and reaſonable contentment of minde. Whereupon it hath bene ſet downe as an axiome of good experience, that all things religiouſly taken in hand, are [a] proſperouſly ended, becauſe whether men in the end haue that which religion did allow them to deſire, or that which it teacheth them contentedly to ſuffer, [b] they are in neither euent vnfortunate. But leaſt any man ſhould heere conceiue, that it greatly skilleth not of what ſort our religion be, in as much as Heathens, Turkes, and Infidels, impute to religion a great part of the ſame effects which our ſelues aſcribe thereunto, they hauing ours in the ſame deteſtation that we theirs: it ſhall be requiſite to obſerue well, how farre-forth there may be agreement in the effects of different religions. Firſt by the bitter ſtrife, which riſeth oftentimes from ſmall differences in this behalfe, and is by ſo much alwayes greater, as the matter is of more importance; we ſee a generall agreement in the ſecret opinion of men, that euery man ought to embrace the religion which is true, and to ſhun, as hurtfull, whatſoeuer diſſenteth from it, but that moſt, which doth fartheſt diſſent. The generalitie of which perſwaſion argueth, that God hath imprinted it by nature, to the end it might be a ſpurre to our induſtrie, in ſearching and maintaining that religion, from which as to ſwarue in the leaſt points is error, ſo the capitall enimies thereof God hateth as his deadly foes, aliens, and without repentance, children of endleſſe perdition. Such therefore touching mans immortall ſtate after this life are not likely to reape benefit by their religion, but to looke for the cleane contrary, in regard of ſo important contrarietie betweene it and the true religion. Neuertheleſſe, in as much as the errors of the moſt ſeduced this way haue bene mixed with ſome truthes, we are not to meruaile that although the one did turne to their endleſſe woe and confuſion, yet the other had many notable effects as touching the affaires of this preſent life. There were in [c] theſe quarters of the world, ſixteene hundreth yeares agoe, certaine ſpeculatiue men, whoſe authoritie diſpoſed the whole religion of thoſe times. By their meanes it became a receiued opinion, that the ſoules of men departing this life, do flit out of one bodie into ſome other. Which opinion, though falſe, yet entwined with a true, that the ſoules of men do neuer periſh, abated the feare of death in them which were ſo reſolued, and gaue them courage vnto all aduentures. The Romanes

[a] *Pſal. 1. 3.*

[b] Τὸν γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἔμφρονα πάσας οἰόμεθα τὰς τύχας εὐσχημόνως φέρειν, καὶ ὅτι ἐξ ὑπαρχόντων ἀεὶ τὰ κάλλιστα πράττειν. *Ariſt. Eth. lib. 1. cap. 10.*

[c] *Caſ. de bell. Gall. lib. 6.*

had a vaine ſuperſtitious cuſtome in moſt of their enterpriſes to coniecture before hand of the euent, by certaine tokens which they noted in birds, or in the intrailes of beaſts, or by other the like friuolous diuinations. From whence notwithſtanding as oft as they could receiue any ſigne which they tooke to be fauourable, it gaue them ſuch hope, as if their Gods had made them more then halfe a promiſe of proſperous ſucceſſe. Which many times was the greateſt cauſe that they did preuaile, eſpecially being men of their owne naturall inclination hopefull and ſtrongly conceipted, whatſoeuer they tooke in hand. But could their fond ſuperſtition haue furthered ſo great attempts without the mixture of a true perſwaſion concerning the vnreſiſtable force of diuine power? Vpon the wilfull violation of oathes, execrable blaſphemies, and like contempts, offered by deriders of religion euen vnto falſe Gods, fearefull tokens of diuine reuenge haue bene knowne to follow. Which occurrents the deuouter ſort did take for manifeſt arguments, that the Gods whome they worſhipped were of power to reward ſuch as ſought vnto them, and would plague thoſe that feared them not. In this they erred. For (as the [a] wiſeman rightly noteth concerning ſuch) it was not the power of them by whome they ſware, but the vengeance of them that ſinned, which puniſhed the offences of the vngodly. It was their hurt vntruly to attribute ſo great power vnto falſe Gods. Yet the right conceipt which they had, that to periurie vengeance is due, was not without good effect as touching the courſe of their liues, who feared the wilfull violation of oathes in that reſpect. And whereas we reade ſo many of them ſo much commended, ſome for their milde and mercifull diſpoſition, ſome for their vertuous ſeueritie, ſome for integritie of life, all theſe were the fruites of true and infallible principles deliuered vnto vs in the word of God as the axiomes of our religion, which being imprinted by the God of nature in their harts alſo, and taking better roote in ſome then in moſt others, grew, though not from, yet with and amidſt the heapes of manifold repugnant errors, which errors of corrupt religion had alſo their ſuteable effects in the liues of the ſelfeſame parties. Without all controuerſie the purer and perfecter our religion is, the worthier effects it hath in them who ſtedfaſtly and ſincerely imbrace it, in others not. They that loue the religion which they profeſſe, may haue fayled in choiſe, but yet they are ſure to reape what benefit the ſame is able to affoord, whereas the beſt and ſoundeſt profeſſed by them that beare it not the like affection, yeeldeth them, retayning it in that ſort, no benefit. Dauid was a man after Gods owne heart, ſo termed, becauſe his affection was hartie towardes God. Beholding the like diſpoſition in them which liued vnder him, it was his prayer to Almightie God, [b] *O keepe this for euer in the purpoſe and thoughts of the hart of this people.* But when, after that Dauid had ended his dayes in peace, they who ſucceeded him in place for the moſt part followed him not in qualitie, when their Kings (ſome fewe excepted) to better their worldly eſtate (as they thought) left their owne and their peoples ghoſtly condition vncared for, by wofull experience they both did learne, that to forſake the true God of heauen, is to fall into all ſuch euils vpon the face of the earth, as men either deſtitute of grace diuine may commit, or vnprotected from aboue indure. Seeing therefore it doth thus appeare that the ſafetie of all eſtates dependeth vpon religion;

[a] *Wiſd. 14. 30.*

[b] *1. Chron. 29. 17.*

that

that religion vnfainedly loued, perfecteth mens habilities vnto all kindes of vertuous ſeruices in the Common wealth; that mens deſire is in generall to hold no religion but the true; and that whatſoeuer good effects do grow out of their religion who imbrace in ſteede of the true a falſe, the roote thereof are certaine ſparkes of the light of truth intermingled with the darkenes of error, becauſe no religion can wholie and only conſiſt of vntruthes, we haue reaſon to thinke that all true vertues are to honor true religion as their parent, and all well ordered Common-weales to loue her as their chiefeſt ſtay.

2. They of whome God is altogether vnapprehended, are but few in number, and for groſnes of wit ſuch, that they hardly and ſcarcely ſeeme to hold the place of humane being. Theſe we ſhould iudge to be of all others moſt miſerable, but that a wretcheder ſort there are, on whome, whereas nature hath beſtowed riper capacitie, their euill diſpoſition ſeriouſlie goeth about therewith to apprehend God as being not God. Whereby it commeth to paſſe that of theſe two ſorts of men, both godleſſe, the one hauing vtterly no knowledge of God, the other ſtudie how to perſwade themſelues that there is no ſuch thing to be knowne. The [a] fountaine and wellſpring of which impietie is a reſolued purpoſe of minde to reape in this world what ſenſuall profit or pleaſure ſoeuer the world yeeldeth, and not to be barred from any whatſoeuer meanes auaileable thereunto. And that this is the very radicall cauſe of their Atheiſme, no man I thinke will doubt which conſidereth what paines they take to deſtroy thoſe principall ſpurres and motiues vnto all vertue, the creation of the world, the prouidence of God, the reſurrection of the dead, the ioyes of the kingdome of heauen, and the endleſſe paines of the wicked, yea aboue all things the authoritie of Scripture, becauſe on theſe points it euermore beateth, and the Soules immortalitie, which graunted, draweth eaſily after it the reſt as a voluntarie traine. Is it not wonderfull that baſe deſires ſhould ſo extinguiſh in men the ſenſe of their owne excellencie, as to make them willing that their ſoules ſhould be like to the ſoules of beaſts, mortall and corruptible with their bodies? till ſome admirable or vnuſuall accident happen (as it hath in ſome) to worke the beginning of a better alteration in their mindes, diſputation about the knowledge of God with ſuch kinde of perſons commonly preuaileth little. For how ſhould the brightnes of wiſedome ſhine, where the windowes of the ſoule are of [b] very ſet purpoſe cloſed? True religion hath many things in it, the onely mention whereof gauleth and troubleth their mindes. Being therefore loath that inquirie into ſuch matters ſhould breede a perſwaſion in the ende contrarie vnto that they embrace, it is their endeuor to baniſh as much as in them lyeth quite and cleane from their cogitation whatſoeuer may ſound that way. But it commeth many times to paſſe (which is their torment) that the thing they ſhunne doth follow them, truth as it were euen obtruding it ſelfe into their knowledge, and not permitting them to be ſo ignorant as they woulde be. Whereupon in as much as the nature of man is vnwilling to continue doing that wherein it ſhall alwayes condemne it ſelfe, they continuing ſtill obſtinate, to followe the courſe which they haue begunne, are driuen to deuiſe all the ſhifts that wit can inuent for the ſmothering of this light, all that may but with any the leaſt ſhowe of poſſibi-

The moſt extreme oppoſite to true Religion, is affected Atheiſme.

a *Wiſd. 2. 21.* Such things they imagin and go aſtray, becauſe their owne wickednes hath blinded them. Ἐπὶ γὰρ ἡ κακία φθαρτικὴ ἀρχῆς. *Ariſt. Eth. l. 6. c. 5.*

b *Suſan. Verſ. 9* They turned away their minde and caſt downe their eyes that they might not ſee heauen, nor remember iuſt iudgements.

litie ſtay their mindes from thinking that true, which they hartely wiſh were falſe, but [a] cannot thinke it ſo without ſome ſcruple and feare of the contrarie. Now becauſe that iudicious learning, for which we commend moſt worthely the ancient Sages of the world, doth not in this caſe ſerue the turne, theſe trencher-mates (for ſuch the moſt of them be) frame to themſelues a way more pleaſant, a new methode they haue of turning things that are ſerious into mockerie, an arte of Contradiction by way of ſcorne, a learning wherewith we were [b] long ſithence forewarned, that the miſerable times whereinto we are fallen ſhould abound. This they ſtudie, this they practiſe, this they grace with a wanton ſuperfluitie of wit, too much inſulting ouer the patience of more vertuouſly diſpoſed mindes. For towards theſe ſo forelorne creatures we are (it muſt be confeſt) too patient. In zeale to the glory of God Babylon hath excelled Sion. We want that [c] decree of Nabuchodonoſor, the furie of this wicked broode hath the reines too much at libertie, their tongues walke at large, the ſpit-venome of their poiſoned harts breaketh out to the annoyance of others, what their vntamed luſt ſuggeſteth, the ſame their licentious mouthes do euery where ſet abroch. With our contentions their irreligious humor alſo is much ſtrengthened. Nothing pleaſeth them better, then theſe manifold oppoſitions about the matter of religion, as well for that they haue hereby the more opportunitie to learne on one ſide how an other may be oppugned, and ſo to weaken the credite of all vnto themſelues; as alſo becauſe by this hote purſute of lower controuerſies amongſt men profeſſing religion, and agreeing in the principall foundations thereof, they conceiue hope that about the higher principles themſelues time will cauſe altercation to grow. For which purpoſe, when they ſee occaſion, they ſticke not ſometime in other mens perſons, yea ſometime, without any vizard at all, directly to trie, what the moſt religious are able to ſay in defenſe of the higheſt points whereupon all religion dependeth. Now for the moſt part it ſo falleth out touching things which generally are receiued, that although in themſelues they be moſt certaine, yet becauſe men preſume them graunted of all, we are hardlieſt able to bring ſuch proofe of their certaintie as may ſatiſfie gainſayers, when ſuddainely and beſides expectation they require the ſame at our hands. Which impreparation and vnreadines when they finde in vs, they turne it to the ſoothing vp of themſelues in that curſed phancie, whereby they would faine belieue that the hartie deuotion of ſuch as in deede feare God, is nothing elſe but a kinde of harmeles error, bred and confirmed in them by the ſlights of wiſer men. For a politique vſe of religion they ſee there is, and by it they would alſo gather, that religion it ſelfe is a meere politique deuiſe, forged purpoſely to ſerue for that vſe. Men fearing God are thereby a great deale more effectually then by poſitiue lawes reſtrayned from doing euill, in as much as thoſe lawes haue no farther power then ouer our outward actions only, whereas vnto mens [d] inward cogitations, vnto the priuie intents and motions of their harts, religion ſerueth for a bridle. What more ſauage, wilde, and cruell, then man, if he ſee himſelfe able, either by fraude to ouerreach, or by power to ouerbeare, the lawes whereunto he ſhould be ſubiect? wherefore in ſo great boldnes to offend, it behoueth that the world ſhould be held in awe, not by a vaine ſurmiſe, but a true apprehenſion of ſomewhat, which no man may thinke himſelfe able to withſtand. This

is

a *Hæc eſt ſummus delicti nolle agnoſcere quem ignorare non poſſis. Cypr. de Idol. vanit.*

b *2. Pet. 3. 3. Iud. verſ. 18.*

c *Dan. 3. 29.*

d *Vos ſcelera admiſſa punitis, apud nos & cogitare peccare eſt; vos conſcios timetis, nos etiam conſcientiam ſolam, ſine qua eſſe non poſſumus. Minut. Fel. in Octau. Summum præſidium regni eſt iuſtitia ob apertos tumultus, & religio ob occultos. Carda. de Sapien. lib. 3.*

is the politique vſe of religion. In which reſpect there are of theſe wiſe malignants [a] ſome, who haue vouchſafed it their maruellous fauourable countenance and ſpeech, very grauely affirming that religion honored, addeth greatnes, and contemned, bringeth ruine vnto Common-weales; that Princes and States, which will continue, are aboue all things to vphold the reuerend regard of religion, and to prouide for the ſame by all meanes in the making of their lawes. But when they ſhould define what meanes are beſt for that purpoſe, behold, they extoll the wiſedome of Paganiſme, they giue it out as a myſticall precept of great importance, that Princes, and ſuch as are vnder them in moſt authoritie or credite with the people, ſhould take all occaſions of rare euents, and from what cauſe ſoeuer the ſame doe proceede, yet wreſt them to the ſtrengthning of their religion, and not make it nice for ſo good a purpoſe to vſe, if neede be, plaine forgeries. Thus while they ſtudie how to bring to paſſe that religion may ſeeme but a matter made, they looſe themſelues in the very maze of their owne diſcourſes, as if reaſon did euen purpoſely forſake them, who of purpoſe forſake God the author thereof. For ſurely a ſtrange kinde of madnes it is, that thoſe men who though they be voyd of pietie, yet, becauſe they haue wit, cannot chooſe but know, that trecherie guile and deceipt are things, which may for a while, but do not vſe long to goe vneſpied, ſhould teach that the greateſt honor to a ſtate is perpetuitie; and graunt, that alterations in the ſeruice of God, for that they impaire the credite of religion, are therefore perilous in Common-weales, which haue no continuance longer then religion hath all reuerence done vnto it; and withall acknowledge (for ſo they do) that when people began to eſpie the falſhood of oracles, whereupon all Gentilitie was built, their harts were vtterly auerted from it; and notwithſtanding counſell Princes, in ſober earneſt for the ſtrengthning of their ſtates, to maintaine religion, and, for the maintenance of religion, not to make choiſe of that which is true, but to authorize that they make choiſe of, by thoſe falſe and fraudulent meanes, which in the end muſt needes ouerthrow it. Such are the counſels of men godles, when they would ſhew themſelues politique deuiſers able to create God in man by arte.

[a] *Mach. Diſc. lib. 1. ca. 11. 12. 13. 14.*

3 Wherefore to let goe this execrable crue, and to come to extremities on the contrarie hand, two affections there are, the forces whereof, as they beare the greater or leſſer ſway in mans hart, frame accordingly the ſtampe and character of his religion, the one zeale, the other feare. Zeale, vnleſſe it be rightly guided, when it endeuoureth moſt buſily to pleaſe God, forceth vpon him thoſe vnſeaſonable offices which pleaſe him not. For which cauſe, if they who this way ſwarue be compared with ſuch ſincere ſound and diſcreet as Abraham was in matter of religion, the ſeruice of the one, is like vnto flatterie, the other like the faithfull ſedulitie of [b] friendſhip. Zeale, except it be ordered aright, when it bendeth it ſelfe vnto conflict with things either in deed, or but imagined to be oppoſite vnto religion, vſeth the raſor many times with ſuch eagernes, that the very life of religion it ſelfe is thereby hazarded, through hatred of tares the corne in the field of God is pluckt vp. So that Zeale needeth both wayes a ſober guide. Feare on the other ſide, if it haue not the light of true vnderſtanding concerning God, wherewith to be moderated, breedeth likewiſe ſuperſtition. It is therefore dangerous that in things diuine, we ſhould worke

Of Superſtitiō and the roote thereof, either miſguided zeale, or ignorant feare of diuine glorie.

[b] *2. Chro. 20. 7. Abraham thy friend.*

worke too much vpon the ſpurre either of zeale or feare. Feare is a good ſolicitor to deuotion. Howbeit, ſith feare in this kinde doth grow from an apprehenſion of deitie indued with irreſiſtable power to hurt, and is of all affections (anger excepted) the vnapteſt to admit any conference with reaſon, for which cauſe the [a] wiſeman doth ſay of feare that it is a betrayer of the forces of reaſonable vnderſtanding, therefore except men know before hand what manner of ſeruice pleaſeth God, while they are fearefull they try all things which fancie offereth. Many there are who neuer thinke on God but when they are in extremitie of feare: and then becauſe what to thinke, or what to doe they are vncertaine, perplexitie not ſuffering them to be idle, they thinke and do as it were in a phrenſie they know not what. Superſtition neither knoweth the right kinde, nor obſerueth the due meaſure of actions belonging to the ſeruice of God, but is alwayes ioyned with a wrong opinion touching things diuine. Superſtition is, when things are either abhord or obſerued, with a zealous or fearefull, but erroneous relation to God. By meanes whereof, the ſuperſtitions do ſometimes ſerue, though the true God, yet with needleſſe offices, and defraude him of duties neceſſarie, ſometime loade others then him with ſuch honors as properly are his. The one their ouerſight, who miſſe in the choice of that wherewith; the other theirs, who faile in the election of him towards whome they ſhew deuotion: this the crime of Idolatrie, that the fault of voluntarie either nicenes, or ſuperfluitie in religion. The chriſtian world it ſelfe being deuided into two graund parts, it appeareth by the generall view of both, that with matter of hereſie the Weſt hath bene often and much troubled; but the Eaſt part neuer quiet, till the deluge of miſerie wherein now they are, ouerwhelmed them. The chiefeſt cauſe whereof doth ſeeme to haue lien in the reſtleſſe wits of the Græcians, euermore prowde of their owne curious and ſubtile inuentions, which when at any time they had contriued, the great facilitie of their language ſerued them readily to make all things faire and plauſible to mens vnderſtanding. Thoſe graund hereticall impieties therefore which moſt highly and immediatly touched God and the glorious Trinitie, were all in a manner the monſters of the Eaſt. The Weſt bred fewer a great deale, and thoſe commonly of a lower nature, ſuch as more neerely and directly concerned rather men then God, the Latines being alwayes to capitall hereſies leſſe inclined, yet vnto groſſe ſuperſtition more. Superſtition ſuch as that of the [b] Phariſies was, by whome diuine things in deede were leſſe, becauſe other things were more diuinely eſteemed of then reaſon would; the ſuperſtition that riſeth voluntarily, and by degrees, which are hardly diſcerned, mingleth it ſelfe with the rites euen of very diuine ſeruice done to the onely true God, muſt be conſidered of as a creeping and incroching euill, an euill the firſt beginnings whereof are commonly harmeleſſe, ſo that it proueth only then to be an euill when ſome farther accident doth grow vnto it, or it ſelfe come vnto farther growth. For in the Church of God ſometimes it commeth to paſſe as in ouer battle grounds, the fertile diſpoſition whereof is good; yet, becauſe it exceedeth due proportion, it bringeth forth abundantly, through too much rankenes, things leſſe profitable, whereby that which principally it ſhould yeeld being either preuented in place, or defrauded of nouriſhment faileth. This (if ſo large a diſcourſe were neceſſarie) might

[a] *Wiſd.17.11.*

[b] *Mark.7.9.*

be

be exemplified euen by heapes of rites and cuſtomes now ſuperſtitious in the greateſt part of the Chriſtian world, which in their firſt originall beginnings, when the ſtrength of vertuous deuout or charitable affection bloomed them, no man could iuſtly haue condemned as euill.

4 But howſoeuer ſuperſtition do grow, that wherein vnſounder times haue done amiſſe, the better ages enſuing muſt rectifie, as they may. I now come therefore to thoſe accuſations brought againſt vs by pretenders of reformation, the firſt in the ranke whereof is ſuch, that if ſo be the Church of England did at this day therewith as iuſtly deſerue to be touched, as they in this cauſe haue imagined it doth, rather would I exhort all ſorts to ſeeke pardon euen with teares at the hands of God, then meditate words of defenſe for our doings, to the end that men might thinke fauourablie of them. For as the caſe of this world, eſpecially now, doth ſtand, what other ſtay or ſuccour haue we to leane vnto, ſauing the teſtimonie of our conſcience, and the comfort we take in this, that we ſerue the liuing God (as neere as our wits can reach vnto the knowledge thereof) euen according to his owne will, and do therefore truſt that his mercie ſhall be our ſafegard againſt thoſe enraged powers abroad, which principallie in that reſpect are become our enemies? But ſith no man can do ill with a good conſcience, the conſolation which we herein ſeeme to finde, is but a meere deceiptfull pleaſing of our ſelues in error, which at the length muſt needes turne to our greater griefe, if that which we do to pleaſe God moſt be for the manifold defects thereof offenſiue vnto him. For ſo it is iudged, our prayers, our ſacraments, our faſts, our times and places of publique meeting together for the worſhip and ſeruice of God, our mariages, our burials, our functions, elections and ordinations eccleſiaſticall, almoſt whatſoeuer we do in the exerciſe of our religion according to lawes for that purpoſe eſtabliſhed, all things are ſome way or other thought faultie, all things ſtained with ſuperſtition. Now although it may be the wiſer ſort of men are not greatly moued hereat, conſidering how ſubiect the very beſt things haue bene alwayes vnto cauill, when wits poſſeſſed either with diſdaine or diſlike thereof haue ſet them vp as their marke to ſhoote at: ſafe notwithſtanding it were not therefore to neglect the danger which from hence may grow, and that eſpecially in regard of them, who deſiring to ſerue God as they ought, but being not ſo skilfull as in euery point to vnwinde themſelues where the ſnares of gloſing ſpeech do lye to intangle them, are in minde not a little troubled, when they heare ſo bitter inuectiues againſt that which this Church hath taught them to reuerence as holie, to approue as lawfull, and to obſerue as behoofull for the exerciſe of chriſtian dutie. It ſeemeth therefore at the leaſt for their ſakes very meete, that ſuch as blame vs in this behalfe be directly anſwered, and they which follow vs informed plainely in the reaſons of that we do. On both ſides the end intended betweene vs, is to haue lawes and ordinances ſuch as may rightly ſerue to aboliſh ſuperſtition, and to eſtabliſh the ſeruice of God with all things thereunto appertaining in ſome perfect forme. There is an inward [a] reaſonable, and there is a [b] ſolemne outward ſeruiceable worſhip belonging vnto God. Of the former kinde are all manner vertuous duties that each man in reaſon and conſcience to Godward oweth. Sollemne and ſeruiceable worſhip we name for diſtinction ſake, whatſoeuer belongeth

Of the redreſſe of Superſtition in Gods Church, and concerning the queſtion of this booke.

a *Rom. 12. 1.*
b *Luc. 1. 23.*

to

to the Church or publique ſocietie of God by way of externall adoration. It is the later of theſe two whereupon our preſent queſtion groweth. Againe, this later being ordered, partly, and as touching principall matters, by none but precepts diuine only; partly, and as concerning things of inferior regard, by ordinances as well humane as diuine: about the ſubſtance of religion wherein Gods only lawe muſt be kept there is here no controuerſie, the crime now intended againſt vs is, that our lawes haue not ordered thoſe inferior things as behoueth, and that our cuſtomes are either ſuperſtitious, or otherwiſe amiſſe, whether we reſpect the exerciſe of publique duties in religion, or the functions of perſons authoriſed thereunto.

Foure generall propoſitions, demaunding that which may reaſonably be graunted concerning matters of outward forme in the exerciſe of true religion. And fiftly, of a rule not ſafe nor reaſonable in theſe caſes.

5 It is with teachers of Mathematicall ſciences vſuall, for vs in this preſent queſtion neceſſarie to lay downe firſt certaine reaſonable demaunds, which in moſt particulars following are to ſerue as principles whereby to worke, and therefore muſt be before hand conſidered. The men whome we labor to informe in the truth, perceiue that ſo to proceede is requiſite. Forto this end they alſo propoſe touching cuſtomes and rites indifferent their generall axiomes, ſome of them ſubiect vnto iuſt exceptions, and, as we thinke, more meete by them to be farther conſidered, then aſſented vnto by vs. As that, *In outward things belonging to the ſeruice of God, reformed Churches ought by all meanes to ſhunne conformitie with the Church of Rome*; that, *The firſt reformed ſhould be a paterne whereunto all that come after ought to conforme themſelues*; that, *Sound religion may not vſe the things which being not commanded of God haue bene either deuiſed or abuſed vnto ſuperſtition*. Theſe and the reſt of the ſame conſort we haue in the booke going before examined. Other Canons they alleadge and rules not vnworthie of approbation, as *That in all ſuch things the glory of God and the edification or ghoſtly good of his people muſt be ſought; that nothing ſhould be vndecently or vnorderly done*. But for as much as all the difficultie is in diſcerning what things do glorifie God and edifie his Church, what not; when we ſhould thinke them decent and fit, when otherwiſe: becauſe theſe rules being too generall, come not neere enough vnto the matter which we haue in hand; and the former principles being neerer the purpoſe, are too farre from truth, we muſt propoſe vnto all men certaine petitions incident and very materiall in cauſes of this nature, ſuch as no man of moderate iudgement hath cauſe to thinke vniuſt or vnreaſonable.

The firſt propoſition touching iudgement what things are conuenient in the outward publique ordering of Church affaires.

6 The firſt thing therefore which is of force to cauſe approbation with good conſcience towards ſuch cuſtomes or rites as publiquely are eſtabliſht, is when there riſeth from the due conſideration of thoſe cuſtomes and rites in them ſelues apparent reaſon, although not alwayes to proue them better, then any other that might poſſibly be deuiſed, (for who did euer require this in mans ordinances?) yet competent to ſhew their conueniencie and fitneſſe, in regard of the vſe for which they ſhould ſerue. Now touching the nature of religious ſeruices, and the manner of their due performance, thus much generally we know to be moſt cleere, that whereas the greatnes and dignitie of all manner actions is meaſured by the worthines of the ſubiect from which they proceede, and of the obiect whereabout they are conuerſant, we muſt of neceſſitie in both reſpects acknowledge, that this preſent world affordeth not any thing comparable vnto the publique duties of religion. For if the beſt things

haue

haue the perfecteſt and beſt operations, it will follow, that ſeeing man is the worthieſt creature vpon earth, and euery ſocietie of men more worthy then any man, and of ſocieties that moſt excellent which we call the Church; there can be in this world no worke performed equall to the exerciſe of true religion the proper operation of the Church of God. Againe, for as much as religion worketh vpon him who in maieſtie and power is infinite, as we ought we accompt not of it, vnleſſe we eſteeme it euen [a] according to that very height of excellencie which our harts conceiue when diuine ſublimitie it ſelfe is rightly conſidered. In the powers and faculties of our ſoules God requireth the vttermoſt which our vnfained affection towards him is able to yeeld. So that if we affect him not farre aboue and before all things, our religion hath not that inward perfection which it ſhould haue, neither do we indeede worſhip him as our God. That which inwardly each man ſhould be, the Church outwardly ought to teſtifie. And therefore the duties of our religion which are ſeene muſt be ſuch as that affection which is vnſeene ought to be. Signes muſt reſemble the things they ſignifie. If religion beare the greateſt ſway in our harts, our outward religious duties muſt ſhew it as farre as the Church hath outward habilitie. Duties of religion performed by whole ſocieties of men, ought to haue in them according to our power a ſenſible excellencie, [b] correſpondent to the maieſtie of him whome we worſhip. Yea then are the publique duties of religion beſt ordered, when the militant Church doth [c] reſemble by ſenſible meanes, as it may in ſuch caſes, that hidden dignitie and glory wherewith the Church triumphant in heauen is bewtified. Howbeit, euen as the very heate of the Sunne it ſelfe which is the life of the whole world was to the people of God in the Deſert a grieuous annoyance, for eaſe whereof his extraordinarie prouidence ordeyned a cloudie piller to ouerſhadow them: So things of generall vſe and benefit (for in this world what is ſo perfect that no inconuenience doth euer follow it?) may by ſome accident be incommodious to a fewe. In which caſe, for ſuch priuate euils remedies there are of like condition, though publique ordinances, wherein the common good is reſpected, be not ſtird. Let our firſt demaund be therefore, that in the externall forme of religion ſuch things as are apparently, or can be ſufficiently proued effectuall and generally fit to ſet forward godlines, either as betokening the greatnes of God, or as beſeeming the dignitie of religion, or as concurring with celeſtiall impreſſions in the mindes of men, may be reuerently thought of; ſome few, rare, caſuall, and tollerable, or otherwiſe curable inconueniences notwithſtanding.

a *Iohn.4.24. Wiſd.6.10. 1.Chro.29.17.*

b *2 Chro.2 5.*

c Ἐκκλησία ἐστὶν ἐπίγειος οὐρανὸς. *Germa.* περὶ τῶν ἱερουργουμένων. *Delectatio Domini in Eccleſia eſt, Eccleſia verò eſt imago cœleſtium. Ambr de interpel. Dau. Facit in terris opera cœlorum. Siden. Apol. Epiſt. lib.6.*

7 Neither may we in this caſe lightly eſteeme what hath beene allowed as fit in the iudgement of antiquitie, and by the long continued practiſe of the whole Church, from which vnneceſſarily to ſwarue, experience hath neuer as yet found it ſafe. For wiſedomes ſake we reuerence them no leſſe that are young, or not much leſſe, then if they were ſtricken in yeares. And therefore of ſuch it is rightly ſaid that their ripeneſſe of vnderſtanding is [d] *gray heare*, and their vertues *olde age*. But becauſe wiſedome and youth are ſeldome ioyned in one, and the ordinarie courſe of the world is more according to Iobs obſeruation, who giueth men aduiſe to ſeeke wiſedome [e] *amongſt the ancient*, and in the *length of dayes* vnderſtanding, therefore if the compariſon do ſtand betweene man

The ſecond propoſition.

d *Wiſd.4.9.*

e *Iob.12.12.*

man and man, which ſhall harken vnto other, ſith the aged for the moſt part are beſt experienced, leaſt ſubiect to raſh and vnaduiſed paſſions, it hath bene euer iudged reaſonable that their ſentence in matter of counſell ſhould be better truſted and more relied vpon then other mens. The goodnes of God hauing furniſhed man with two chiefe inſtruments both neceſſarie for this life, hands to execute, and a minde to deuiſe great things; the one is not profitable longer then the vigor of youth doth ſtrengthen it, nor the other greatly till age and experience haue brought it to perfection. In whome therefore time hath not perfected knowledge, ſuch muſt be contented to follow them in whome it hath. For this cauſe none is more attentiuely heard then they whoſe ſpeeches are as Dauids were, *I haue beene young and now am old,* much I haue ſeene and obſerued in the world. Sharp and ſubtile diſcourſes of wit procure many times very great applauſe, but being laid in the ballance with that which the habit of ſound experience plainely deliuereth they are ouerweighed. God may indue men extraordinarily with vnderſtanding as it pleaſeth him. But let no man preſuming thereupon neglect the inſtructions, or deſpiſe the ordinances of his elders, ſith he whoſe gift wiſedome is hath ſaid, [a] *Aske thy father and he will ſhew thee, thine Ancients and they ſhall tell thee.* It is therefore the voice both of God and nature not of learning only, that eſpecially in matters of action and policie, [b] *The ſentences and iudgements of men experienced aged and wiſe, yea though they ſpeake without any proofe or demonſtration are no leſſe to be harkened vnto, then as being demonſtratious in them ſelues, becauſe ſuch mens long obſeruation is as an eye wherewith they preſently and plainely behold thoſe principles which ſway ouer all actions.* Whereby we are taught both the cauſe wherefore wiſe mens iudgements ſhould be credited, and the meane how to vſe their iudgements to the increaſe of our owne wiſedome. That which ſheweth them to be wiſe, is the gathering of principles out of their owne particular experiments. And the framing of our particular experiments according to the rule of their principles ſhall make vs ſuch as they are. If therefore euen at the firſt ſo great accompt ſhould be made of wiſe mens counſels touching things that are publiquely done, as time ſhall adde thereunto continuance and approbation of ſucceeding ages, their credite and authoritie muſt needes be greater. They, which do nothing but that which men of accompt did before them, are, although they do amiſſe, yet the leſſe faltie, becauſe they are not the authors of harme. And doing well, their actions are freed from preiudice of noueltie. To the beſt and wiſeſt, [c] while they liue, the world is continually a froward oppoſite, a curious obſeruer of their defects and imperfections, their vertues it afterwards as much admireth. And for this cauſe many times that which moſt deſerueth approbation would hardly be able to finde fauor, if they which propoſe it were not content to profeſſe themſelues therein ſchollers and followers of the auncient. For the world will not indure to heare that we are wiſer then any haue bene which went before. In which conſideration there is cauſe why we ſhould be ſlow and vnwilling to change without very vrgent neceſſitie the auncient ordinances, rites, and long approued cuſtomes of our venerable predeceſſors. The loue of things auncient doth argue [d] ſtayednes, but leuitie and want of experience maketh apt vnto innouations. That which wiſedome did firſt begin, and hath bene with good men long continued, chalengeth allowance of them that ſucceede, although

a *Deut.* 32. 7.

b *Ariſt. Eth.* 6. *ca.* 11.

c Πρὸς τοὺς ἐκ ποδῶν φθόνος οὐδεὶς φύεται. *Philo.* Πᾶσα δὲ συμβουλία τῷ βίῳ τούτῳ σωματοτίθεται. *Syneſ.* Τὸ ἐκ ποδῶν οὐτ' ἀντιπίπτει τῇ τετίμηται ἀφθόνως. *Grego. Naz.* ἐν Σπχ. ὅσοι δὲ ἐυσάθειαν τρόπων τὸ τῆς ἀρχαιότητος σεμνὸν τῶν καινοτρεπτοῦς

though it pleade for it ſelfe nothing. That which is new, if it promiſe not much, doth feare condemnation before triall; till triall, no man doth acquite or truſt it, what good ſoeuer it pretend and promiſe. So that in this kinde there are few things knowne to be good, till ſuch time as they grow to be auncient. The vaine pretence of thoſe glorious names, where they could not be with any truth, neither in reaſon ought to haue bin ſo much alleaged, hath wrought ſuch a preiudice againſt them in the mindes of the common ſort, as if they had vtterly no force at all, whereas (eſpecially for theſe obſeruances which concerne our preſent queſtion) antiquitie, cuſtome, and conſent in the Church of God, making with that which law doth eſtabliſh, are them ſelues moſt ſufficiēt reaſons to vphold the ſame, vnleſſe ſome notable publique inconuenience inforce the contrary. For a [a] ſmall thing in the eye of law is as nothing. We are therefore bold to make our ſecond petition this, that in things the fitnes whereof is not of it ſelfe apparent nor eaſie to be made ſufficiently manifeſt vnto all, yet the iudgement of antiquitie concurring with that which is receiued, may induce them to thinke it not vnfit, who are not able to alleage any knowne waightie inconuenience which it hath, or to take any ſtrong exception againſt.

προετίμησαν καὶ ἀπαραιτήτον τῶν πατέρων διεφύλαξαν τὴν παράδοσιν καὶ τὰ χώρας καὶ πόλιν ταύτῃ κέχρωνται τῇ φωνῇ. *Baſ. de Sp. Sa. cap. 7.*

[a] ὁ μὲν μικρὸν τοῦ εὖ παρεκβαίνων οὐ ψέγεται. *Ariſt. Ethic. 2. cap. 9. Modici nulla fere ratio haberi ſolet. Tiraquel. de iud. in reb. exig. cap. 10.*

8 All things cannot be of auncient continuance, which are expedient and needfull for the ordering of ſpirituall affaires: but the Church being a body which dyeth not hath alwaies power, as occaſion requireth, no leſſe to ordeine that which neuer was, then to ratifie what hath bin before. To preſcribe the order of doing in all things, is a peculiar prerogatiue which [b] *Wiſedome* hath as Queene or ſoueraigne commandreſſe ouer other vertues. This in euery ſeuerall mans actions of common life apperteineth vnto *Morall*; in publique and politique ſecular affaires vnto *Ciuill* wiſedome. In like manner, to deuiſe any certaine forme for the outward adminiſtration of publique duties in the ſeruice of God, or things belonging thereunto, and to finde out the moſt conuenient for that vſe, is a point of wiſedome *Eccleſiaſticall*. It is not for a man which doth know or ſhould know what order is, and what peaceable gouernment requireth to aske, *why we ſhould hang our iudgement vpon the Churches ſleeue*, and *why in matters of order more then in matters of doctrine*. The Church hath authority to eſtabliſh that for an order at one time, which at an other time it may aboliſh, and in both do well. But that which in doctrine the Church doth now deliuer rightly as a truth, no man will ſay that it may hereafter recall, and as rightly auouch the contrary. Lawes touching matter of order are changeable, by the power of the Church; articles concerning doctrine not ſo. We reade often in the writings of catholique and holy men touching matters of doctrine, *This wee beleeue, this wee holde, this the Prophets and Euangeliſts haue declared, this the Apoſtles haue deliuered, this Martyrs haue ſealed with their blond, and confeſſed in the midſt of torments, to this we cleaue as to the ancre of our ſoules, againſt this, though an Angell from heauen ſhould preach vnto vs, we would not beleeue.* But did we euer in any of them reade touching matters of meere comelineſſe, order, and decencie, neither commaunded nor prohibited by any Prophet, any Euangeliſt, any Apoſtle, *Although the Church wherein wee liue do ordaine them to be kept, although they be neuer ſo generally obſerued, though all the Churches in the world ſhould commaund them, though Angels from heauen ſhould require our ſubiection thereunto*, I would hold him accurſed that *doth obay?*

[b] ἡ μὲν φρόνησις οἷόν τε τοσαυτία ὄρους ἀνθεῖσα. *Philo. p. 353.*

The third propoſition.

T. C. *lib. 3. pag. 171.*

Be it in matter of the one kinde or of the other, what ſcripture doth plainely deliuer, to that the firſt place both of credit and obedience is due; the next whereunto is whatſoeuer any man can neceſſarily conclude by force of reaſon; after theſe the voice of the Church ſucceedeth. That which the Church by her eccleſiaſticall authoritie ſhall probably thinke and define to be true or good, muſt in congruitie of reaſon ouerrule all other inferior iudgements whatſoeuer. To them which aske why we thus hang our iudgement on the Churches ſleeue, I anſwere with Salomon, becauſe [a] *two are better then one. Yea ſimply* (ſaith [b] Baſill) *and vniuerſally, whether it be in workes of nature, or of voluntarie choice and counſell, I ſee not any thing done as it ſhould be, if it be wrought by an agent ſingling it ſelfe from conſorts.* The Iewes haue a ſentence of good aduiſe, [c] *Take not vpon thee to be a Iudge alone, there is no ſole Iudge but one only; ſay not to others receiue my ſentence, when their authoritie is aboue thine.* The bare conſent of the whole Church ſhould it ſelfe in theſe things ſtop their mouthes, who liuing vnder it, dare preſume to barke againſt it. *There is* (ſaith [d] Caſſianus) *no place of audience left for them, by whome obedience is not yeelded to that which all haue agreed vpon.* Might we not thinke it more then wonderfull, that nature ſhould in all communities appoint a predominant iudgement to ſway and ouerrule in ſo many things; or that God himſelfe ſhould allow ſo much authoritie and power vnto euery poore family for the ordering of all which are in it; and the Cittie of the liuing God, which is his Church, be able neither to commaund, nor yet to forbid any thing, which the meaneſt ſhall in that reſpect, and for her ſole authorities ſake, be bound to obey? We cannot hide or diſſemble that euill, the grieuous inconuenience whereof we feele. Our diſlike of them, by whome too much heretofore hath bene attributed vnto the Church, is grown to an error on the contrary hand, ſo that now from the Church of God too much is derogated. By which remouall of one extremitie with an other, the world ſeeking to procure a remedie, hath purchaſed a meere exchange of the euill which before was felt. Suppoſe we that the ſacred word of God can at their hands receiue due honor, by whoſe incitement the holy ordinances of the Church indure euery where open contempt? No it is not poſſible they ſhould obſerue as they ought the one, who from the other withdraw vnneceſſarily their owne or their breethrens obedience. Surely the Church of God in this buſines is neither of capacitie, I truſt, ſo weake, nor ſo vnſtrengthned, I know, with authority from aboue, but that her lawes may exact obedience at the hands of her owne children, and inioyne gainſayers ſilence, giuing them roundly to vnderſtand, that where our dutie is ſubmiſſion, weake oppoſitions betoken pride. We therefore craue thirdly to haue it granted, that where neither the euidence of any lawe diuine, nor the ſtrength of any inuincible argument otherwiſe found out by the light of reaſon, nor any notable publique inconuenience doth make againſt that which our owne lawes eccleſiaſticall haue although but newly inſtituted, for the ordering of theſe affaires, the very authority of the Church it ſelfe, at the leaſt in ſuch caſes, may giue ſo much credit to her owne lawes, as to make their ſentence touching fitnes and conueniencie waightier then any bare and naked conceipt to the contrary; eſpecially in them who can owe no leſſe then childlike obedience to her that hath more then motherly power.

a *Eccleſ. 4. 9.*
b *Baſil. epiſt. 68. d. 8. c. qua contra. Turpis eſt omnis pars vniuerſo ſuo non congruens.*
c *R. Iſmael in Cap. Patr.*
d *Caſsian. de incarn. lib. 1. cap. 6.*

9 There

9 There are ancient ordinances, lawes which on all ſides are allowed to be iuſt and good, yea diuine and Apoſtolique Conſtitutions, which the Church it may be doth not alwayes keepe, nor alwayes iuſtly deſerue blame in that reſpect. For in euils that cannot be remoued without the manifeſt danger of greater to ſucceede in their roomes, wiſedome, of neceſſitie, muſt giue place to neceſſitie. All it can do, in thoſe caſes, is to deuiſe, how that, which muſt be indured, may be mitigated, and the inconueniences thereof counteruailed as neere as may be; that when the beſt things are not poſſible, the beſt may be made of thoſe that are. Nature then which there is nothing more conſtant, nothing more vniforme in all her wayes, doth notwithſtanding ſtay her hand, yea and change her courſe, when that which God by creation did commaund, he doth at any time by neceſſitie countermaund. It hath therefore pleaſed himſelfe ſometime to vnlooſe the very toungs euen of dumb creatures, and to teach them to pleade this in their owne defenſe, leaſt the crueltie of man ſhould perſiſt to afflict them for not keeping their woonted courſe, when ſome inuincible impediment hath hindered. If we leaue nature, and looke into arte, the workeman hath in his hart a purpoſe, he carrieth in minde the whole forme which his worke ſhould haue, there wanteth not in him skill and deſire to bring his labor to the beſt effect, only the matter which he hath to worke on is vnframeable. This neceſſitie excuſeth him, ſo that nothing is derogated from his credit, although much of his workes perfection be found wanting. Touching actions of common life, there is not any defenſe more fauourably hard then theirs, who alleage ſincerely for them ſelues, that they did as neceſſitie conſtrained them. For when the minde is rightly ordered and affected as it ſhould be, in caſe ſome externall impediment croſſing well aduiſed deſires ſhall potentlie draw men to leaue what they principally wiſh, and to take a courſe which they would not if their choice were free; what neceſſitie forceth men vnto, the ſame in this caſe it [a] maintaineth, as long as nothing is committed ſimply in it ſelfe euill, nothing abſolutely ſinfull or wicked, nothing repugnant to that immutable law whereby whatſoeuer is condemned as euill, can neuer any way be made good. The caſting away of things profitable for the ſuſtenance of mans life, is an vnthankefull abuſe of the fruites of Gods good prouidence towards mankinde. Which conſideration for all that did not hinder [b] S. Paule from throwing corne into the ſea, when care of ſauing mens liues made it neceſſary, to looſe that which els had bene better ſaued. Neither was this to do euill, to the end that good might come of it. For of two ſuch euils being not both euitable, the choice of the leſſe is not euill. And euils muſt be in our conſtruction iudged ineuitable, if there be no apparent ordinary way to auoid them, becauſe where counſell and aduiſe beare rule, of Gods extraordinary power without extraordinary warrant we cannot preſume. In ciuile affaires to declare what ſway neceſsity hath euer bene accuſtomed to beare, were labor infinite. The lawes of all States and kingdomes in the world haue ſcarſly of any thing more cõmon vſe. Should then only the Church ſhew it ſelfe inhumane and ſterne, abſolutely vrging a rigorous obſeruation of ſpirituall ordinãces, without relaxation or exception what neceſsitie ſoeuer happen? We know the [c] contrarie practiſe to haue bene commended by him, vpon the

The fourth propoſition.

[a] *Neceſſitas quicquid cogit defendit. Senec. controu. lib. 9.*

[b] *Act. 27. 38.*

[c] *Luc. 6. 4.*

warrant of whoſe iudgement, the Church moſt of all delighted with mercifull & moderate courſes, doth the oftner condeſcend vnto like equitie, permitting in caſes of neceſſitie that, which otherwiſe it diſalloweth & forbiddeth. Caſes of neceſſitie being ſometime but vrgent, ſometime extreme, the cõſideration of [a] publique vtilitie is with very good aduiſe iudged at the leaſt equiualent with the eaſier kinde of neceſſitie. Now that which cauſeth numbers to ſtorme againſt ſome neceſſarie tolerations, which they ſhould rather let paſſe with ſilence, conſidering that in politie as well Eccleſiaſticall as Ciuill, there are and will be alwaies euils which no arte of man can cure, breaches and leakes moe then mans wit hath hands to ſtop; that which maketh odious vnto them many things wherein notwithſtanding the truth is that very iuſt regard hath bene had of the publique good; that which in a great part of the waightieſt cauſes belonging to this preſent controuerſie hath inſnared the iudgements both of ſundry good, and of ſome well learned men, is the manifeſt truth of certaine generall principles, whereupon the ordinances that ſerue for vſuall practiſe in the Church of God are grounded. Which principles men knowing to be moſt ſound, and that the ordinarie practiſe accordingly framed is good, whatſoeuer is ouer and beſides that ordinarie, the ſame they iudge repugnant to thoſe true principles. The cauſe of which error is ignorance what reſtraints and limitations all ſuch principles haue, in regard of ſo manifold varieties as the [b] *matter* whereunto they are appliable doth commonly affoord. Theſe varieties are not knowne but by much experience, from whence to draw the true bounds of all principles, to diſcerne how farre-forth they take effect, to ſee where and why they faile, to apprehend by what degrees and meanes they leade to the practiſe of things in ſhow, though not indeed repugnant and contrarie one to another, requireth more ſharpnes of wit, more intricate circuitions of diſcourſe, more induſtrie and depth of iudgement then common habilitie doth yeeld. So that generall rules till their limites be fully knowne (eſpecially in matter of publique and eccleſiaſticall affaires) are, by reaſon of the manifold ſecret exceptions which lye hidden in them, no other to the eye of mans vnderſtanding then cloudie miſts caſt before the eye of common ſenſe. They that walke in darkeneſſe know not whether they goe. And euen as little is their certaintie whoſe opinions generalities only do guide. With groſſe & popular capacities nothing doth more preuaile then vnlimited generalities, becauſe of their plainenes at the firſt ſight; nothing leſſe with men of exact iudgemẽt, becauſe ſuch rules are not ſafe to be truſted ouer-farre. Generall lawes are like generall rules of phiſick, according whereunto as no wiſe man wil deſire himſelfe to be cured, if there be ioyned with his diſeaſe ſome ſpeciall accident in regard whereof that whereby others in the ſame infirmitie, but without the like accident, recouer health, would be to him either hurtfull, or at the leaſt vnprofitable: So we muſt not, vnder a coulorable commendation of holy ordinances in the Church, & of reaſonable cauſes whereupon they haue bene grounded for the common good, imagin that all mens caſes ought to haue one meaſure. Not without ſingular wiſedome therefore it hath bin prouided, that as the ordinarie courſe of cõmon affaires is diſpoſed of by generall lawes, ſo likewiſe mens rarer incident neceſſities & vtilities ſhould be with ſpeciall equitie conſidered. From hence it is, that

[a] *Cauſa neceſſitatis & vtilitatis æquiparantur in iure. Ab. Panor. ad c. 6. & ſuper. nu. 15. de reb. eccleſ. non alien.*

[b] Ἐν τοῖς περὶ τὰς πράξεις λόγοις οἱ μὲν καθόλου κανόνες εἰσὶν οἱ δ' ὑπὶ μέρους ἀκριβεστεροι. οὐδὲ γὰρ τὰ καθ' ἕκαστα αἱ πράξεις. *Arist. Eth. lib. 1. ca. 7.*

ſo

ſo many priuiledges, immunities, exceptions, and diſpenſations haue bene alwaies with great equitie and reaſon graunted, not to turne the edge of iuſtice, or to make voyd at certaine times and in certaine men through meere voluntarie grace or beneuolence that which continually and vniuerſally ſhould be of force (as ſome vnderſtand it) but in very truth to practiſe generall lawes according to their right meaning. We ſee in contracts and other dealings which dayly paſſe betweene man and man, that, to the vtter vndoing of ſome, many things by ſtrictnes of law may be done, which equitie and honeſt meaning forbiddeth. Not that the lawe is vniuſt, but vnperfect; nor equitie againſt, but aboue the lawe; binding mens conſciences in things which law cannot reach vnto. Will any man ſay, that the virtue of priuate equitie is oppoſite and repugnant to that lawe the ſilence whereof it ſupplieth in all ſuch priuat dealing? No more is publique equitie againſt the lawe of publique affaires, albeit the one permit vnto ſome in ſpeciall conſiderations, that which the other agreeablie with generall rules of iuſtice doth in generall ſort forbid. For ſith all good lawes are the voyces of right reaſon, which is the inſtrument wherewith God will haue the world guided; and impoſſible it is that right ſhould withſtand right, it muſt follow that principles and rules of iuſtice, be they neuer ſo generally vttered, do no leſſe effectually intend, then if they did plainely expreſſe an exception of all particulars, wherein their literall practiſe might any way prejudice equitie. And becauſe it is naturall vnto all men to wiſh their owne extraordinarie benefit, when they thinke they haue reaſonable inducements ſo to do; and no man can be preſumed a competent iudge what equitie doth require in his owne caſe, the likelieſt meane whereby the wit of man can prouide, that he which vſeth the benefit of any ſpeciall benignitie aboue the common courſe of others, may inioy it with good conſcience, and not againſt the true purpoſe of lawes, which in outward ſhew are contrarie, muſt needes be to arme with authoritie ſome fit both for qualitie and place to adminiſter that, which in euery ſuch particular ſhall appeare agreeable with equitie. Wherein as it cannot be denied but that ſometimes the practiſe of ſuch iuriſdiction may ſwarue through error euen in the very beſt, and for other reſpects, where leſſe integritie is: So the watchfulleſt obſeruers of inconueniences that way growing, and the readieſt to vrge them in diſgrace of authoriſed proceedings, do very well know, that the diſpoſition of theſe things reſteth not now in the hands of Popes, who liue in no worldly awe or ſubiection, but is committed to them whome law may at all times bridle, and ſuperior power controll; yea to them alſo in ſuch ſort, that law it ſelfe hath ſet downe to what perſons, in what cauſes, with what circumſtances, almoſt euery facultie or fauor ſhall be graunted, leauing in a manner nothing vnto them, more then only to deliuer what is already giuen by law. Which maketh it by many degrees leſſe reaſonable, that vnder pretenſe of inconueniences ſo eaſily ſtopped, if any did grow, and ſo well preuented that none may, men ſhould be altogether barred of the libertie that law with equitie and reaſon graunteth. Theſe things therefore conſidered, we laſtly require that it may not ſeeme hard, if in caſes of neceſſitie, or for common vtilities ſake, certaine profitable ordinances ſometime be releaſed, rather then all men alwaies ſtrictly bound to the generall rigor thereof.

The rule of mens priuate ſpirits not ſafe in theſe caſes to be followed

10 Now where the word of God leaueth the Church to make choice of her owne ordinances, if againſt thoſe things which haue bene receiued with great reaſon, or againſt that which the ancient practiſe of the Church hath continued time out of minde, or againſt ſuch ordinances as the power and authoritie of that Church vnder which we liue hath it ſelfe deuiſed for the publique good, or againſt the diſcretion of the Church in mitigating ſometimes with fauourable equitie that rigor which otherwiſe the literall generalitie of eccleſiaſticall lawes hath iudged to be more conuenient and meete, if againſt all this it ſhould be free for men to reproue, to diſgrace, to reiect at their owne libertie what they ſee done and practiſed according to order ſet downe, if in ſo great varietie of waies as the wit of man is eaſily able to finde out towards any purpoſe, and in ſo great liking as all men eſpecially haue vnto thoſe inuentions whereby ſome one ſhall ſeeme to haue bene more enlightned from aboue then many thouſands, the Church did giue euery man licenſe to follow what himſelfe imagineth that *Gods Spirit doth reueale* vnto him, or what he ſuppoſeth that God is likely to haue reuealed to ſome ſpeciall perſon whoſe vertues deſerue to be highly eſteemed, what other effect could hereupon enſue, but the vtter confuſion of his Church vnder pretenſe of being taught, led, and guided by his ſpirit: the gifts and graces whereof do ſo naturally all tend vnto common peace, that where ſuch ſingularitie is, they whoſe harts it poſſeſſeth, ought to ſuſpect it the more, in as much as if it did come of God, and ſhould for that cauſe preuaile with others, the ſame God which reuealeth it to them, would alſo giue them power of confirming it vnto others, either with miraculous operation, or with ſtrong and inuincible remonſtrance of ſound reaſon, ſuch as whereby it might appeare that God would in deed haue all mens iudgements giue place vnto it; whereas now the error and vnſufficiencie of their arguments doth make it on the contrary ſide againſt them a ſtrong preſumption, that God hath not moued their harts to thinke ſuch things, as he hath not inabled them to proue. And ſo from rules of generall direction it reſteth that now we deſcend to a more diſtinct explication of particulars, wherein thoſe rules haue their ſpeciall efficacie.

Places for the publique ſeruice of God.

a *Gen.3.8.*

b *Gen.4.3.*
c *Gen.13.4.*
d *22.1.*
e *21.33.*
f *Exod.26.*

g *Deut.12.5.*

h *2.Chro.3.1.*
i *2.Chro.6.7. Pſal.132.5.*

11 Solemne duties of publique ſeruice to be done vnto God, muſt haue their places ſet and prepared in ſuch ſort, as beſeemeth actions of that regard. Adam euen during the ſpace of his ſmall continuance in Paradiſe, had [a] where to preſent himſelfe before the Lord. Adams ſonnes had out of Paradiſe in like ſort [b] whether to bring their ſacrifices. The Patriarks vſed [c] altars, and [d] mountaines and [e] groues to the ſelfe ſame purpoſe. In the vaſt wildernes when the people of God had themſelues no ſettled habitation, yet a moueable [f] tabernacle they were commanded of God to make. The like charge was giuen them againſt the time they ſhould come to ſettle themſelues in the land which had bene promiſed vnto their fathers, [g] *yee ſhall ſeeke that place which the Lord your God ſhall chooſe.* When God had choſen Ieruſalem, and in Ieruſalem mount [h] *Moria*, there to haue his ſtanding habitation made, it was in the chiefeſt of [i] Dauids deſires to haue performed ſo good a worke. His griefe was no leſſe that he could not haue the honor to build God a temple, then their anger is at this day, who bite aſunder their owne tongues with very wrath, that they haue not as yet

as yet the power to pull downe the temples which they neuer built, and to leuell them with the ground. It was no meane thing which he purpoſed. To performe a worke ſo maieſticall and ſtately was no ſmall charge. Therefore [a] he incited all men vnto bountifull contribution, and procured towards it with all his power, gould, ſiluer, braſſe, iron, wood, precious ſtones in great aboundance. Yea moreouer [b] *becauſe I haue* (ſaith Dauid) *a ioy in the houſe of my God, I haue of mine owne gould and ſiluer, beſides all that I haue prepared for the houſe of the Sanctuarie, giuen to the houſe of my God 3000. talents of gould euen the gould of Ophir, 7000. talents of fined ſiluer.* After the ouerthrow of this firſt houſe of God, a ſecond was in ſtead thereof erected, but with ſo great oddes, that [c] they wept which had ſeene the former, and beheld how much this later came behinde it, the bewtie whereof notwithſtanding was ſuch, that euen this was alſo the wonder of the whole world. Beſides which temple, there were both in other parts of the land, and euen in Ieruſalem by proceſſe of time no ſmall number of Synagogues for men to reſort vnto. Our Sauiour himſelfe, and after him the Apoſtles frequented both the one and the other. The Church of Chriſt which was in Ieruſalem, and held that profeſſion which had not the publique allowance and countenance of authoritie, could not ſo long vſe the exerciſe of Chriſtian religion but in [d] priuate only. So that as Iewes they had acceſſe to the Temple and Synagogues where God was ſerued after the cuſtome of the Law; but for that which they did as Chriſtians, they were of neceſſitie forced otherwhere to aſſemble themſelues. And as God gaue increaſe to his Church, they ſought out both there and abroade for that purpoſe not the fitteſt (for ſo the times would not ſuffer them to do) but the ſafeſt places they could. In proceſſe of time ſomewhiles by ſufferance, ſomewhiles by ſpeciall leaue and fauor, they began to erect to themſelues Oratories, not in any ſumptuous or ſtately manner, which neither was poſſible by reaſon of the poore eſtate of the Church, and had bene perilous in regard of the worlds enuie towards them. At the length, when it pleaſed God to raiſe vp Kings and Emperors fauouring ſincerely the Chriſtian truth, that which the Church before either could not, or durſt not do, was with all alacritie performed. Temples were in all places erected. No coſt was ſpared, nothing iudged too deere which that way ſhould be ſpent. The whole world did ſeeme to exult, that it had occaſion of powring out gifts to ſo bleſſed a purpoſe. That cheerefull deuotion which Dauid this way did exceedingly delight to behold, and [e] wiſh that the ſame in the Iewiſh people might be perpetuall, was then in chriſtian people euerie where to be ſeene. Their actions till this day alwayes accuſtomed to be ſpoken of with great honor, are now called openly into queſtion. They and as many as haue bene followers of their example in that thing; we eſpecially that worſhip God either in temples which their hands made, or which other men ſithence haue framed by the like paterne are in that reſpect charged no leſſe then with the very ſinne of Idolatry. Our Churches in the foame of that good ſpirit which directeth ſuch fierie tongues, they terme ſpitefully the temples of Baal, idoll ſynagogues, abhominable ſtyes.

[a] 2. Chro. 25. 9.

[b] 1. Chro. 29. 3.

[c] Ezr. 3. 12. Agge. 2. 4.

[d] Act. 1. 13. & 2. 1. & 2. 46.

[e] 1. Chro. 29. 17, 18.

12 Wherein the firſt thing which moueth them thus to caſt vp their poyſon, are certaine ſolemnities vſuall at the firſt erection of Churches. Now although

The ſolemnitie of erecting Churches, con-

demned by Bar. pag. 130. The hallowing and dedicating of them ſcorned, pag. 141.

though the ſame ſhould be blameworthie, yet this age thankes be to God hath reaſonably well forborne to incurre the danger of any ſuch blame. It cannot be laid to many mens charge at this day liuing either that they haue bene ſo curious as to trouble Byſhops with placing the firſt ſtone in the Churches they built, or ſo ſcrupulous, as after the erection of them to make any great adoe for their dedication. In which kinde notwithſtanding as we do neither allow vnmeete, nor purpoſe the ſtiffe defence of any vnneceſſary cuſtome [a] heretofore receiued: So we know no reaſon wherefore Churches ſhould be the worſe, if at the firſt erecting of them, at the making of them publique, at the time when they are deliuered as it were into Gods owne poſſeſſion, and when the vſe whereunto they ſhall euer ſerue is eſtabliſhed, Ceremonies fit to betoken ſuch intents, and to accompanie ſuch actions be vſuall, as [b] in the pureſt times they haue bene. When [c] Conſtantine had finiſhed an houſe for the ſeruice of God at Ieruſalem, the dedication he iudged a matter not vnworthie, about the ſolemne performance whereof the greateſt part of the Biſhops in Chriſtendome ſhould meete together. Which thing they did at the Emperors motion, each moſt willingly ſetting forth that action to their power; ſome with orations, ſome with ſermons, ſome with the ſacrifice of prayers vnto God for the peace of the world, for the Churches ſafetie, for the Emperors and his childrens good. [d] By Athanaſius the like is recorded concerning a Biſhop of Alexandria, in a worke of the like deuout magnificence. So that whether Emperors or Biſhops in thoſe dayes were Church-founders, the ſolemne dedication of Churches they thought not to be a worke in it ſelfe either vaine, or ſuperſtitious. Can we iudge it a thing ſeemely for any man to go about the building of an houſe to the God of heauen with no other apparance, then if his end were to reare vp a kitchen, or a parlor for his owne vſe? Or when a worke of ſuch nature is finiſhed, remayneth there nothing but preſently to vſe it, and ſo an end? It behoueth that the place where God ſhall be ſerued by the whole Church, be a publique place, for the auoyding of priuie conuenticles, which couered with pretenſe of religion, may ſerue vnto dangerous practiſes. Yea, although ſuch aſſemblies be had indeed for religions ſake, hurtfull neuertheleſſe they may eaſily proue, as well in regard of their fitneſſe to ſerue the turne of heretiques, and ſuch as priuily will ſooneſt aduenture to inſtill their poyſon into mens minds; as alſo for the occaſion, which thereby is giuen to malitious perſons, both of ſuſpecting, and of traducing with more colourable ſhew thoſe actions, which in them ſelues being holy, ſhould be ſo ordered, that no man might probablie otherwiſe thinke of them. Which conſiderations haue by ſo much the greater waight, for that of theſe inconueniences the Church heretofore had ſo plaine experience, when Chriſtian men were driuen to vſe ſecret meetings, becauſe the libertie of publique places was not graunted them. There are which hould, that the preſence of a Chriſtian multitude, and the duties of religion performed amongſt them, do make the place of their aſſemblie publique, euen as the preſence of the King and his retinue maketh any mans houſe a Court. But this I take to be an error, in as much as the only thing which maketh any place publique is the publique aſſignement thereof vnto ſuch duties. As for the multitude there aſſembled, or the duties which they performe,

[a] *Durand. rational. lib. 1. ca. 6. & de Conſecra. d. 1. c. Tabernaculum. Greg. Mag. lib. 10. epiſt. 12. & lib. 7. epiſt. 71. & lib. 8. epiſt. 63.*

[b] Εγκαίνια πμᾶδς πάλαι ος νόμος ϗ καλῶς ἔχων, μᾶλλον δὲ τὰ νέα πμᾶδς δι' ἐγκαινίων. Καὶ τοῦτο οὐχ ἅπαξ, ἀλλὰ ϗ πολλάκις ἐκδοσις τοῦ ἰδίου τοῦ περιεργοῦ πλὴν ἀντλῶ ἰμάρας ἐπαγώγους ἵνα μὴ ἐξίπλα τῷ χρόνῳ ϗλωπας τὰ καλά. *Gregor. Nazian. orat. εἰς πλὴν κυριακλῶ.*

[c] *Vide Euſeb. de Vita Conſtant. lib. 4. ca. 41. 43. 44. 45.*

[d] *Athanaſ. Apolog. ad Conſtantium.*

performe, it doth not appeare how either ſhould be of force to infuſe any ſuch prerogatiue. Nor doth the ſolemne dedication of Churches ſerue only to make them publique, but farther alſo to ſurrender vp that right which otherwiſe their founders might haue in them, and to make God him ſelfe their owner. For which cauſe at the erection and conſecration as well of the [a] Tabernacle as of the Temple, it pleaſed the Almightie to giue a manifeſt ſigne that he tooke poſſeſſion of both. Finally, [b] it notifieth in ſolemne manner the holy and religious vſe whereunto it is intended ſuch houſes ſhall be put. [c] Theſe things the wiſedome of Salomon did not accompt ſuperfluous. He knew how eaſily that which was ment ſhould be holy and ſacred, might be drawne from the vſe whereunto it was firſt prouided; he knew how bould men are to take euen from God him ſelfe; how hardly that houſe would be kept from impious profanation he knew, and right wiſely therefore indeuored by ſuch ſolemnities to leaue in the mindes of men that [d] impreſſion which might ſomewhat reſtraine their bouldnes, and nouriſh a reuerend affection towards the houſe of God. For which cauſe when the firſt houſe was deſtroyed, and a new in the ſtead thereof erected by the children of Iſraell after their returne from captiuitie, they kept the [e] dedication euen of this houſe alſo with ioy. The [f] argument which our Sauiour vſeth againſt prophaners of the temple, he taketh from the vſe whereunto it was with ſolemnitie conſecrated. And as the Prophet Ieremy forbiddeth the carrying of [g] burthens on the Saboth becauſe that was a ſanctified day: So becauſe the Temple was a place ſanctified, our Lord would not ſuffer no [h] not the carriage of a veſſell through the Temple. Theſe two commandements therefore are in the lawe conioyned, [i] *yee ſhall keepe my Sabboths, and reuerence my ſanctuarie.* Out of thoſe the Apoſtles words, [k] *Haue ye not houſes to eate and drinke*, albeit temples ſuch as now were not then erected for the exerciſe of Chriſtian religion, [l] it hath bene neuertheleſſe not abſurdly conceiued that he teacheth what difference ſhould be made betweene houſe and houſe; that what is fit for the dwelling place of God, and what for mans habitation he ſheweth; he requireth that Chriſtian men at their owne home take common foode, and in the houſe of the Lord none but that foode which is heauenly; he inſtructeth them that as in the one place they vſe to refreſh their bodies, ſo they may in the other learne to ſeeke the nouriſhmēt of their ſoules, and as there they ſuſtaine temporall life, ſo heere they would learne to make prouiſion for eternall. Chriſt could not ſuffer that the temple ſhould ſerue for a place of Mart, nor the Apoſtle of Chriſt that the Church ſhould be made an Inne. When therefore we ſanctifie or hallow Churches, that which we do is only to teſtifie that we make them places of publique reſort, that we inueſt God himſelfe with them, that we ſeuer them from common vſes. In which action, other ſolemnities then ſuch as are decent and fit for that purpoſe we approue none. In deed we condemne not all as vnmeet, the like whereunto haue bene either deuiſed or vſed happely amongſt Idolaters. For why ſhould conformitie with them in matter of opinion be lawfull when they thinke that which is true, if in action when they do that which is meete it be not lawfull to be like vnto them? Are we to forſake any true opinion becauſe Idolators haue maintained it? Nor to ſhun any requiſite action only becauſe we haue in the practiſe

a *Exod. 40. 34. 1. Reg. 8. 11.*
b *Exod. 40. 9.*
c *1. Reg. 8.*
d *Leuit. 16. 2.* The place named Holie.
e *Ezr. 6. 16.*
f *Math. 21. 13.*
g *Iere. 17. 24.*
h *Mark. 11. 16.*
i *Leuit. 26. 2.*
k *1. Cor. 11. 22.*
l *Petr. Cluniac.*

practiſe thereof bene preuented by Idolators. It is no impoſsible thing but that ſometimes they may iudge as rightly what is decent about ſuch externall affaires of God, as in greater things what is true. Not therefore whatſoeuer idolators haue either thought or done, but let whatſoeuer they haue either thought or done *idolatrouſlie, be ſo farre-forth* abhorred. For of that which is good euen in euill things God is author.

Of the names whereby we diſtinguiſh our Churches.

13 Touching the names of Angels and Saincts whereby the moſt of our Churches are called; as the cuſtome of ſo naming them is very ancient, ſo neither was the cauſe thereof at the firſt, nor is the vſe and continuance with vs at this preſent hurtfull. That Churches were conſecrated vnto none but the Lord only, the very generall name it ſelfe doth ſufficiently ſhew, in as much as by plaine grammaticall conſtruction, [a] *Church* doth ſignifie no other thing then *The Lords houſe.* And becauſe the multitude as of perſons, ſo of things particular cauſeth varietie of proper names to be deuiſed for diſtinction ſake, founders of Churches did herein that which beſt liked their owne conceipt at the preſent time; yet each intending that as oft as thoſe buildings came to be mentioned, the name ſhould put men in minde of ſome memorable thing or perſon. Thus therefore it commeth to paſſe that all Churches haue had their names [b] ſome as memorials of peace, ſome of wiſedome, ſome in memorie of the Trinitie it ſelfe, ſome of Chriſt vnder ſundrie titles; of the bleſſed virgin not a few, many of one Apoſtle, Saint or Martyr, many of all. In which reſpect their commendable purpoſe being not of euery one vnderſtood, they haue bene in later ages conſtrued, as though they had ſuperſtitiouſly ment, either that thoſe places which were denominated of Angels and Saincts ſhould ſerue for the worſhip of ſo glorious creatures, or elſe thoſe glorified creatures for defenſe protection and patronage of ſuch places. A thing which the auncient do vterly diſclaime. [c] To them ſaith S. Auguſtine we appoint no Churches, becauſe they are not to vs as Gods. Againe, *The nations to their Gods erected Temples, we not Temples vnto our Martyrs as vnto Gods, but memorials as vnto dead men, whoſe ſpirits with God are ſtill liuing.* Diuers conſiderations there are, for which Chriſtian Churches might firſt take their names of Saincts: as either becauſe by the miniſterie of Saincts it pleaſed God there to ſhew ſome rare effect of his power; or els in regard of death which thoſe Saincts hauing ſuffered for the teſtimonie of Ieſus Chriſt, did thereby make the places where they died venerable; or thirdly, for that it liked good and vertuous men to giue ſuch occaſion of mentioning them often, to the end that the naming of their perſons might cauſe inquirie to be made, and meditation to be had of their vertues. Wherefore ſeeing that we cannot iuſtly accompt it ſuperſtition to giue vnto Churches thoſe forereherſed names as memorials either of holy perſons or things, if it be plaine that their founders did with ſuch meaning name them, ſhall not we in otherwiſe taking them offer them iniurie? Or if it be obſcure or vncertaine what they meant, yet this conſtruction being more fauourable, charitie I hope conſtraineth no man which ſtandeth doubtfull of their mindes, to leane to the hardeſt and worſt interpretation that their words can carrie. Yea although it were cleare that they all (for the error of ſome is maniſeſt in this behalfe) had therein a ſuperſtitious intent, wherefore ſhould their

[a] From Κυριακὸν, *Kyrc*, and by adding letters of aſpiration *Chyrch.*

[b] *Vide Socr. lib. 1. cap. 16. Euagr. lib. 4. cap. 30. Hiſt. Trip. lib. 4 cap. 18.*

[c] *Vide Aug. lib. 8. de Ciuit. Dei. cap. 27. lib. 22. ca. 10. Epiſt. 49. ad Deogra.*

The dutie which Chriſtian men performed in keeping feſtiuall dedications. *S. Baſill* termeth λατρείαν τοῦ θεοῦ, acknowledging the ſame to haue bene withall πρὸς τοὺς μάρτυρας. *Baſil. in Pſal.* 114.

their fault preiudice vs, who (as all men knowe) do vſe but by way of meere diſtinction the names which they of ſuperſtition gaue? In the vſe of thoſe names whereby we diſtinguiſh both dayes and moneths are we culpable of ſuperſtition, becauſe they were, who firſt inuented them? The ſigne of [a] *Caſtor* and *Pollux* ſuperſtitiouſly giuen vnto that ſhip wherein the Apoſtle ſailed, polluteth not the Euangeliſts penne, who thereby doth but diſtinguiſh that ſhip from others. If to Daniel there had bene giuen no other name but onlie [b] *Beltſhazzar*, giuen him in honor of the Babilonian idol *Belti*, ſhould their idolatrie which were authors of that name cleaue vnto euery man which had ſo termed him by way of perſonall difference only? were it not to ſatiſfie the mindes of the ſimpler ſort of men, theſe nice curioſities are not worthie the labour which we beſtow to anſwere them.

a *Act. 28. 11.*

b *Dan. 4. 5.* *Vide Scal. de emendat. temp. lib. 6. pa. 377.*

14 The like vnto this is a phancie which they haue againſt the faſhion of our Churches, as being framed according to the paterne of the Iewiſh temple. A fault no leſſe grieuous, if ſo be it were true, then if ſome King ſhould build his manſion houſe by the modell of Salomons palace. So farre-forth as our Churches and their Temple haue one end, what ſhould let but that they may lawfully haue one forme? The Temple was for ſacrifice and therefore had roomes to that purpoſe ſuch as ours haue none. Our Churches are places prouided that the people might there aſſemble them ſelues in due and decent manner, according to their ſeuerall degrees and orders. Which thing being common vnto vs with Iewes, we haue in this reſpect our Churches deuided by certaine partitions, although not ſo many in number as theirs. They had their ſeuerall for heathen nations, their ſeuerall for the people of their owne nation, their ſeuerall for men, their ſeuerall for women, their ſeuerall for the Prieſts, and for the high Prieſt alone their ſeuerall. There being in ours for locall diſtinction betwene the Clergie and the reſt (which yet we do not with any great ſtrictnes or curioſitie obſerue neither) but one partition, the cauſe whereof at the firſt (as it ſeemeth) was, that as many as were capable of the holie myſteries, might there aſſemble them ſelues and no other creepe in amongſt them, this is now made a matter ſo heinous, as if our religion thereby were become euen plaine Iudaiſme, and as though we reteined a moſt holy place, whereinto there might not any but the high Prieſt alone enter, according to the cuſtome of the Iewes.

Of the faſhion of our Churches.

15 Some it highly diſpleaſeth, that ſo great expenſes this way are imployed. *The mother of ſuch magnificence* (they thinke) *is but only a proude ambitious deſire to be ſpoken of farre and wide. Suppoſe we that God himſelfe delighteth to dwell ſumptuouſly, or taketh pleaſure in chargeable pompe? No, then was the Lord moſt acceptablie ſerued, when his Temples were roomes borrowed within the houſes of poore men. This was ſuteable vnto the nakednes of Ieſus Chriſt and the ſimplicitie of his Goſpell.* What thoughts or cogitations they had which were authors of thoſe things, the vſe and benefit whereof hath deſcended vnto our ſelues, as we do not know, ſo we neede not ſearch. It commeth we graunt many times to paſſe, that the workes of men being the ſame, their drifts and purpoſes therein are diuers. The charge of Herod about the Temple of God was ambitious, yet Salomons vertuous, Conſtantines holie. But howſoeuer their harts are diſpoſed by whome

The ſumptuouſnes of Churches.

whome any ſuch thing is done in the world, ſhall we thinke that it baneth the worke which they leaue behinde them, or taketh away from others the vſe and benefit thereof? Touching God himſelfe, hath he any where reuealed that it is his delight to dwell beggerly? and that he taketh no pleaſure to be worſhipped ſauing only in poore cotages? Euen then was the Lord as acceptablie honored of his people as euer, when the ſtatelieſt places and things in the whole world were ſought out to adorne his Temple. This moſt * ſuteable decent and fit for the greatnes of Ieſus Chriſt, for the ſublimitie of his Goſpell, except we thinke of Chriſt and his Goſpell as [a] the officers of Iulian did. As therefore the ſonne of Syrac giueth verdict concerning thoſe things which God hath wrought [b] *A man neede not ſay this is worſe then that, this more acceptable to God, that leſſe, for in their ſeaſon they are all worthie praiſe:* the like we may alſo conclude as touching theſe two ſo contrary wayes of prouiding in meaner or in coſtlier ſort for the honor of allmightie God, *A man neede not ſay this is worſe then that, this more acceptable to God, that leſſe, for with him they are in their ſeaſon both allowable*; the one when the ſtate of the Church is poore, the other when God hath inriched it with plentie. When they, which had ſeene the bewtie of the firſt Temple built by Salomon in the dayes of his great proſperitie and peace, beheld how farre it excelled the ſecond which had not builders of like abilitie, the teares of their grieued eyes the Prophets [c] indeuoured with comforts to wipe away. Whereas if the houſe of God were by ſo much the more perfect by how much the glory thereof is leſſe, they ſhould haue done better to reioyce then weepe, their Prophets better to reproue then comfort. It being obiected againſt the Church in the times of vniuerſall perſecution that her ſeruice done to God was not ſolemnely performed in Temples fit for the honor of diuine Maieſtie, their moſt conuenient anſwere was, that [d] *The beſt Temples which we can dedicate to God, are our ſanctified ſoules and bodies.* Whereby it plainely appeareth, how the fathers, when they were vpbraided with that defect, comforted themſelues with the meditation of Gods moſt gracious and mercifull nature, who did not therefore the leſſe accept of their hartie affection and zeale, rather then tooke any great delight, or imagined any high perfection in ſuch their want of externall ornaments, which when they wanted, the cauſe was their only lack of habilitie; habilitie ſeruing, they wanted them not. Before the [e] Emperour Conſtantines time, vnder Seuerus, Gordian, Philip, and Galienus, the ſtate of Chriſtian affaires being tolerable, the former buildings which were but of meane and ſmall eſtate contented them not, ſpatious and ample Churches they erected throughout euery Citie. No enuie was able to be their hinderance, no practiſe of Sathan or fraude of men auaileable againſt their proceedings herein, while they continued as yet worthie to feele the aide of the arme of God extended ouer them for their ſafetie. Theſe Churches Diocletian [f] cauſed by ſolemne Edict to be afterwards ouerthrowne. Maximinus with like authoritie giuing leaue to erect them, the harts of all men were euen rapt with diuine ioy, to ſee thoſe places, which tyrannous impietie had laide waſt, recouered as it were out of mortall calamitie, Churches [g] *reared vp to an height immeaſurable, and adorned with farre more bewtie in their reſtauration, then their founders before had giuen them.* Whereby we ſee how moſt Chriſtian minds

* ἔργον τὸ μέγα καὶ καλὸν τίμιον. τῶν γὰρ τοιούτου ἡ θεωρία θαυμαστή. *Ariſt. Eth. 4. ca. 2.*

τὴ ἀιδίῳ σει καλὰ καὶ νοήσει καλῶν εἰκόνες. *Philo. Iud.*

[a] *Felix theſauri imperialis quæſtor conſpicatus ſacrorum vaſorũ pretia, En inquit qualibus vaſis miniſtratur Maria filio. Theodoret. hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 3. cap. 12.*

[b] *Eccleſ. 39. 34*

[c] *Agg. 2. 5. 10.*

[d] *Minut. Fel. in Octau.*

[e] *Euſeb. lib. 8. cap. 1.*

[f] *Euſeb. lib. 8. cap. 3.*

[g] *Euſeb. lib. 10. cap. 2.*

mindes ſtood then affected, we ſee how ioyfull they were to behold the ſumptuous ſtatelines of houſes built vnto Gods glory. If we ſhould, ouer and beſides this, alleage the care which was had, that all things about the Tabernacle of Moſes might be as bewtifull, gorgeous and rich, as arte could make them, or what trauaile and coſt was beſtowed that the goodlines of the Temple might be a ſpectacle of admiration to all the world; this they will ſay was figuratiue and ſerued by Gods appointment but for a time, to ſhadow out the true euerlaſting glorie of a more diuine Sanctuarie, whereinto Chriſt being long ſithence entered, it ſeemeth that all thoſe curious exornations ſhould rather ceaſe. Which thing we alſo our ſelues would graunt, if the vſe thereof had bene meerely and only myſticall. But ſith the Prophet Dauid doth mention a naturall conueniencie which ſuch kinde of bounteous expences haue, as well for that we do thereby giue vnto God a teſtimonie of our [a] cheerefull affection which thinketh nothing too deere to be beſtowed about the furniture of his ſeruice; as alſo becauſe it ſerueth to the world for a witnes of his [b] almightines, whome we outwardly honor with the chiefeſt of outward things, as being of all things himſelfe incomparablie the greateſt. Beſides, were it not alſo ſtrange, if God ſhould haue made ſuch ſtore of glorious creatures on earth, and leaue them all to be conſumed in ſecular vanitie, allowing none but the baſer ſort to be imployed in his owne ſeruice? To ſet forth the [c] maieſtie of Kings his Vicegerents in this world the moſt gorgeous and rare treaſures which the world hath are procured. We thinke [d] belike that he will accept what the meaneſt of them would diſdaine. If there be great care to build and bewtifie theſe corruptible Sanctuaries, little or none that the liuing temples of the holie Ghoſt, the deerely redeemed ſoules of the people of God may be edified; huge expences vpon timber and ſtone, but towards the reliefe of the poore ſmall deuotion; Coſt this way infinite, and in the meane while Charitie colde; wee haue in ſuch caſe iuſt occaſion to make complaint as [e] S. Ierome did, *The walles of the Church there are enow conſented to build, and to vnderſet it with goodly pillers, the marbles are poliſhed, the roofes ſhine with gold, the alter hath precious ſtones to adorne it: and of Chriſts Miniſters, no choice at all.* The ſame Ierome both in that place and [f] elſewhere debaceth with like intent the glory of ſuch magnificence (a thing whereunto mens affection in thoſe times needed no ſpurre) thereby to extoll the neceſſitie ſometimes of charitie and almes, ſometimes of other the moſt principall duties belonging vnto Chriſtian men, which duties were neither ſo highly eſteemed as they ought, and being compared with that in queſtion, the directeſt ſentence we can giue of them both, as vnto me it ſeemeth, is this, *God who requireth the one as neceſſary, accepteth the other alſo as being an honorable worke.*

[a] 1. Chro. 28. 14

[b] 2. Chro. 2. 5.

[c] Math. 6. 29.

[d] Mala. 1. 8.

[e] Ad Nepotian. de vita clerii.

[f] Ad Demetriad. epiſt. 22. ad Gaudentium.

16 Our opinion concerning the force and vertue which ſuch places haue is, I truſt, without any blemiſh or ſtaine of hereſie. Churches receiue as euery thing els their chiefe perfection frō the end whereunto they ſerue. Which end being the publique worſhip of God, they are in this conſideration houſes of greater dignitie, then any prouided for meaner purpoſes. For which cauſe they ſeeme after a ſort euen to mourne, as being iniuried and defrauded of their right, whē

What holines and vertue we aſcribe to the Church more then other places.

places not ſanctified as they are, preuent them *vnneceſſarily* in that preeminence and honor. Whereby alſo it doth come to paſſe, that the ſeruice of God hath not then it ſelfe *ſuch perfection of grace and comlines*, as when the dignitie of place which it wiſheth for doth concurre. Againe, albeit the true worſhip of God be to God in it ſelfe acceptable; who reſpecteth not ſo much in what place, as with what affection he is ſerued; and therefore Moſes in the midſt of the Sea, Iob on the dunghill, Ezechias in bed, Ieremy in mire, Ionas in the Whale, Daniel in the denne, the Children in the fornace, the thiefe on the Croſſe, Peter and Paul in priſon calling vnto God were heard, as [a] S. Baſil noteth: manifeſt notwithſtanding it is, that the very maieſtie and holines of the place, where God is worſhipped, hath *in regard of vs* great vertue, force and efficacie, for that it ſerueth as a ſenſible help to ſtirre vp deuotion, and *in that reſpect* no doubt *bettereth* euen our holieſt and beſt actions in this kinde. As therefore we euery where exhort all men to worſhip God, euen ſo for performance of this ſeruice by the people of God aſſembled, we thinke not any place *ſo good* as the Church, neither any exhortation ſo fit as that of Dauid, [b] *O worſhip the Lord in the bewtie of holines.*

a *Exhort. ad bapt. & panitent.*

b *Pſal. 96. 9.*

Their pretenſe that would haue Churches vtterly razed.

17 For of our Churches thus it becommeth vs to eſteeme, howſoeuer others rapt with the pang of a furious zeale do powre out againſt them deuout blaſphemies, crying [c] *Downe with them, downe with them euen to the very ground, For to idolatry they haue bene abuſed. And the places where idols haue bene worſhipped are by* [d] *the Law of God deuote to vtter deſtruction. For execution of which Law the* [e] *Kings that were godly, as Aſa, Iehoſaphat, Ezechia, Ioſiah deſtroyed all the high places, altars, groues which had bene erected in Iuda and Iſrael. He that ſaid, Thou ſhalt haue no other Gods before my face, hath likewiſe ſaid, Thou ſhalt vtterly deface and deſtroy all theſe Sinagogues and places where ſuch idols haue bene worſhipped. This law conteineth the temporall puniſhment which God hath ſet downe, and will that men execute, for the breach of the other law. They which ſpare them therefore do but reſerue, as the hypocrite Saul did, execrable things, to worſhip God withall.* The truth is, that as no man ſerueth God, and loueth him not; ſo neither can any man ſincerely loue God, and not extremely abhor that ſinne, which is the higheſt degree of treaſon againſt the ſupreme guide and monarch of the whole world, with whoſe diuine authoritie and power it inueſteth others. By meanes whereof the ſtate of idolators is two wayes miſerable. Firſt in that which they worſhip [f] they finde no ſuccor; and ſecondly at his hands whome they ought to ſerue, there is no other thing to be looked for but the effects of moſt iuſt diſpleaſure, the [g] withdrawing of grace, [h] dereliction in this world, and in the world to come [i] confuſion. [k] Paul and Barnabas, when Infidels admiring their vertues went about to ſacrifice vnto them, rent their garments in token of horror, and as frighted perſons ranne crying through the preaſe of the people, *O men, wherefore do ye theſe things?* They knew the force of that dreadfull [l] curſe whereunto idolatrie maketh ſubiect. Nor is there cauſe why the guilty ſuſtaining the ſame ſhould grudge or complaine of iniuſtice. For whatſoeuer euill befalleth in that reſpect, [m] them ſelues haue made themſelues worthie to ſuffer it. As for thoſe things either *whereon* or els *wherewith* ſuperſtition worketh, polluted they are by ſuch *abuſe*, and depriued of that dignitie which their nature delighteth in.

c *Pſal. 137. 7.*
d *Deut. 12. 2.*
e *2. Chro. 17. 6. 2. Chro. 29. 2. Chro. 3.*
f *Iſa. 8. 21. 45. 20. Hoſ. 14. 4. Iſa. 41. 24.*
g *Pſal. 115. 8. 81. 13. Rom. 1. 24.*
h *Iudic. 6. 13.*
i *Apoc. 21. 8. Iſa. 2. 21.*
k *Act. 14. 14.*
l *Deut. 28. 20.*
m *Iere. 2. 17.*

For

For there is nothing which doth not grieue and as it were euen loath it ſelfe whenſoeuer iniquitie cauſeth it to ſerue vnto vile purpoſes. Idolatrie therefore maketh whatſoeuer it toucheth the worſe. Howbeit, ſith creatures which haue no vnderſtanding can ſhew no will; and where no will is, there is no ſinne; and only that which ſinneth is ſubiect to *puniſhment*; which way ſhould any ſuch creature be *puniſhable* by the law of God? There may be cauſe ſometimes to *aboliſh*, or to *extinguiſh* them. But ſurely neuer by way of puniſhment *to the things themſelues*. Yea farther howſoeuer the law of Moſes did puniſh Idolators, we finde not that God hath appointed for vs any definite or *certaine temporall iudgement* which the Chriſtian Magiſtrate *is of neceſsitie for euer* bound to exeeute vpon *offendors* in that kinde, much leſſe vpon *things* that way *abuſed* as meere *inſtruments*. For what God did commaund touching Canaan, the ſame concerneth not vs any otherwiſe then only as a fearefull paterne of his iuſt diſpleaſure and wrath againſt ſinfull nations. It teacheth vs how *God thought good* to plague and afflict them. It doth not appoint in what forme and manner *we ought* to puniſh the ſinne of idolatrie *in all others*. Vnleſſe they will ſay, that becauſe the Iſraelites were commanded to make no couenant with the people of that land, therefore leagues and truces made betweene ſuperſtitious perſons and ſuch as ſerue God aright are vnlawfull altogether; or becauſe God commanded the Iſraelites to ſmite the inhabitants of Canaan, and to roote them out, that therefore reformed Churches are bound to put all others to the edge of the ſword. Now whereas [a] *Commandement* was alſo giuen to deſtroy *all places* where the Cananites had ſerued their Gods, and not to conuert any one of them to the honor of the true God: *this precept had reference vnto a ſpeciall intent* and purpoſe, which was, that there ſhould be *but one only place* in the whole land, whereunto the people might bring ſuch offerings, gifts, and ſacrifices, as their *Leuiticall* law did require. By which law, ſeuere charge was giuen them in that reſpect not to conuert *thoſe places* to the worſhip of the liuing God, where Nations before them had ſerued idols, [b] *But to ſeeke the place which the Lord their God ſhould chooſe out of all their tribes*. Beſides, it is reaſon we ſhould likewiſe conſider how great a difference there is betweene their proceedings, who erect a new Common-wealth, which is to haue neither people nor law; neither regiment nor religion the ſame that was; and theirs who only reforme a decayed eſtate by reducing it to that perfection from which it hath ſwarued. In this caſe we are to retaine as much, in the other as little of former things as we may. Sith therefore examples haue not *generally* the force of lawes which all men ought to keepe, but of counſels only and perſwaſions not amiſſe to be followed by them whoſe caſe is the like, ſurely where caſes are ſo vnlike as theirs and ours, I ſee not how that which they did ſhould induce, much leſſe any way enforce vs to the ſame practiſe, eſpecially conſidering, that *groues* and *hill altars* were, while they did remaine, both dangerous in regard of the ſecret acceſſe which people ſuperſtitiouſly giuen might haue alwayes thereunto with eaſe, neither could they remaining ſerue with any fitneſſe vnto better purpoſe: whereas our Temples (their former abuſe being by order of law remoued) are not only free from ſuch perill, but withall ſo conueniently framed for the people of God to ſerue and honor him therein, that no man beholding

[a] *Deut. 12. 3.*

[b] *Deut. 12. 4. 5.*

them, can chooſe but thinke it exceeding great pittie they ſhould be euer any otherwiſe imployed. Yea but the Cattle of Amalek you will ſay were *fit* for ſacrifice, and this was the very conceipt which ſometime deceiued Saul. It was ſo. Nor do I any thing doubt but that Saul vpon this conceipt might euen lawfully haue offered to God thoſe reſerued ſpoiles, had not the Lord *in that particular caſe* giuen *ſpeciall charge* to the contrarie. As therefore notwithſtanding the commandement of Iſraell to deſtroy Cananites, idolaters may be conuerted and liue: So the Temples which haue ſerued idolatrie as inſtruments may be ſanctified againe and continue, albeit to Iſraell commandement haue bene giuen that *they* ſhould deſtroy all idolatrous places *in their land*; and to the good Kings of Iſrael commendation for fulfilling, to the euill for diſobeying the ſame commandement ſometimes puniſhment, alwayes ſharp and ſeuere reproofe hath euen from the Lord him ſelfe befallen. Thus much it may ſuffice to haue written in defenſe of thoſe Chriſtian oratories, the ouerthrow and ruine whereof is deſired, not now by Infidels, Pagans, or Turks, but by a ſpeciall refined ſect of Chriſtian beleeuers, pretending themſelues exceedingly grieued at our ſolemnities in erecting Churches, at the names which we ſuffer them to hold, at their forme and faſhion, at the ſtatelines of them and coſtlines, at the opinion which we haue of them, and at the manifold ſuperſtitious abuſes whereunto they haue bene put.

Of publique teaching, or preaching, and the firſt kind thereof catechiſing.

18 Places of publique reſort being thus prouided for, our repaire thither is eſpecially for mutuall conference, and as it were commerce to be had betweene God and vs. Becauſe therefore want [a] of the knowledge of God is the cauſe of all iniquitie amõgſt men, as contrariwiſe the very ground of all our happines and the ſeed of whatſoeuer perfect vertue groweth from vs, is a right opinion touching things diuine, this kinde of knowledge we may iuſtly ſet downe for the firſt and chiefeſt thing which God imparteth vnto his people, and our dutie of receiuing this at his mercifull hands for the firſt of thoſe religious offices wherewith we publiquely honor him on earth. For the inſtruction therefore of all ſorts of men to eternall life it is neceſſarie, that the ſacred and ſauing truth of God be openly publiſhed vnto them. Which open publication of *heauenly myſteries* is by an excellencie termed *preaching*. For otherwiſe there is not any thing *publiquely notified*, but we may in that reſpect, rightly and properly ſay it is [b] *preached*. So that when the ſchoole of God doth vſe it as *a word of arte*, we are accordingly to vnderſtand it with reſtraint to ſuch ſpeciall matter as that ſchoole is accuſtomed to publiſh. We finde not in the world any people that hath liued altogether without religion. And yet this dutie of religion, which prouideth that publiquely all ſorts of men may be inſtructed in the feare of God, is to the Church of God and hath bene alwaies ſo peculiar, that none of the Heathens how [c] curious ſoeuer in ſearching out all kindes of outward Ceremonies like to ours, could euer once ſo much as endeuor to reſemble *herein* the Churches care for the endleſſe good of her children. Waies of teaching there haue bene ſundry alwayes vſuall in Gods Church. For the firſt introduction of youth, to the knowledge of God, [d] the Iewes euen till this day

[a] *Contraria fortia in quibus homines ſibi inuicem opponuntur ſecundum exercitia & deſideria & opiniones, omnia prouenerunt ex ignorantia: ſicut eadem ex priuatione ſui obiecti vagatur vbique & ladit ur. Scientia veritatis tollit hominum inimicitiam & odium. Hoc promiſit ſancta theologia dicens* [b] *Habitabit agnus cum lupo. Et aſſignat rationem, Repleta eſt terra ſapientia Domini. Moſes Aegyptius in Mor. Hannebuch. lib. 3. cap. 12.*

[b] *Luc. 8. 39. 12. 3.*

[c] *Vide Tertul. de præſcr. aduerſ. har.*

[d] The Iewes *Catech.* called *Lekach Tob.*

day haue their Catechiſmes. With religion it fareth as with other Sciences. The firſt deliuerie of the elements thereof muſt, for [a] like conſideration, be framed according to the weake and ſlender capacitie of young beginners: vnto which manner of teaching principles in Chriſtianitie, the Apoſtle in the ſixt to the Hebrues is himſelfe vnderſtood to allude. For this cauſe therefore, as the Decalogue of Moſes declareth ſummarily thoſe things which we ought to do; the prayer of our Lord whatſoeuer we ſhould requeſt or deſire: ſo either by the [b] Apoſtles, or at the leaſtwiſe out of their writings, we haue the ſubſtance of Chriſtian beliefe compendiouſly drawne into few and ſhort articles, to the end that the weakenes of no mans wit might either hinder *altogether* the knowledge, or excuſe the vtter ignorance of needefull things. Such as were trayned vp in theſe rudiments, and were ſo made fit to be afterwards by Baptiſme receiued into the Church, the Fathers vſually in their writings do tearme [c] *Hearers*, as hauing no farther communion or fellowſhip with the Church then only this, that they were admitted to heare the principles of Chriſtian faith made plaine vnto them. Catechiſing may be in ſchooles, it may be in priuate families. But when we make it a kinde of preaching we meane alwayes the publique performance thereof in the open hearing of men, becauſe things are preacht not in that they are taught, but in that they are publiſht.

a *Incipientibus breuius ac ſimplicius tradi præcepta magis conuenit. Aut enim difficultate inſtitutionis tam numeroſa atque perplexa deterrerentur, aut ex tempore quo præcipue alenda ingenia atque indulgentia quadam enutrienda ſunt aſperiorum rerum tractatu atterentur. Fab. proem. lib. 8. Incipientibus nobis exponere iura populi Romani, ita videntur poſſe tradi commodiſſime, ſi primo leuis ac ſimplex via, poſt deinde diligentiſſima atque exactiſſima interpretatione ſingula tradantur. Alioqui ſi ſtatim ab initio rudem adhuc & infirmum animum ſtudioſi multitudine ac varietate rerum oneraueriuus, duorum alterum, aut deſertorem ſtudiorum afficiemus, aut cum magno labore eius, ſæpe etiam cum diffidentia (qua plerumque iuuenes auertit) ſerius ad id perducemus ad quod leuiore via ductum ſine magno labore & ſine illa diffidentia maturius perduci potuiſſet. Inſtitu. Imper. lib. 1. tit. 1.* b *Vide Ruff. in Symb.*

c *Tertul. de paniten. An alius eſt tinctio Chriſtus, alius Audientibus? Audientes optare intinctionem non præſumere oportet. Cypri. epiſt. 17. lib. 3. Audientibus vigilantia veſtra non deſit. Rupert. de diuin. offic. lib. 4. ca. 18. Audiens quiſque regulam fidei Catechumenus dicitur. Catechumenus namque Auditor interpretatur.*

19 Moſes and the Prophets, Chriſt and his Apoſtles were in their times all preachers of Gods truth; ſome by word, ſome by writing, ſome by both. This they did partly as faithfull *witneſſes*, making meere *relation* what God himſelfe had *reuealed* vnto them; and partly as carefull *expounders*, teachers, perſwaders thereof. The Church in like caſe *preacheth* ſtill, firſt publiſhing by way of *teſtimonie* or relation the truth which from them ſhe hath receyued euen in ſuch ſort as it was receiued *written in the ſacred volumes of ſcripture*; ſecondly by way of *explication*, diſcouering the myſteries which lye hid therein. The Church as a witneſſe preacheth his meere reuealed truth by *reading* publiquely the ſacred ſcripture. So that a ſecond kind of preaching is the reading of holy writ. For thus we may the bouldlier ſpeake, being ſtrengthned [d] with the example of ſo reuerend a Prelate as ſaith, that *Moſes* from the time of auncient generations and ages long ſince paſt had amongſt the Cities of the very Gentiles them that preached him, *in that* he was read euery Sabboth day. For ſo of neceſſitie it muſt be meant, in as much as we know that the Iewes haue alwaies had their weekely readings of the *law of Moſes*; but that they alwayes had in like maner their weekely *ſermons vpon ſome part of the law of Moſes* we no where finde. Howbeit ſtill we muſt heere remember, that the Church by her publique reading of the booke of God preacheth only *as a witneſſe*. Now the principall thing required in a witneſſe is fidelitie. Wherefore as we cannot excuſe that Church, which either through corrupt tranſlations of Scripture deliuereth in ſtead of diuine ſpeeches any thing repugnant vn-

Of preaching by reading publiquely the bookes of holie Scripture; and concerning ſuppoſed vntruthes in thoſe tranſlations of Scripture which we allow to be read; as alſo of the choice which wee make in reading.

d *Act. 15. 21.*

to that which God ſpeaketh; or, through falſified additions, propoſeth that to the people of God as ſcripture which is in truth no ſcripture: So the blame which in both theſe reſpects hath bene laid vpon the Church of England, is ſurely altogether without cauſe. Touching tranſlations of holy Scripture, albeit we may not diſallow of their painefull trauailes herein, who ſtrictly haue tied them ſelues to the very originall letter, yet the iudgement of the Church, as we ſee by the practiſe of all nations, Greekes, Latines, Perſians, Syrians, Æthiopians, Arabians, hath bene euer that the fitteſt for publique audience are ſuch as following a middle courſe betweene the rigor of literall tranſlators and the libertie of paraphraſts, do with greateſt ſhortnes and plainenes deliuer the meaning of the holy Ghoſt. Which being a labor of ſo great difficultie, the exact performance thereof we may rather wiſh then looke for. So that, except betweene the *words of tranſlation* and the *minde of the ſcripture* it ſelfe there be *Contradiction*, euery little difference ſhould not ſeeme an intollerable blemiſh neceſſarily to be ſpunged out. Whereas therefore the [a] Prophet Dauid in a certaine Pſalme doth ſay concerning Moſes and Aaron, that they *were* obedient to the word of God, and in the ſelfe ſame place our allowed tranſlation ſaith they *were not* obedient; we are for this cauſe chalenged as manifeſt gainſayers of ſcripture, euen in that which we read for ſcripture vnto the people. But for as much as words are reſemblances of that which the minde of the ſpeaker conceiueth, and conceipts are images repreſenting that which is ſpoken of, it followeth that they who will iudge of words, ſhould haue recourſe to the things them ſelues from whence they riſe. In ſetting downe that miracle at the ſight whereof Peter fell downe aſtonied before the feete of Ieſus and cryed *Depart Lord I am a ſinner*, the [b] Euangeliſt S. Luke ſayth the ſtore of the fiſh which they tooke was ſuch that the net they tooke it in *brake*, and the ſhips which they loaded therewith ſunke; [c] Saint Iohn recording the like miracle ſaith, that albeit the fiſhes in number were ſo many, yet the net with ſo great a waight was *not broken*. Suppoſe they had written both of one miracle. Although there be in their words a manifeſt ſhew of iarre; yet none, if we looke vpon the difference of matter, with regard whereunto they might both haue ſpoken euen of one miracle, the very ſame which they ſpake of diuers, the one intending thereby to ſignifie that the greatnes of the burthen exceeded the naturall habilitie of the inſtruments which they had to beare it; the other that the weakenes thereof was ſupported by a ſupernaturall and miraculous addition of ſtrength. The nets as touching them ſelues *brake*, but through the power of God they *held*. Are not the words of the [d] Prophet Micheas touching Bethleem, Thou Bethleem *the leaſt?* And doth not the very [e] Euangeliſt tranſlate theſe words, Thou Bethleem *not the leaſt?* the one regarding the quantitie of the place, the other the dignitie. Micheas attributeth vnto it ſmallnes in reſpect of circuit; Mathew greatnes, in regard of honor and eſtimation, by being the natiue ſoile of our Lord and Sauiour Chriſt. Sith therefore ſpeeches which gainſay one another muſt of neceſſitie be applied both vnto one and the ſame ſubiect; ſith they muſt alſo the one affirme, the other denie the ſelfe-ſame thing: what neceſſitie of contradiction can there be betweene the letter of the Prophet Dauid, and our authorized tranſlation thereof, if the vnderſtanding *Moſes and Aaron* do ſay *They* were not *diſobedient*; we applying our ſpeech to *Pharao and the Egiptians*, do ſay of them *They* were not *obedient*? Or (which

the

a *Pſal.105.28.*

b *Luc.5.6.7.*

c *Iohn.21.11.*

d *Mich.5.2.*

e *Math.2.6.*

the matter it ſelfe will eaſily enough likewiſe ſuffer) if the Ægiptians being meant by both, it be ſaid that *they*, in regard of [a] their offer to let go the people, when they ſaw the fearefull darkenes, *diſobeyed not* the word of the Lord; and yet that they *did not obey* his word, in as much as the ſheepe and Cattle at the ſelfe ſame time they withheld. Of both tranſlations the better I willingly acknowledge that which commeth neerer to the very letter of the originall veritie: yet ſo that the other may likewiſe ſafely enough be read, without any perill at all of gaineſaying as much as the leaſt iot or ſyllable of Gods moſt ſacred and precious truth. Which truth as in this we do not violate, ſo neither is the ſame gainſayed or croſt, no not in thoſe very preambles placed before certaine readings, wherein the ſteps of the latine ſeruice booke haue bene ſomewhat too neerely followed. As when we ſay Chriſt ſpake [b] *to his diſciples* that which the Goſpell declareth he ſpake [c] *vnto the Phariſees*. For doth the Goſpell affirme he ſpake to the Phariſees *only?* doth it meane that they and beſides them no man els was at that time ſpoken vnto by our Sauiour Chriſt? If not, then is there in this diuerſitie no contrarietie. I ſuppoſe it ſomewhat probable, that S. Iohn and S. Mathew which haue recorded thoſe Sermons heard them, and being hearers did thinke them ſelues as well reſpected as the Phariſees, in that which their Lord and Maiſter taught, concerning the paſtorall care he had ouer his owne flocke, and his offer of grace made to the whole world, which things are the matter whereof he treateth in thoſe ſermons. Wherefore as yet there is nothing found, wherein we read for the word of God that which may be condemned as repugnant vnto his word. Furthermore ſomewhat they are diſpleaſed in that we follow not the method of reading which [d] in their iudgement is moſt commendable, the method vſed in ſome forreine Churches, where ſcriptures are read *before* the time of diuine ſeruice, and without either *choice* or *ſtint appointed* by any *determinate* order. Neuertheleſſe, till ſuch time as they ſhall vouchſafe vs ſome iuſt and ſufficient reaſon to the contrary, we muſt by their patience, if not allowance, reteine the [e] auncient receiued cuſtome which we now obſerue. For with vs the reading of Scripture in the Church is a part of our Church Litourgie, a ſpeciall portion of the ſeruice which we do to God, and not an exerciſe to ſpend the time, when one doth waite for an others comming, till the aſſemblie of them that ſhall afterwards worſhip him be complete. Wherefore as the forme of our publique ſeruice is not voluntarie, ſo neither are the parts thereof left vncertaine, but they are all ſet downe in ſuch order, & with ſuch choice, as hath in the wiſedome of the Church ſeemed beſt to concurre as well with the ſpeciall occaſions, as with the generall purpoſe which we haue to glorifie God.

[a] *Exod.* 10. 24.

[b] The Goſpell on the ſecond Sunday after Eaſter, and on the 20. after Trinitie.

[c] *Iohn.* 10. 11. *Math.* 22. 1.

[d] T. C. lib. 2. pag. 381. Although it be very conuenient which is vſed in ſome Churches, where before preaching time the Church aſſembled hath the ſcriptures read; yet neither is this nor any other order of bare publique reading in the Church neceſſarie. h. d.

[e] *Aug. de ciuit. Dei. lib.* 22. *ca.* 8. *Facto ſilentio ſcripturarum ſunt lecta diuina ſolennia.* That for ſeuerall times ſeuerall peeces of Scripture were read as parts of the ſeruice of the Greeke Church, the Fathers thereof in their ſundry Homilies and other writings do all teſtifie. The like order in the Syrian Churches is cleere by the very inſcriptions of Chapters throughout their tranſlation of the new Teſtament. See the edition at Vienna, Paris, and Antwerp.

20 Other publique readings there are of bookes and writings not Canonicall, whereby the Church doth alſo preach, or openly make knowne the doctrine of vertuous conuerſation: whereupon beſides thoſe things in regard whereof we are thought to reade the ſcriptures of God amiſſe, it is thought amiſſe that we reade in our Churches any thing at all beſides the ſcriptures. To exclude the reading of any ſuch profitable inſtruction as the Church hath deuiſed for the better vnderſtanding of ſcripture, or for the eaſier trayning vp of the

Of preaching by the publique reading of other profitable inſtructions; and concerning bookes Apocryphall.

the people in holines and righteousnes of life, they [a] pleade that God in the lawe would haue *nothing* brought into the Temple, neither besoms, nor fleshhookes, nor trumpets, but those only which were sanctified; that for the expounding of darker places we *ought* to follow the Iewes * politie, who vnder Antiochus where they had not the commoditie of sermons, appointed always at their meetings somewhat out of the Prophets to be read together with the law, and so by the one made the other playner to be vnderstood; that before and after our Sauiours comming they neither read *Onkeloes* nor *Ionathans* paraphrase though hauing both, but contented them selues [b] with the reading only of scriptures; that if in the Primitiue Church there had bene any thing read besides the monuments of the Prophets and Apostles, [c] Iustin Martyr and Origen who mention these, would haue spoken of the other likewise; that [d] the most auncient and best Councels forbid any thing to be read in Churches sauing Canonicall scripture only; that when [e] other things were afterwards permitted, [f] fault was found with it, it succeeded but ill, the Bible it selfe was thereby in time quite and cleane thrust out. Which arguments, if they be only brought in token of the authors good will and meaning towards the cause which they would set forward, must accordingly be accepted of by them who already are perswaded the same way. But if their drift and purpose be to perswade others, it would be demaunded by what rule the legall *hallowing* of besomes and fleshhookes must needes exclude all other readings in the Church saue Scripture. Things sanctified were thereby in such sort appropriated vnto God, as that they might neuer afterwards againe be made common. For which cause the Lord to signe and marke them as his owne, [g] appointed oyle of holy oyntment, the like whereunto it was not lawfull to make for ordinarie and dayly vses. Thus the [h] anointing of Aaron and his sonnes tyed them to the office of the priesthood for euer; the annointing, not of those siluer trumpets (which [i] Moses as well for secular as sacred vses was commanded to make, not to sanctifie) but the vnction of the [k] tabernacle, the table, the lauor, the altar of God, with all the instruments appertaining thereunto, this made them for euer holie vnto him in whose seruice they were imployed. But what of this? Doth it hereupon follow that all things now in the Church from the greatest *to the least* are vnholie, which the Lord hath not himselfe precisely instituted? For so [l] those rudiments they say do import. Then is there nothing holie which the Church by hir authoritie hath appointed, and consequently all positiue ordinances that euer were made by ecclesiasticall power touching spirituall affaires are prophane, they are vnholie. I would not wish them to vndertake a worke so desperate as to proue, that for the peoples instruction no kind of reading is good, but only that which the Iewes deuised vnder Antiochus, although euen that be also mistaken. For according to [m] Elias the Leuite (out of whome it doth seeme borrowed) the thing which Antiochus forbad was the publique *reading* of the lawe, and not *Sermons* vpon the Lawe. Neither did the Iewes reade a portion of the Prophets together with the Law to serue for an interpretation thereof, because

[a] T.C.lib.1. pa.196. Neither the Homilies nor the Apocrypha are at all to be read in the Church. VVherein first it is good to consider the order which the Lord kept with his people in times past, when he commanded *Exod. 30.29.* that no vessell, nor no instrumēt, either besome or fleshhooke or pan should once come into the Temple, but those only which were sanctified and set apart for that vse. And in the booke of Numbers, he will haue no other trumpets blowne to call the people together but those only which were set apart for that purpose. *Numb.10.2.*

* T.C.1 p.197. Besides this, the politie of the Church of God in times past is to be followed, &c.

[b] *Act.13.15. Act.15.21.*

[c] *Iustin. Apol.2 Origen.hom.1. super Exod. & in Iudic.*

[d] *Concil. Laod. ca.59.*

[e] *Concil. Vasens.2.*

[f] *Concil. Colen. par.2.*

[g] *Exod.30.25. 32.*

[h] *Exod.40.15.*

[i] *Numb.10.2.*

[k] *Exod.27.3. & 30.26.27. 28.*

[l] T.C.lib.1. pa.197. The Lord would by these rudiments and pædagogie teach, that he would haue nothing brought into the Church but that which he had appointed.

[m] *Elias Thesb. in Verbo Patar.*

becauſe Sermons were not permitted them; but *inſtead* of the law which they might not reade *openly*, they read of the Prophets that which in likeneſſe of matter came neereſt to each ſection of their law. Whereupon when afterwards the libertie of reading the [a] law was reſtored, the ſelfe ſame cuſtome [b] as touching the Prophets did continue ſtill. If neither the Iewes haue vſed publiquely to reade their Paraphraſts, [c] nor the Primitiue Church for a long time any other writings then ſcripture, except the cauſe of their not doing it were ſome law of God or reaſon forbidding them to do that which we do, why ſhould the later ages of the Church be depriued of the libertie the former had? Are we bound while the world ſtandeth to put nothing in practiſe but only that which was at the very firſt? Concerning the Councell of *Laodicea*, as it forbiddeth the reading of thoſe things which are not Canonicall, ſo it maketh [d] ſome things not Canonicall which are. Their iudgement in this we may not, and in that we neede not follow. We haue by thus many yeares experience found, that exceeding great good, not incumbred with any notable inconuenience, hath growne by the cuſtome which we now obſerue. As for the harme whereof iudicious men haue complained in former times; it came not of this, that other things were red beſides the ſcripture, but that ſo euill choice was made. With vs there is neuer any time beſtowed in diuine ſeruice without the reading of a great part of the holy ſcripture, which we accompt a thing moſt neceſſarie. We dare not admit any ſuch forme of Liturgie as either appointeth no ſcripture at all, or very little to be read in the Church. And therefore the thruſting of the Bible out of the houſe of God is rather there to be feared, where men eſteeme it a matter [e] ſo indifferent, whether the ſame be by ſolemne appointmēt read publiquely, or not read, the bare text excepted which the Preacher happely chooſeth out to expound. But let vs heere conſider what the practiſe of our Fathers before vs hath bene, and how farre-forth the ſame may be followed. We finde that in ancient times there was puliquely read firſt the [f] ſcripture, as namely, ſome thing out of the bookes of the [g] Prophets of God which were of old; ſomething out of [h] the Apoſtles writings; and laſtly out of the holy [i] Euangeliſts, ſomethings which touched the perſon of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt himſelfe. The cauſe of their reading firſt the old Teſtament, then the new, and alwaies ſomewhat out of both, is moſt likely to haue bene that which Iuſtin Martyr and S. Auguſtine obſerue in comparing the two Teſtaments. [k] *The apoſtles* (ſaith the one) *haue taught vs as them ſelues did learne firſt the precepts of the law, and then the Goſpels. For what els is the Law but the Goſpell foreſhewed? What other the Goſpell then the law fulfild?* In like ſort the other, [l] *What the old Teſtament hath the very ſame the new conteineth, but that which lieth there as vnder a ſhadowe is heere brought forth into the open ſunne. Things there prefigured are heere performed.* Againe, *In the olde Teſtament there is a cloſe comprehenſion of the newe, in the newe an open diſcouerie of the olde.*

a *Act. 15. 21.*
b *Act. 13. 15.*
c T.C. lib. 1. pa. 197. This practiſe continued ſtill in the Churches of God after the Apoſtles times, as may appeare by the ſecond Apologie of Iuſtin Martyr. Idem pa. 198. it was decreed in the Councell of Laodicea, that nothing ſhould be read in the Church but the canonicall bookes of the old and new Teſtament. Afterward, as corruptions grew in the Church, the reading of homilies and of Martyrs liues was permitted. But beſides the euill ſucceſſe thereof, that vſe and cuſtome was controld, as may appeare by the Councell of Colen albeit otherwiſe popiſh. The bringing in of Homilies and Martyrs liues, hath thruſt the Bible cleane out of the Church, or into a corner.
d Th'apocalyps.
e T.C. lib. 2. pa. 381. It is vntrue that *ſimple reading* is neceſſary in the Church. A number of Churches which haue no ſuch order of ſimple reading, cannot be in this point charged with breach of Gods commandement, which they might be if ſimple reading were *neceſſary*. [By ſimple reading, he meaneth the cuſtome of bare reading more then the preacher at the ſame time expoundeth vnto the people.]
f *Coimus ad diuinarum literarū commemorationem. Tertul. Apologet. pa. 692.*
g *Iudaicarū hiſtoriarū libri traditi ſunt ab Apoſtolis legēdi in Eccleſijs. Orig. in Ioſ. ho. 15.*
h Πάντων δὲ πόλεις ἢ ἀγροὺς μιᾶς τοῦ ἡλίου ἡμέρᾳ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συλλεγομένων γίνεται, καὶ τὰ ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν ἀποστόλων, ἢ τὰ συγγράμματα τῶν προφητῶν ἀναγινώσκεται. *Iuſtin. apol. 2. pa. 162.*
Factum eſt vt oſtia die Dominica prophetica lectione iam lecta, ante altare adſtante qui lectionē S. Pauli proferret, beatiſſimus Antiſtes Ambroſius &c. Sulpit. Seuer. lib. 3. de vita S. Mart.
i *Vide Concil. Valen. 2. habitum an. D. 444. to. Concil. 2. pa. 19. Item Synod. Laod. c. 16. Cypr. lib. 2. ep. 5. & lib. 4. ep. 5. Ambroſ. lib. 1. Offic. ca. 8. & ep. 75. & lib. de Helia atque ieiunio ca. 20.*
k *Iuſt. quæſt. 101.*
l *Auguſt. quæſt. 33. in Numer.*

To

To be ſhort, the method of their publique readings either purpoſely did tend, or at the leaſtwiſe doth fitly ſerue, [a] *That from ſmaller things the minde of the hearers may go forward to the knowledge of greater, and by degrees clime vp from the loweſt to the higheſt things.* Now beſides the Scripture, the bookes which they called *Eccleſiaſticall*, were thought not vnworthie ſometime to be brought into publique audience, and with that name they entituled the bookes which we terme *Apocryphall*. Vnder the ſelfe ſame name they alſo compriſed certaine no otherwiſe annexed vnto the new, then the former to the old Teſtament, as a booke of Hermes, Epiſtles of Clement, and the like. According therefore to the phraſe of Antiquitie, theſe we may terme *the new*, and the other the *old Eccleſiaſticall* bookes or writings. For we being directed by a ſentence (I ſuppoſe) of S. Ierome, who ſaith that [b] *All writings not Canonicall are Apocryphall*, vſe not now the title *Apocryphall* as the reſt of the Fathers ordinarily haue done, whoſe cuſtome is ſo to name for the moſt part only ſuch as might not publiquely be read or diuulged. Ruffinus therefore hauing reherſed the ſelfe ſame bookes of Canonicall ſcripture, which with vs are held to be alone Canonicall, addeth immediately by way of caution, [c] *We muſt knowe that other bookes there are alſo which our forefathers haue vſed to name not Canonicall but Eccleſiaſticall bookes, as the booke of Wiſdome, Eccleſiaſticus, Tobie, Iudith, the Macabies in the old Teſtament; in the new the booke of Hermes, and ſuch others. All which bookes and writings they willed to be read in Churches, but not to be alleaged as if their authoritie did binde vs to build vpon them our faith. Other writings they named Apocryphall, which they would not haue read in Churches. Theſe things deliuered vnto vs from the Fathers, we haue in this place thought good to ſet downe.* So farre Ruffinus. He which conſidereth notwithſtanding what ſtore of falſe and forged writings dangerous vnto Chriſtian beliefe, and yet bearing [d] glorious inſcriptions, began ſoone vpon the Apoſtles times to be admitted into the Church, and to be honored as if they had bene indeede Apoſtolique, ſhall eaſily perceiue what cauſe the Prouinciall Synod of [e] *Laodicea* might haue *as then* to preuent eſpecially the danger of bookes made newly Eccleſiaſticall, and for feare of the fraude of Heretiques to prouide, that ſuch publique readings might be altogether taken out of Canonicall ſcripture. Which ordinance reſpecting but that abuſe that grew through the intermingling of leſſons humane with ſacred, at ſuch time as the one both affected the credit, and vſurped the name of the other (as by the Canon of [f] a later Councill prouiding remedie for the ſelfe ſame euill, and yet allowing the old Eccleſiaſticall bookes to be read, it doth more plainely and cleerely appeare) neither can be conſtrued, nor ſhould be vrged vtterly to preiudice our vſe of thoſe old Eccleſiaſticall writings; much leſſe of Homilies, which were a third kinde of readings vſuall in former times, a moſt commendable inſtitution as well then [g] to ſupplie the caſuall, as now the neceſſarie defect of Sermons. In the heate of generall perſecution whereunto Chriſtian beliefe was ſubiect, vpon the firſt promulgation thereof throughout the world, it much confirmed the courage and conſtancie of weaker mindes, when publique relation was made vnto them after what manner God had bene glorified through the ſufferings of Martyrs, famous amongſt them for holines during life, and at the time of their death admirable in all mens eyes, through miracu-

lous

[a] *Walfr. Strab. de rebus Eccleſiaſt. cap. 22.*

[b] *Hieron. in prolog. Galeat.*

[c] *Ruffin. in ſymbol. Apoſt. apud Cypr.*

[d] *Vide Gelaſ. in Decret. to. Concil. 2. p. 462.*

[e] *Circa an. D. 366.*

[f] *Concil. Carthag. 3. c. 47. Praeter ſcripturas canonicas nihil in Eccleſijs legatur ſub nomine diuinarum ſcripturarum. Circa an. D. 401.*

[g] *Concil. Vaſen. 2. habitum an. D. 444. to. Concil. 2. p. 19. Si preſbyter aliqua infirmitate prohibente per ſeipſum non poterit praedicare ſanctorum patrum homilia a Diaconibus recitentur.*

lous euidence of grace diuine aſſiſting them from aboue. For which cauſe the vertues of ſome being thought expedient to be annually had in remembrance aboue the reſt, this brought in [a] a fourth kinde of publique reading, whereby the liues of ſuch Saincts and Martyrs had at the time of their yearely memorials ſolemne recognition in the Church of God. The fond imitation of which laudable cuſtome being in later ages reſumed, when there was neither the like cauſe to do as the Fathers before had done; nor any care, conſcience, or wit in ſuch as vndertooke to performe that worke, ſome braineleſſe men haue by great labour and trauaile brought to paſſe, that the Church is now aſhamed of nothing more then of Saincts. If therefore Pope [b] Gelaſius did ſo long ſithence ſee thoſe defects of iudgement euen then, for which the reading of the acts of Martyrs ſhould be and was at that time forborne in the Church of Rome; we are not to maruaile that afterwards legends being growne in a manner to be nothing els but heapes of friuolous and ſcandalous vanities, they haue bene euen with diſdaine throwne out, the [c] very neſts which bred them abhorring them. We are not therefore to except only ſcripture, and to make confuſedly all the reſidue of one ſute, as if they who aboliſh legends could not without incongruitie reteine in the Church either Homilies, or thoſe old *Eccleſiaſticall bookes*, Which bookes in caſe my ſelfe did thinke, as ſome others do, ſafer and better to be left publiquely vnred, neuertheleſſe as in other things of like nature, euen ſo in this, [d] my priuate iudgement I ſhould be loth to oppoſe againſt the force of their reuerend authoritie, who rather conſidering the diuine excellencie of ſome things in all, and of all things in certaine of thoſe *Apocrypha* which we publiquely reade, haue thought it better to let them ſtand as a liſt or marginall border vnto the old Teſtament, and, though with diuine, yet as humane compoſitions to graunt at the leaſt vnto certaine of them publique audience in the houſe of God. For in as much as the due eſtimation of heauenly truth dependeth wholie vpon the knowne and approued authoritie of thoſe famous oracles of God, it greatly behoueth the Church to haue alwayes moſt eſpeciall care, leaſt through confuſed mixture at any time humane vſurp the roome and title of diuine writings. Wherefore albeit for the peoples [e] more plaine inſtruction (as the ancient vſe hath bene) we reade in our Churches certaine bookes beſides the ſcripture, yet as the ſcripture we reade them not. All men know our profeſſed opinion touching the difference whereby we ſeuer them from the ſcripture. And if any where it be ſuſpected that ſome or other will happily miſtake a thing ſo manifeſt in euery mans eye, there is no let but that as often as thoſe bookes are read, and neede ſo requireth, the ſtile of their difference may expreſſely be mentioned, to barre euen all poſſibilitie of error. It being then knowne that we hold not the Apocrypha for ſacred (as we do the holy ſcripture) but for humane compoſitions, the ſubiect whereof are ſundrie diuine matters, let there be reaſon ſhewed why to reade any part of them publiquely it ſhould be vnlawfull or hurtfull vnto the Church of God. I heare it ſaid that [f] *many things* in them are very *friuolous*, and vnworthy of publique audience; yea many contrary, *plainely contrary to the holy ſcripture*. Which hitherto is neither ſufficiently proued by him who ſaith it, and if the proofes thereof were ſtrong, yet the very allegation it ſelfe is weake. Let vs therefore ſuppoſe

a *Concil. Carthag. 3. can. 13. & Greg. Turon. de gloria mart. ca. 86. & Hadria. epiſt. ad Carol. magn.*

b *Gelaſ. circa an. D. 492. to. Concil. 2. pa. 461.*

c *Concil. Colonien. celebrat. an. D. 1536. part. 2. cap. 6. Melch. Can. locor. theol. lib. 11. Gu. de trad. diſc. lib. 5.*

d *In errorum barathrum faciliter ruunt, qui conceptus proprios patrum diffinitionibus anteponunt. c. Gu. de relig. do. in Extra.*

e *Hieron. præfa. ad libros Salom. Aug. de prad. Sanct. lib. 1. cap. 14. Præfat. gloſ. ord. & Lyr. ad prol. Hieron. in Tob.*

f *T. C. lib. 2. pag. 400. 401.*

ſuppoſe (for I will not demaund to what purpoſe it is that againſt our cuſtome of reading bookes not Canonicall they bring exceptions of matter in thoſe bookes which we neuer vſe to reade) ſuppoſe I ſay that what faults ſoeuer they haue obſerued throughout the paſſages of all thoſe bookes, the ſame in euery reſpect were ſuch as neither could be conſtrued, nor ought to be cenſured otherwiſe then euen as themſelues pretend: Yet as men through too much haſt oftentimes forget the errand whereabout they ſhould go: So heere it appeareth that an eager deſire to rake together whatſoeuer might preiudice or any way hinder the credit of Apocryphall bookes, hath cauſed the Collectors pen ſo to runne as it were on wheeles, that the minde which ſhould guide it had no leaſure to thinke, whether that which might happily ſerue to withhold from giuing them the authoritie which belongeth vnto ſacred Scripture, and to cut them of from the Canon, would as effectually ſerue to ſhut them altogether out of the Church, and to withdraw from graunting vnto them that publique vſe wherein they are only held as profitable for inſtruction. Is it not acknowledged that thoſe bookes are [a] *holie*, that they are *eccleſiaſticall* and *ſacred*, that to terme them *diuine* as being for their excellencie next vnto them which are properly ſo termed, is no way to honor them aboue deſert; yea euen that the whole Church of Chriſt as well *at the firſt* as *ſithence* hath moſt worthily approued their fitneſſe for the publique information of life and manners; is not thus much I ſay acknowledged, and that by them, who notwithſtanding receiue not the ſame for *any part of Canonicall ſcripture*, by them who denie not but that they are *faultie*, by them who are readie enough to giue inſtances wherein they ſeeme to conteyne matter *ſcarce agreeable with holy ſcripture?* So little doth ſuch their ſuppoſed faultines in moderate mens iudgement inforce the remouall of them out of the houſe of God, that ſtill they are iudged to reteine worthely thoſe very titles of commendation, then which there cannot greater be giuen to writings the authors whereof are men. As in truth if the ſcripture it ſelfe aſcribing to the perſons of men righteouſnes in regard of their manifold vertues, may not rightly be conſtrued as though it did thereby cleere them and make them quite free from all faults, no reaſon we ſhould iudge it abſurd to commend their writings as reuerend, holy and ſound, wherein there are ſo many ſingular perfections, only for that the exquiſite wits of ſome few peraduenture are able diſperſedly here and there to find now a word and then a ſentence which may be more probablie ſuſpected then eaſily cleered of error by vs which haue but coniecturall knowledge of their meaning. Againſt immodeſt inuectiues therefore whereby they are charged as being fraught with [b] *outragious lies*, we doubt not but their more allowable cenſure will preuaile, who without ſo paſſionate termes of diſgrace, do note a difference great enough betweene Apocryphall and other writings, a difference ſuch as [c] Ioſephus and Epiphanius obſerue: the one declaring that amongſt the Iewes bookes written after the dayes of Artaxerxes, were not of equall credit with them which had gone before, in as much as the Iewes ſithence that time had not the like exact ſucceſſion of Prophets; the [d] other acknowledging that they are *profitable*, although denying them to be *diuine* in ſuch conſtruction and ſenſe as the ſcripture it ſelfe is ſo termed. With what intent they were firſt publiſhed,

[a] *Harm. Confeſ. Sect. 1. Belg. con. art. 6 Lubert. de princip. Chriſt. dogm. lib. 1. c. 5.*

[b] The Nbell of *Metaphyſ. Schoolp. art. 34.*

[c] *Ioſeph cont. App. lib. 1.*

[d] *Epiph. in Anacyrot.* χρήσιμοι μέν ἐισι καὶ ὠφέλιμοι· ἀλλ' εἰς ἀριθμὸν γε τῶν ἁγίων οὐκ ἀναφέρονται.

publiſhed, thoſe words of the [a] nephew of Ieſus do plainely enough ſignifie, *After that my grandfather Ieſus had giuen himſelfe to the reading of the* Law *and the* Prophets *and* other bookes of our fathers, *and had* gotten therein *ſufficient iudgement, he* purpoſed *alſo to write ſomething* pertaining to learning and wiſedome, *to the intent* that they which were deſirous to learne, *and would giue themſelues to theſe things* might profit *much more in liuing according to the Law.* Their end in writing and ours in reading them is the ſame. The bookes of Iudith, Tobie, Baruk, Wiſdome, and Eccleſiaſticus, we reade as ſeruing moſt vnto that ende. The reſt we leaue vnto men in priuat. Neither can it be reaſonablie thought becauſe vpon certaine ſolemne occaſions ſome leſſons are choſen out of thoſe bookes, and of ſcripture it ſelfe ſome Chapters not appointed to be read at all, that we thereby do offer diſgrace to the word of God, or lift vp the writings of men aboue it. For in ſuch choice we do not thinke but that *fitneſſe* of ſpeech may be more reſpected then *worthineſſe*. If in that which we vſe to reade there happen by the way any clauſe, ſentence or ſpeech, that ſoundeth towards errour, ſhould the mixture of a little droſſe conſtraine the Church to depriue her ſelfe of ſo much gold rather then learne how by arte and iudgement to make ſeparation of the one from the other? To this effect very fitly from the counſell that S. Ierome giueth Læta of taking heed *how* ſhe read the *Apocrypha*, as alſo by the help of other learned mens iudgements deliuered in like caſe we may take direction. But ſurely the arguments that ſhould binde vs not to reade them or any part of them publiquely at all muſt be ſtronger then as yet we haue heard any.

[a] *Præf. ad libr. Eccleſ.*

21 We maruaile the leſſe that our reading of bookes not Canonicall is ſo much impugned, when ſo little is attributed vnto the reading of Canonicall ſcripture it ſelfe, that now it hath growne to be a queſtion, whether the *word of God* be any *ordinarie* meane to ſaue the ſoules of men, in that it is either priuately ſtudyed or publiquely read and ſo made knowne, or elſe only as the ſame is *preached* that is to ſay *explaned by liuely voice*, and *applied* to the peoples vſe *as the ſpeaker in his wiſedome* thinketh meete. For this alone is it which they vſe to call *preaching*. The publique reading of the Apocrypha they condemne altogether as a thing effectuall vnto euill; the *bare* reading *in like ſort* of whatſoeuer, yea euen of Scriptures themſelues, they miſlike, as a thing *vneffectuall* to do *that good*, which we are perſwaded may grow by it. Our deſire is in this preſent controuerſie, as in the reſt, not to be carried vp and downe with the waues of vncertaine arguments, but rather poſitiuely to leade on the mindes of the ſimpler ſort by plaine and eaſie degrees, till the very nature of the thing it ſelfe do make manifeſt what is truth. Firſt therefore becauſe whatſoeuer is ſpoken concerning the efficacie or neceſſitie of *Gods word*, the ſame they tye and reſtraine only vnto *Sermons*, howbeit not ſermons read neither (for ſuch they alſo abhorre in the Church) but ſermons without booke, ſermons which ſpend their life in their birth & may haue publique audiẽce but once: for this cauſe to auoid ambiguities wherwith they often intangle them ſelues, not marking what doth agree to the word of God in it ſelfe, and what in regard of outward accidents which may befall it, we are to know that the word of God is his heauẽly truth touching matters of eternall life reuealed & vttered vnto mẽ,

Of preaching by Sermons, and whether Sermons be the only ordinary way of teaching, whereby men are brought to the ſauing knowledge of Gods truth.

vnto Prophets and Apoſtles by immediate diuine inſpiration, from them to vs by their bookes & writings. We therfore haue no *word of God* but the Scripture. Apoſtolique Sermons were vnto ſuch as heard them his word euen as properly as to vs their writings are. Howbeit not ſo our owne ſermons, the expoſitions which our diſcourſe of wit doth gather and miniſter out of the word of God. For which cauſe in this preſent queſtion we are, when we name the *word of God*, alwaies to meane the *ſcripture only*. The ende of the word of God is *to ſaue*, and therefore we terme it *the word of life*. The way for all men to be ſaued is by the knowledge of that truth which the word hath taught. And ſith eternall life is a thing of it ſelfe communicable vnto all, it behoueth that the word of God the neceſſarie meane thereunto be ſo likewiſe. Wherefore the word of life hath bene alwaies a treaſure, though precious, yet eaſie, as well to attaine, as to finde, leaſt any man deſirous of life ſhould periſh through the difficultie of the way. To this end the word of God no otherwiſe ſerueth then only in the nature of a doctrinall inſtrument. It ſaueth becauſe it maketh *wiſe to ſalua-* 2.Tim.3.15. *tion*. Wherefore the ignorant it ſaueth not, they which liue by the word muſt know it. And being it ſelfe the inſtrument which God hath purpoſely framed, thereby to worke the knowledge of ſaluation in the harts of men, what cauſe is there wherefore it ſhould not of it ſelfe be acknowledged a moſt apt and a likely meane to leaue an *apprehenſion* of things diuine in our vnderſtanding, and in the minde an *aſſent* thereunto? For touching the one, ſith God, who knoweth and diſcloſeth beſt the rich treaſures of his owne wiſedome, hath by deliuering his word made choice of the ſcriptures, as the moſt effectuall meanes, whereby thoſe treaſures might be imparted vnto the world, it followeth that to mans vnderſtanding the ſcripture muſt needes be euen of it ſelfe intended as a full and perfect diſcouerie, ſufficient to imprint in vs the liuely character of all things neceſſarily required for the attainement of eternall life. And concerning our aſſent to the myſteries of heauenly truth, ſeeing that the word of God for the authors ſake hath credit with all that confeſſe it (as we all do) to be his word, euery propoſition of holy ſcripture, euery ſentence being to vs a principle, if the principles of all kindes of knowledge elſe haue that vertue in themſelues whereby they are able to procure our aſſent vnto ſuch concluſions, as the induſtrie of right diſcourſe doth gather from them, we haue no reaſon to thinke the principles of that truth which tendeth vnto mans euerlaſting happines leſſe forcible then any other, when we know that of all other they are for their certaintie the moſt infallible. But as euery thing of price, ſo this doth require trauaile. We bring not the knowledge of God with vs into the world. And the leſſe our owne opportunitie or habilitie is that way, the more we neede the helpe of other mens iudgements to be our direction herein. Nor doth any man euer belieue, into whome the doctrine of beliefe is not inſtilled by inſtruction ſome way receiued at the firſt from others. Wherein whatſoeuer fit meanes there are to notifie the myſteries of the word of God, whether publiquely (which we call *preaching*) or in priuat howſoeuer, the word by *euery ſuch meane* euen *ordinarily* doth ſaue, and not only by being deliuered vnto men in Sermons. *Sermons* are not *the onely preaching* which doth ſaue ſoules. For concerning the vſe and ſenſe

of

of this word *preaching* which they ſhut vp in ſo cloſe a priſon, although more then enough haue already bene ſpoken to redeeme the libertie thereof, yet becauſe they inſiſt ſo much and ſo proudly inſult thereon, we muſt a little inure their eares with hearing how others whome they more regard are in this caſe accuſtomed to vſe the ſelfe ſame language with vs whoſe manner of ſpeech they deride. [a] Iuſtin Martyr doubteth not to tell the Græcians, that euen in certaine of their *writings* the very iudgement to come is preached; nor the [b] Councell of Vaus to inſinuate that presbyters abſent through infirmitie from their Churches might be ſayd to preach by thoſe deputies who in their ſtead did but reade *Homilies*; nor the [c] Councell of Toledo to call the vſuall publique reading of the *Goſpels* in the Church preaching; nor [d] others long before theſe our dayes to write, that by him who but readeth *a leſſon* in the ſolemne aſſemblie as part of diuine ſeruice, the very office of preaching is ſo far-forth executed. Such kinde of ſpeeches were then familiar, thoſe phraſes ſeemed not to them abſurd, they would haue maruelled to heare the [e] outcries which we do, becauſe we thinke that the Apoſtles *in writing*, and others *in reading* to the Church thoſe bookes which the Apoſtles wrote are neither vntruly nor vnfitly ſaid to *preach*. For although mens *toongs* and their *pennes* differ, yet to one and the ſelfe *ſame* generall, if not particular *effect*, they may both ſerue. It is no good argument, S. Paul could not *write with his toong*, therefore neither could he *preach with his penne*. For preaching is a generall end whereunto writing and ſpeaking do both ſerue. Men ſpeake not with the inſtruments of writing, neither write with the inſtruments of ſpeech, and yet things *recorded* with the one and *vttered* with the other may be [f] *preached* well enough with both. By their patience therefore be it ſpoken, the Apoſtles preached as well when they wrote as when they ſpake the Goſpell of Chriſt, and our vſuall *publique reading* of the word of God for the peoples inſtruction *is preaching*. Nor about words would we euer contend, were not their purpoſe in ſo reſtraining the ſame iniurious to Gods moſt ſacred word and ſpirit. It is on both ſides confeſt that the word of God outwardly adminiſtred (his [g] ſpirit inwardly concurring therewith) conuerteth, edifieth, and ſaueth ſoules. Now whereas the externall adminiſtration of his word is as well by reading barely the ſcripture, as by explaning the ſame when ſermons thereon be made, in the one they denye that the finger of God hath *ordinarily* certaine *principall operations*, which we moſt ſtedfaſtly hold and beliue that it hath in both.

a *Paranet. ad Gent. pag. 171*

b *Concil. Vaſen. 2. ca. 2.*

c *Concil. Tol. 4. ca. 11.*

d *Rupert. de diuin. Offic. lib 1. ca. 12. 13. Iſidor. de eccleſ. Offic. lib. 1. ca. 10.*

e The libell of Schoolp. art. 11 T.C. lib. 2. pag. 388. S. Paules writing is no more preaching, then his pen or his hand is his toong: ſeeing they cannot be ſame which cannot be made by the ſame inſtruments.

f *Euangelizo manu & ſcriptione. Rasmo. de Rom. eccleſ. Idololat. praf. ad Co. Eſſex.*

g *Iohn. 6. 46. Math. 16. 17. 2. Cor. 4. 6. 1. Cor. 12. 3. Act. 16. 14.*

22 So worthy a part of diuine ſeruice we ſhould greatly wrong, if we did not eſteeme preaching as the bleſſed ordinance of God, Sermons as keyes to the kingdome of heauen, as wings to the ſoule, as ſpurres to the good affections of man, vnto the ſound and healthie as foode, as phiſicke vnto diſeaſed mindes. Wherefore how highly ſoeuer it may pleaſe them with words of truth to extoll Sermons, they ſhall not herein offend vs. We ſeeke not to derogate from any thing which they can iuſtly eſteeme, but our deſire is to vphold the iuſt eſtimation of that from which it ſeemeth vnto vs they derogate more then becommeth them. That which offendeth vs is, firſt the great diſgrace which they offer vnto *our cuſtome* of bare reading the word of God, and to his gracious Spirit, the *principall* vertue whereof thereby manifeſting it ſelfe for the endleſſe good of mens ſoules, euen the vertue which it hath to *conuert*,

What they attribute to Sermons only, and what we to reading alſo.

to *edifie*, to *saue* soules, this they mightely striue to obscure; and secondly the shifts wherewith they maintaine their opinion of Sermons, whereunto while they labour to appropriate the *sauing* power of the holy Ghost, they seperate from all *apparent* hope of life and saluation thousands whome the goodnes of Almightie God doth not exclude. Touching therefore the vse of scripture, euen in that it is openly read, and the inestimable good which the Church of God by that very meane hath reaped, there was, we may very well thinke, some cause, which moued the Apostle S.Paule to [a] require, that those things which any one Churches affaires gaue particular occasion to write, might for the instruction of all be published and that by *reading*. 1. When the very hauing of the bookes of God was a matter of no small charge and difficultie, in as much as they could not be had otherwise then only in written copies, it was the necessitie not of preaching things agreeable with the word, but of reading the word it selfe at large to the people, which caused Churches throughout the world to haue publique care that the sacred oracles of God being procured by common charge, might with great sedulitie be kept both intire and sincere. If then we admire the prouidence of God in the same continuance of scripture, notwithstanding the violent endeuors of infidels to abolish, and the fraudulent of heretiques alwaies to depraue the same, shall we set light by that custome of reading, from whence so precious a benefit hath growne. 2. The voice and testimonie of the Church acknowledging scripture to be the law of the liuing God, is for the truth and certaintie thereof no meane euidence. For if with reason we may presume vpon things which a few mens depositions do testifie, suppose we that the mindes of men are not both at their first accesse to the schoole of Christ exceedingly moued, yea and for euer afterwards also confirmed much, when they consider the maine consent of all the Churches in the whole world witnessing the sacred authoritie of scriptures, euer sithence the first publication thereof euen till this present day and houre? And that they all haue alwayes so testified, I see not how we should possiblie wish a proofe more palpable then this manifest receyued and euerywhere continued custome of reading them publiquely as the Scriptures. The reading therefore of the word of God, as the vse hath euer bene, in open audience, is the plainest euidence we haue of the Churches *assent* and *acknowledgement* that it is his word. 3. A further commoditie this custome hath, which is to furnish the very *simplest* and *rudest* sort with such infallible *axiomes* and *precepts* of sacred truth, deliuered euen in the *very letter* of the law of God, as may serue them for [b] *rules* whereby to iudge the better *all other doctrines* and instructions which they heare. For which end and purpose I see not how the scripture could be possibly made familiar vnto all, vnlesse farre more should be read in the peoples hearing, then by a Sermon can be opened. For whereas in a maner the whole booke of God is by reading euery yeare published, a small part thereof in comparison of the whole may hold very well the readiest interpreter of scripture occupied many yeares. 4. Besides, wherfore should any mā thinke, but that reading it selfe is one of the *ordinarie* meanes, whereby it pleaseth God of his gracious goodnes to instill that celestiall veritie, which being *but so* receiued, is neuertheless effectuall to *saue* soules? Thus much therefore we ascribe to the reading of the word of God as the maner is in our Churches.

[a] *1.Thes.5.27. Coloss.4.16.*

[b] *Iohn.5.39. Isa.8.20.*

And

And because it were odious if they on their part should altogether despise the same, they yeeld that reading may *set forward*, but not begin the worke of saluation; that [a] faith may be *nourished* therewith, but not bred; that [b] herein mens attention to the scriptures, and their speculation of the creatures of God haue like efficacie, both being of power to *augment*, but neither to effect beliefe without Sermons; that if [c] any *believe* by reading alone, we are to accompt it a miracle an *extraordinarie* worke of God. Wherein that which they graunt we gladly accept at their hands, and wish that patiently they would examine how little cause they haue to denie that which as yet they graunt not. The [d] Scripture witnesseth that when the booke of the Law of God had bene sometime missing, and was after found, the King, which heard it but only read, tare his clothes, and with teares confessed, *Great is the wrath of the Lord vpon vs, because our Fathers haue not kept his word to do after all things which are written in this booke.* This doth argue, that by bare reading (for of Sermons at that time there is no mention) true repentance may be wrought in the harts of such as feare God, and yet incurre his displeasure, the deserued effect whereof is eternall death. So that their repentance (although it be not their first entrance) is notwithstanding the first step of their reentrance into life, and may be in them wrought by the word only read vnto them. Besides, it seemeth that God would haue no man stand in doubt but that the reading of Scripture is effectuall; as well *to lay euen the first foundation*, as to adde degrees of farther perfection in the feare of God. And therefore the [e] law saith, Thou shalt *reade* this law before all Israel, that men, women and *children* may heare, yea euen that their children which as yet *haue not knowne* it may heare it, and by hearing it so read, may *learne to feare* the Lord. Our [f] Lord and Sauiour was himselfe of opinion, that they which would not be drawne to amendment of life by the testimonie which Moses and the Prophets haue giuen concerning the miseries that follow sinners after death, were not likely to be perswaded by other meanes, although God from the very dead should haue raysed them vp Preachers. Many heare the bookes of God and beliue them not. Howbeit their vnbeliefe in that case we may not impute vnto any weakenes or vnsufficiencie in the meane which is vsed towards them, but to the wilfull bent of their obstinate harts against it. With mindes obdurate nothing preuaileth. As well they that preach, as they that reade vnto such, shall still haue cause to complaine with the Prophets which were of old, *Who will giue credit vnto our teaching?* But with whome ordinarie meanes will preuaile, surely the power of the word of God, euen without the help of interpreters *in Gods Church* worketh mightely, not vnto their confirmation alone which are conuerted, but also to their conuersion which are not. It shall not boote them who derogate from reading to excuse it, when they see no other remedie, as if their intent were only to denye, that *aliens* and strangers from the familie of God are woon, or that beliefe doth vse to be wrought at the first in *them* without Sermons. For they know it is our custome of simple reading *not for conuersion of infidels* estranged from the house of God, but for *instruction of men baptised*, bread and brought vp *in the* bosome of the Church, which they despise as a thing vneffectuall to saue *such* soules. In *such* they imagin that God hath

[a] T.C. lib. 2. pa. 376. 377. 395.
[b] Pag. 378.
[c] Pag. 383.
[d] 2. Chro. 34. 18.
2. Chro. 34. 21.
[e] Deut. 31. 12.
[f] Luc. 16. 29.

no ordinarie meane to worke faith without ſermons. The reaſon, why no man can attaine beliefe by the bare contemplation of heauen and earth, is for that they neither are ſufficient to giue vs as much as the leaſt ſparke of light concerning the very principall myſteries of our faith; and whatſoeuer we may learne by them, the ſame we can only attaine to know according to the maner of naturall ſciences, which meere diſcourſe of wit and reaſon findeth out, whereas the things which we properly beleeue, be only ſuch, as are receiued vpon the credit of diuine teſtimonie. Seeing therefore that he which conſidereth the creatures of God findeth therein both theſe defects, and neither the one nor the other in ſcriptures, becauſe he that readeth vnto vs the ſcriptures deliuereth all the myſteries of faith, and not any thing amongſt them all more then the mouth of the Lord doth warrant: it followeth in thoſe two reſpects that our conſideration of creatures and attention vnto ſcriptures are not in themſelues, and without ſermons, things of like diſabilitie to *breede* or *beget* faith. Small cauſe alſo there is, why any man ſhould greatly wonder as at an extraordinarie worke, if without ſermons reading be found to effect thus much. For I would know by ſome ſpeciall inſtance, what one article of Chriſtian faith, or what dutie required neceſſarily vnto all mens ſaluation there is, which the very reading of the word of God is not *apt* to notifie. Effects are miraculous and ſtrange when they grow by vnlikely meanes. But did we euer heare it accompted for a wonder, that he which doth reade, ſhould beleeue and liue according to the will of almightie God? [a] Reading doth conuey to the minde that truth without addition or diminution, which ſcripture hath deriued from the holy Ghoſt. And the end of all ſcripture is the ſame which [b] S. Iohn propoſeth in the writing of that moſt diuine Goſpell, namely *faith*, and through faith *ſaluation*. Yea all ſcripture is to this effect [c] *in it ſelfe* auaileable, as they which wrote it were perſwaded; vnleſſe we ſuppoſe that the Euangeliſt or others in ſpeaking of their owne intent to inſtruct and to ſaue by writing, had a ſecret conceipt which they neuer opened vnto any, a conceipt that no man in the world ſhould euer be that way the better for any ſentence by them written, till ſuch time as the ſame might chance to be preached vpon or alleaged at the leaſt in a Sermon. Otherwiſe if he which writeth do that which is forceable in it ſelfe, how ſhould he which readeth be thought to do that which in it ſelfe is of no force to worke beliefe and to ſaue beleeuers? Now although we haue very iuſt cauſe to ſtand in ſome iealouſie and feare, leaſt by thus ouervaluing their ſermons, they make the price and eſtimation of ſcripture otherwiſe notified to fall, neuertheleſſe ſo impatient they are, that being but requeſted to let vs know what cauſes they leaue for mens incouragement to attend to the reading of the ſcripture, if Sermons only be the power of God to ſaue euery one which beleeueth; that which we moue for our better learning and inſtructions ſake, turneth vnto anger and choler in them, they grow altogether out of quietnes with it, they anſwere fumingly that they are [d] *aſhamed to defile their pennes with making anſwere to ſuch idle queſtions*: yet in this their moode they caſt forth ſomewhat, wherewith vnder paine of greater diſpleaſure we muſt reſt contented. They tell vs the profit of reading is ſingular, in that it ſerueth for a preparatiue vnto Sermons; it helpeth pretilie towards the nouriſh-

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[a] *Exod. 24. 7.*

[b] *Iohn. 20. 31.*

[c] *Prou. 1. 2. 3. 4. Rom. 1. 16. 2. Tim. 3. 15.*

[d] *T. C. lib. 2. Pa. 375.*

ment of faith which Sermons haue once ingendered; it is ſome ſtay to his minde which readeth the ſcripture, when he findeth the ſame things there which are taught in Sermons, and thereby perceiueth how God doth concurre in opinion with the Preacher; beſides it keepeth Sermons in memorie, and doth in that reſpect, although not feede the ſoule of man, yet help the retentiue force of that ſtomack of the minde which receiueth ghoſtlie foode at the preachers hand. But the principall cauſe of *writing* the Goſpell was, *that it might be preached* vpon or interpreted by publique Miniſters apt and authoriſed thereunto. Is it credible that a ſuperſtitious conceipt (for it is no better) concerning Sermons ſhould in ſuch ſort both darken their eyes and yet ſharpen their wits withall, that the only true and waightie cauſe why ſcripture was written, the cauſe which in ſcripture is ſo often mentioned, the cauſe which all men haue euer till this preſent day acknowledged, this they ſhould cleane exclude as being no cauſe at all, and loade vs with ſo great ſtore of ſtrange concealed cauſes which did neuer ſee light till now? In which number the reſt muſt needes be of moment, when the very chiefeſt cauſe of committing the ſacred word of God vnto bookes, is ſurmiſed to haue bene, leaſt the Preacher ſhould want a text whereupon to ſcholie. Men of learning hold it for a ſlip in iudgement, when offer is made to demonſtrate that as proper to one thing which reaſon findeth common vnto moe. Whereas therefore they take from all kindes of teaching that which they attribute to Sermons, it had bene their part to yeeld directly ſome ſtrong reaſon why betwene *Sermons alone* and *faith*, there ſhould be *ordinarily* that coherence which cauſes haue with their vſuall effects, why a Chriſtian mans beliefe ſhould ſo naturally grow from Sermons, and not poſſiblie from any other kinde of teaching. In beliefe there being but theſe two operations *apprehenſion* and *aſſent*, do only Sermons cauſe beliefe in that no other way is able to explane the myſteries of God that the minde may rightly apprehend or conceiue them as behoueth? We all know that many things are belieued, although they be intricate, obſcure and darke, although they exceede the reach and capacitie of our wits, yea although in this world they be no way poſſible to be vnderſtood. Many things belieued are likewiſe ſo plaine, that euery common perſon may therein be vnto himſelfe a ſufficient expounder. Finally, to explane euen thoſe things which neede and admit explication, many other vſuall wayes there are beſides Sermons. Therefore Sermons are not the only ordinarie meanes whereby we *firſt* come to *apprehend* the myſteries of God. Is it in regard then of Sermons only, that apprehending the Goſpell of Chriſt we yeeld thereunto our vnfaigned aſſent as to a thing infallible true? They which rightly conſider after what ſort the hart of man hereunto is framed, muſt of neceſſitie acknowledge, that who ſo aſſenteth to the words of eternall life, doth it in regard of his *authoritie* whoſe words they are. This is in mans conuerſion vnto God τὸ ὅθεν ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς κινήσεως, the firſt ſtep whereat his race towards heauen beginneth. Vnleſſe therefore, cleane contrary to our owne experience, we ſhall thinke it a miracle if any man acknowledge the diuine authoritie of the ſcripture, till ſome Sermon haue perſwaded him thereunto, and that otherwiſe neither conuerſation in the boſome of the Church, nor religious education, nor the reading of learned mens bookes, nor information

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tion receiued by conference, not whatsoeuer paine and diligence in hearing, studying, meditating day and night on the law is so farre blest of God as to worke this effect in any man, how would they haue vs to graunt that faith doth not come but only by *hearing Sermons?* [a] Faine they would haue vs to beleiue the Apostle S. Paul himselfe to be the author of this their paradox, only because he hath sayd that it pleaseth God by the [b] *foolishnes of preaching*, to saue them which beleiue; and againe, [c] *How shall they call on him in whome they haue not beleiued? how shall they beleiue in him of whome they haue not heard? how shall they heare without a preacher? How shall men preach except they be sent?* To answere therefore both allegations at once, the very substance of that they conteyne is in few but this. Life and saluation God will haue *offered vnto all*; his will is that *Gentiles* should be saued as well as *Iewes*. Saluation belongeth vnto none but such *as call vpon the name of our Lord Iesus Christ*. Which *nations as yet vnconuerted* neither do *nor possible can do till they beleiue*. What they are to beleiue, impossible it is they should know till they *heare it*. There hearing requireth *our preaching* vnto them. [d] Tertullian to draw euen Painimes themselues vnto Christian beliefe, willeth *the bookes* of the old Testament to be *searched* which were at that time in *Ptolomeits* librarie. And if men did not list to trauell so farre though it were for their endlesse good, he addeth that *in Rome* and other places the Iewes had *Synagogues* whereunto euery one which would might resort, that this kinde of libertie they purchased by payment of a standing tribute, that there they did openly [e] *reade* the scriptures; and whosoeuer *will heare* (saith Tertullian) *he shall finde God, whosoeuer will studie to know, shall be also faine to beleiue*. But sith there is no likelihood that euer voluntarily they will seeke instruction at our hands, it remaineth that vnlesse we will suffer them to perish saluation it selfe must seeke them, it behoueth God to *send* them Preachers as he did *his elect Apostles* throughout the world. There is *a knowledge* which God hath alwayes reuealed vnto them in the *works of nature*. This they honor and esteeme highly as profound *wisedome*; howbeit this wisedome saueth them not. That which must saue beleiuers is *the knowledge of the crosse of Christ* the *only subiect* of *all our preaching*. And in their eyes what doth this seeme as yet but *follie?* It pleaseth God by the *foolishnes of preaching* to saue. These words declare how admirable force those mysteries haue which the world doth deride as follies; they shew that the *foolishnes of the crosse of Christ* is the *wisdome of true beleiuers*; they concerne the *obiect* of our faith, *the* [f] *matter preached of* and beleiued in by Christi an men. This we know that the Græcians or Gentiles did accompt foolishnes; but that they euer did thinke it *a fond* or vnlikely *way* to seeke mens conuersion by *Sermons* we haue not heard. Manifest therefore it is that the Apostle applying the name of *foolishnes* in such sort as they did must needes by the *foolishnes of preaching* meane the doctrine of Christ which we learne that we may be saued, but that Sermons are the only manner of teaching whereby it pleaseth our Lord to saue he could not meane. In like sort where the same Apostle proueth that as well the *sending of the Apostles* as their preaching *to the Gentiles* was necessarie, dare we affirme it was euer his meaning, that vnto their saluation who euen from their tender infancie neuer knew any other faith or religion then only Christian, *no kinde of teaching* can be

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[a] T.C lib. 2. pag. 375.

[b] *1. Cor. 1. 21.*

[c] *Rom. 10. 14.*

[d] *Apologet. ca. 18. in fine.*

[e] This they did in a tongue which to all learned men amongst the Heathens and to a great part of the simplest was familiarly knowne: as appeareth by a supplication offered vnto the Emperour Iustinian, wherein the Iewes make request that it might be lawfull for them to reade the Greek translation of the 70. interpreters in their Synagogues as their custome before had bene. *Authent. 146 coll. 10. incipit. Aequũ sanc.*

[f] The Apostle vseth ỹ word κήρυγμα, and not κήρυξις.

mailcable *ſauing that* which was ſo needefull for the firſt vniuerſall conuerſion of Gentiles hating Chriſtianitie; neither the *ſending* of any ſort allowable in the one caſe, except only of ſuch as had bene in the other alſo moſt fit and worthie inſtruments? *Beliefe in all ſorts* doth come by harkning and *attending to the word of life*. Which word ſometime propoſeth and preacheth it ſelfe to the hearer; ſometime they deliuer it whome priuatly zeale and pietie moueth to be inſtructors of others by conference; ſometime of them it is taught whome the Church hath called to the publique either reading thereof or interpreting. All theſe tend vnto one effect, neither doth that which S. Paule or other Apoſtles teach, concerning the neceſſitie of *ſuch teaching* as theirs was, or of *ſending ſuch* as they were for *that purpoſe vnto the Gentiles*, preiudice the efficacie of *any other way* of publique inſtruction, or inforce the vtter diſabilitie of any other mens vocation thought requiſite in this Church, for the ſauing of ſoules, where meanes more effectuall are wanting. Their only proper and direct proofe of the thing in queſtion had bene to ſhew, in what ſort, and how farre mans ſaluation doth neceſſarily depend vpon the knowledge of the word of God; what conditions, properties, and qualities there are, whereby Sermons are diſtinguiſhed from other kindes of adminiſtring the word vnto that purpoſe; and what ſpeciall propertie or qualitie that is, which being no where found but in Sermons, maketh them effectuall to ſaue ſoules, and leaueth all other doctrinall meanes beſides deſtitute of vitall efficacie. Theſe pertinent inſtructions, whereby they might ſatiſfie vs and obtaine the cauſe it ſelfe for which they contend, theſe things which only would ſerue they leaue, and (which needeth not) ſometime they trouble them ſelues with fretting at the ignorance of ſuch as withſtand them in their opinion; ſometime they [a] fall vpon their poore brethren which can but reade and againſt *them* they are bitterly eloquent. If we alleadge what the ſcriptures them ſelues do vſually ſpeake for the ſauing force of the word of God, not with reſtraint to any one certaine kinde of deliuerie, but howſoeuer the ſame ſhall chance to be made knowne, yet by one tricke or other they alwayes [b] reſtraine it vnto Sermons. Our Lord and Sauiour hath ſaid [c] *Search the ſcriptures, in them ye thinke to haue eternall life.* But they tell vs, he ſpake to the Iewes, which Iewes before *had heard his Sermons*; and that peraduenture it was his minde they ſhould ſearch, not by reading, nor by hearing them read, but by *attending* whenſoeuer the Scriptures ſhould happen to be *alleaged in Sermons*. Furthermore hauing *receyued* Apoſtolique doctrine, [d] the Apoſtle S. Paule hath taught vs to eſteeme the ſame as the ſupreme rule whereby all other doctrines muſt for euer be examined. Yea, but in as much as the Apoſtle doth there ſpeake of *that he had preached, he flatly maketh* (as they ſtrangely affirme) *his preachings* or ſermons *the rule* whereby to examine all. And then I beſeech you what rule haue we whereby to iudge or examine any? For if Sermons muſt be our rule, becauſe the Apoſtles Sermons were ſo to their hearers; then, ſith we are not as they were hearers of the Apoſtles Sermons, it reſteth that either the Sermons which we heare ſhould be our rule, or (that being abſurd) there will (which yet hath greater abſurditie) no rule at all be remaining for triall, what doctrines now are corrupt, what conſonant with heauenly truth. Againe, let [e] the ſame Apoſtle

[a] T.C.lib.2. pag.373. This taile of Readers. The Biſhops more then beggerly preſents. Thoſe raskall Miniſters.

[b] T.C.lib.2. pag.37.

[c] *Iohn.5.39.*

[d] *Gal.1.9.*

[e] *1.Tim.3.16.*

Apoſtle acknowledge *all ſcripture* profitable to teach, to improue, to correct, to inſtruct in righteouſnes. Still notwithſtanding we erre, if hereby we preſume to gather, that ſcripture read will auaile vnto any one of all theſe vſes; they teach vs the meaning of the words to be, that ſo much the ſcripture can do if the Miniſter that way apply it in his Sermons, otherwiſe not. Finally, they neuer heare ſentence which mentioneth *the word* or *ſcripture*, but forthwith their gloſes vpon it are, the word *preached*, the ſcripture explaned or *deliuered* vnto vs *in ſermons*. Sermons they euermore vnderſtand to be that word of God, which alone hath vitall operation, the dangerous ſequell of which conſtruction I wiſh they did more attentiuely waigh. For ſith ſpeech is the very image whereby the minde and ſoule of the ſpeaker conueieth it ſelfe into the boſome of him which heareth, we cannot chooſe but ſee great reaſon, wherefore the word that proceedeth from God, who is him ſelfe very truth and life, ſhould
a *Heb.4.12.* be (as the Apoſtle to the [a] Hebrues noteth) liuely and mightie in operation, ſharper then any two edged ſword. Now if in this and the like places we did conceaue, that our owne ſermons are that ſtrong and forcible word, ſhould we not hereby impart euen the moſt peculiar glory of the word of God vnto that which is not his word? For touching our ſermons, that which giueth them their very being is the wit of man, and therefore they oftentimes accordingly taſte too much of that ouer-corrupt fountaine from which they come. In our ſpeech of moſt holy things, our moſt fraile affectiõs many times are bewrayed. Wherefore whẽ we reade or recite the ſcripture, we then deliuer to the people *properly* the word of God. As for our ſermons, be they neuer ſo ſound and perfect, his word they are not as the ſermons of the Prophets were, no they are but ambiguouſly termed his word, becauſe his word is commonly the ſubiect whereof they treate, and muſt be the rule whereby they are framed. Notwithſtanding by theſe and the like ſhifts they deriue vnto ſermons alone whatſoeuer is generally ſpoken concerning the word. Againe, what ſeemeth to haue bene vttered concerning ſermons and their efficacie or neceſſitie, *in regard of diuine matter*, and muſt conſequently be verified in ſundrie other kindes of teaching, if *the matter* be the ſame in all, their vſe is to faſten euery ſuch ſpeech vnto that one only maner of teaching which is by ſermons, that ſtill ſermons may
b T.C.lib.2. pag.381. be all in all. [b] Thus becauſe Salomon declareth that the people decay or *periſh*
c *Prou.29.18.* for want of knowledge, where [c] no *prophecying* at all is, they gather that the hope of life and ſaluation is cut off, where preachers are not which *prophecie by ſermons*, how many ſoeuer they be in number that reade dayly the word of God, and deliuer, though in other ſort, the ſelfe ſame matter which ſermons do. The people which haue no way to come to the knowledge of God, no prophecying, no teaching, periſh. But that they ſhould of neceſſitie periſh, where any one way of knowledge lacketh, is more then the words of Salomon
d T.C.lib.2. pag.379. import. [d] Another vſuall point of their arte in this preſent queſtion, is to make
e *2.Cor.3.16.* very large and plentifull diſcourſes, how Chriſt is by ſermons [e] lifted vp *higher*
f *2.Tim.2.15.* and made *more* [f] apparent to the eye of faith; how the [g] ſauor of the word is
g *Math.16.19* *more* ſweet being brayed, and *more* able to nouriſh being deuided by preaching, then by only reading propoſed; how Sermons are the keyes of the kingdome of heauen, and do open the Scriptures, which being but read, remaine

maine *in compariſon* ſtill claſped; how God [a] giueth *richer* increaſe of grace to the ground that is planted and watered by preaching, then by bare and ſimple reading. Out of which premiſes declaring how attainement vnto life is *eaſier* where ſermons are, they conclude an [b] *impoſsibilitie* thereof where ſermons are not. Alcidamas the Sophiſter hath many arguments, to proue that voluntarie and extemporall farre excelleth premeditated ſpeech. The like whereunto and in part the ſame are brought by them, who commend ſermons, as hauing (which all men I thinke will acknowledge) ſundry [c] peculiar and proper vertues, ſuch as no other way of teaching beſides hath. Aptnes to follow particular occaſions preſently growing, to put life into words by countenance, voice and geſture, to preuaile mightely in the ſuddaine affections of men, this Sermons may challege. Wherein notwithſtanding ſo eminent properties whereof leſſons are happely deſtitute, yet leſſons being free from ſome inconueniences whereunto ſermons are more ſubiect, they may in this reſpect no leſſe take, then in other they muſt giue the hand which betokeneth preeminence. For there is nothing which is not ſomeway exceld euen by that which it doth excell. Sermons therefore and leſſons may each excell other in ſome reſpects, without any preiudice vnto either, as touching that vitall force which they both haue in the worke of our ſaluation. To which effect when we haue endeuoured as much as in vs doth lie to finde out the ſtrongeſt cauſes wherefore they ſhould imagin that reading is it ſelfe ſo vnauailable, the moſt we can learne at their hands is, that ſermons are [d] *the ordinance of God*; the ſcriptures *darke*; and the labor of reading *eaſie*. Firſt therefore as we know that God doth aide with his grace, and by his ſpeciall prouidence euermore bleſſe with happie ſucceſſe thoſe things which him ſelfe appointeth, ſo his Church we perſwade our ſelues he hath not in ſuch ſort giuen ouer to a reprobate ſenſe, that whatſoeuer it deuiſeth for the good of the ſoules of men, the ſame he doth ſtill accurſe and make fruſtrate. Or if he alwaies did defeate the ordinances of his Church, [e] is not reading the ordinance of God? Wherefore then ſhould we thinke that the force of his ſecret grace is accuſtomed to bleſſe the labor of diuiding his word according vnto each mans priuate diſcretion in publike ſermons, and to withdraw it ſelfe from concurring with the publique deliuerie thereof by ſuch ſelected portions of ſcripture, as the whole Church hath ſolemnely appointed to be read for the peoples good, either by ordinarie courſe, or otherwiſe, according to the exigence of ſpeciall occaſions? Reading (ſaith [f] Iſidore) is to the hearers no ſmall edifying. To them whoſe [g] delight and meditation is in the law, ſeeing that happines and bliſſe belongeth, it is not in vs to denie them the benefit of heauenly grace. And I hope we may preſume, that a rare thing it is not in the Church of God, euen for that very word which is read to be both preſently their [h] ioy, and afterwards their ſtudie that heare it. [i] S. Auguſtine ſpeaking of deuoute men, noteth how they dayly frequented the Church, how attentiue eare they gaue vnto the leſſons and Chapters read, how carefull they were to remember the ſame, and to muſe thereupon by themſelues. [k] S. Cyprian obſerueth that reading was not without effect in the harts of men. Their ioy and alacritie was to him an argument, that there is in this ordinance a bleſſing, ſuch as ordinarily doth accompanie the adminiſtration

a *1. Cor. 3. 6.*

b T.C. lib. 2. pag. 380. No ſaluation to be loked for where no preaching is.

c T.C. lib. 2. pag. 395.

d T.C. lib. 2. pag. 396.

e *Deut. 31. 13.*

f *De eccleſ. offic. lib. 1. ca. 3.*

g *Pſal. 1. 2.*

h *Pſal. 119. 16*

i *Aug. in pſ. 66.*

k *Cypr. li. 2. ep. 3. Lector perſonat verba ſublimia, euangelium Chriſti legit.*

a fratribus consicitur, cum gaudio fraternitatis auditur.

stration of the word of life. It were much if there should be such a difference betweene the hearing of sermons preached and of lessons read in the Church, that he which presenteth himselfe at the one, and maketh his prayer with the Prophet [a] Dauid, *Teach me O Lord the way of thy statutes, direct me in the path of thy commaundements*, might haue the ground of vsuall experience, whereupon to build his hope of preuailing with God, and obteining the grace he seeketh; they contrarywise not so, who craue the like assistance of his spirit, when they giue eare to the reading of the other. In this therefore preaching and reading are equall, that both are approued as his ordinances, both assisted with his grace. And if his grace do assist them both to the nourishment of faith alreadie bred, we cannot, without some very manifest cause yelded, imagin that in breeding or begetting faith, his grace doth cleaue to the one and vtterly forsake the other. Touching [b] *hardnesse* which is the second pretended impediment, as against Homilies being plaine and popular instructions it is no barre, so neither doth it infringe the efficacie no not of scriptures although but read. The force of reading, how small soeuer they would haue it, must of necessitie be graunted sufficient to notifie that which is plaine or easie to be vnderstood. And of things necessarie to all mens saluation we haue bene hetherto accustomed to hold (especially sithence the publishing of the Gospell of Iesus Christ, whereby the simplest hauing now a key vnto knowledge which the [c] Eunuch in the Acts did want, our children may of themselues by reading vnderstand that, which he without an interpretor could not) they are in scripture plaine and easie to be vnderstood. As for those things which at the first are obscure and darke, when memorie hath laid them vp for a time, iudgement afterwards growing explaneth them. Scripture therefore is not *so hard*, but that the *only reading* thereof may giue life vnto willing hearers. The *easie* performance of which holy labor is in like sort a very cold obiection to preiudice the vertue thereof. For what though an *infidell*, yea though *a childe* may be able to reade? There is no doubt, but the meanest and worst amongst the people vnder the law had bene as able as the Priests themselues were to offer sacrifice. Did this make sacrifice of no effect vnto that purpose for which it was instituted? In religion some duties are not commended so much by the hardnes of their execution, as by the worthines and dignitie of that acceptation wherein they are held with God. We admire the goodnes of God in nature, when we consider how he hath prouided that things most needfull to preserue this life should be most prompt and easie for all liuing creatures to come by. Is it not as euident a signe of his wonderfull prouidence ouer vs, when that foode of eternall life, vpon the *vtter want* whereof our endlesse death and destruction necessarily ensueth, is prepared and alwaies set in such a readines, that those very meanes then which nothing is more easie may suffice to procure the same? Surely if we perish it is not the lacke of Scribes and learned expounders that can be our iust excuse. The word which saueth our soules is neere vs, we neede for knowledge but [d] to reade and liue. The man which readeth the word of God the word it selfe doth pronounce blessed, if he also obserue the same. Now all these things being well considered, it shall be no intricate matter for any man to iudge with indifferencie, on which part the good of the Church is most conue-

a Psal.119.33. 35.

b T.C.lib.2. pag.383.384. 392.

c Act.8.31.

d Apoc.1.3.

conueniently ſought; whether on ours whoſe opinion is ſuch as hath bene ſhewed, or elſe on [a] theirs, who leauing no ordinarie way of ſaluation for them vnto whome the word of God is but only read, do ſeldome name them but with great diſdaine and contempt who execute that ſeruice in the Church of Chriſt. By meanes whereof it hath come to paſſe, that Churches, which cannot inioy the benefit of vſuall preaching, are iudged as it were euen forſaken of God, forlorne, and without either hope or comfort: Contrarywiſe thoſe places which euery day for the moſt part are at ſermons as the flowing Sea, do both by their emptines at times of reading, and by other apparent tokens ſhew to the voice of the liuing God this way ſounding in the eares of men a great deale leſſe reuerence then were meete. But if no other euill were knowne to grow thereby, who can chooſe but thinke them cruell which doth heare them ſo boldly teach, that [b] if God (as to him there is nothing impoſſible) do happily ſaue any ſuch as continue where they haue all other meanes of inſtruction, but are not taught by continuall preaching, yet this is miraculous, and more then the fitnes of ſo poore inſtruments can giue any man cauſe to hope for; that [c] Sacraments are not effectuall to ſaluation, except men be inſtructed by *preaching before* they be made partakers of them; yea, that both [d] Sacraments and prayers alſo, where ſermons are not, do *not only not feede but are ordinarily to further condemnation?* What mans hart doth not riſe at the mention of theſe things? It is true that the weakenes of our wits and the dulnes of our affections do make vs for the moſt part, euen as our Lords owne diſciples were for a certaine time, hard and ſlow to belieue what is written. For help whereof expoſitions and exhortations are needfull, and that in the moſt effectuall maner. The principall Churches throughout the land, and no ſmall part of the reſt being in this reſpect by the goodnes of God ſo aboundantly prouided for, they which want the like furtherance vnto knowledge, wherewith it were greatly to be deſired that they alſo did abound, are yet we hope not left in ſo extreeme deſtitution, that iuſtly any man ſhould thinke the ordinarie meanes of eternall life taken from them, becauſe their teaching is in publique for the moſt part but by reading. For which cauſe amongſt whome there are not thoſe helpes that others haue to ſet them forward in the way of life, ſuch to diſ-harten with fearefull ſentences, as though their ſaluation could hardly be hoped for, is not in our vnderſtanding ſo conſonant with Chriſtian Charitie. We hold it ſafer a great deale and better to giue them [e] incouragement; to put them in minde that it is not the deepnes of their knowledge, but the [f] ſinglenes of their beliefe which God accepteth; that they which [g] hunger and thirſt after righteouſnes, ſhall be ſatiſfied; that no [h] imbecillitie of meanes can preiudice the truth of the promiſe of God herein; that the weaker their helpes are, the more their neede is to ſharpen the edge of their owne [i] induſtrie; and that [k] paynefulnes by feeble meanes ſhall be able to gayne that, which in the plentie of more forcible inſtruments is through ſloth and negligence loſt. As for the men, with whome we haue thus farre taken paines to conferre, about the force of the word of God, either read by it ſelfe, or opened in Sermons; their ſpeeches concerning both the one and the other are in truth ſuch, as might giue vs very iuſt cauſe to thinke,

a T.C. lib. 2. pag. 363. Pag. 373.

b Pag. 364. 375. 380. 383. 384.

c Pag. 392.

d Pag. 364.

e *Eccleſi.* 51. 26 27. *Matth.* 12. 20.

f 1. *Tim.* 1. 5. *Rom.* 14. 1. 1. *Theſ.* 3. 10.

g *Matth.* 5. 6.

h *Phil.* 1. 6. 1. *Pet.* 5. 10. *Matth.* 3. 9.

i 1. *Theſ.* 4. 18. *Heb.* 10. 24. *Iud. Verſ.* 20. 1. *Pet.* 4. 10.

k *Luc.* 11. 52.

that the reckoning is not great which they make of either. For howſoeuer they haue bene driuen to deuiſe ſome odde kindes of blinde vſes, whereunto they may anſwere that reading doth ſerue, yet the reading of the word of God in publique more then their preachers bare text, who will not iudge that they deeme needleſſe, when if we chaunce at any time to terme it *neceſſarie*, as being a thing which God himſelfe did inſtitute amongſt the Iewes for purpoſes that touch as well vs as them; a thing which the Apoſtles commend vnder the old, and ordaine vnder the new Teſtament; a thing whereof the Church of God hath euer ſithence the firſt beginning reaped ſinguler commoditie; a thing which without exceeding great detriment no Church can omit; they only are the men that euer we heard of by whome this hath bene croſt and gainſayd, they only the men which haue giuen their peremtorie ſentence to the contrarie, [a] *It is vntrue that ſimple reading is neceſſarie in the Church.* And why vntrue? Becauſe *although it be very conuenient which is vſed in ſome Churches, where before preaching time the Church aſſembled hath the Scriptures read in ſuch order that the whole canon thereof is oftentimes in one yeare runne thorough: yet a number of Churches which haue no ſuch order of ſimple reading cannot be in this point charged with breach of Gods commaundement, which they might be if ſimple reading were neceſſarie.* A poore, a cold, and an hungrie cauell. Shall we therefore to pleaſe them change the word *Neceſſary*, and ſay that it hath bene a commendable order, a cuſtome very expedient, or an ordinance *moſt* profitable (whereby they know right well that we meane exceedingly behoofull) to reade the word of God at large in the Church, whether it be as our manner is, or as theirs is whome they preferre before vs? It is not this that will content or ſatiſfie their mindes. They haue againſt it a maruellous deep & profound axiome, [b] that *Two things to one and the ſame ende cannot but very improperly be ſayd moſt profitable.* And therefore if preaching be *moſt profitable* to mans ſaluation, then is not reading; if reading be, then preaching is not. Are they reſolued then at the leaſtwiſe if preaching be the only ordinarie meane whereby it pleaſeth God to ſaue our ſoules, what kinde of preaching it is which doth ſaue? Vnderſtand they how or in what reſpect there is that force and virtue in preaching? We haue reaſon wherefore to make theſe demaundes, for that although their pennes runne all vpon *preaching* and *ſermons*, yet when themſelues do practiſe that whereof they write, they change their dialect, and thoſe wordes they ſhunne as if there were in them ſome ſecret ſting. It is not their phraſe to ſay they *preach*, or to giue to their owne inſtructions and exhortations the name of Sermons; the paine they take themſelues in this kinde is either *opening*, or *lecturing*, or *reading*, or *exerciſing*, but in no caſe *preaching*. [c] And in this preſent queſtion they alſo warily proteſt that what they aſcribe to the vertue of preaching, they ſtill meane it of *good preaching*. Now one of them ſayth that a good Sermon [d] muſt *expound* and *applie* a *large* portion of the text of ſcripture at one time. Another giueth vs to vnderſtand, that ſound preaching [e] *is not to do as one did at London, who ſpent the moſt of his time in inuectiues againſt good men, and tould his audience how the Magiſtrate ſhould haue an eye to ſuch as troubled the peace of the Church.* The [f] beſt of them hold it for no good preaching *when a man endeuoureth to make a glorious ſhew of eloquence and*

[a] T.C.lib.2. pag.381.

[b] T.C.lib.2. pag.372.

[c] T.C. lib.2. pag.385.

[d] Complaint of the commialtie.

[e] Do.Somes Painter, pa.21.

[f] T.C.lib.2. pag.385.

and learning rather then to applie himſelfe to the capacitie of the ſimple. But let them ſhape vs out a good Preacher by what paterne ſoeuer pleaſeth them beſt, let them exclude and incloſe whome they will with their definitions, we are not deſirous to enter into any contention with them about this, or to abate the conceipt they haue of their owne wayes, ſo that when once we are agreed what Sermons ſhall currantly paſſe for good, we may at the length vnderſtand from them what that is in a good Sermon which doth make it the word of life vnto ſuch as heare. If ſubſtance of matter, euidence of things, ſtrength and validitie of arguments and proofes, or if any other vertue elſe which words and ſentences may conteyne, of all this what is there in the beſt ſermons being vttered, which they looſe by being read? But they vtterly deny that the reading either of Scriptures or Homilies and Sermons can euer by the ordinarie grace of God ſaue any ſoule. So that although we had all the Sermons word for word which Iames, Paule, Peter, and the reſt of the Apoſtles made, ſome one of which Sermons was of power to conuert thouſands of the hearers vnto Chriſtian faith; yea although we had all the inſtructions, exhortations, conſolations which came from the gracious lips of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt himſelfe, and ſhould reade them tenne thouſand times ouer, to faith and ſa'uation no man could hereby hope to attaine. Whereupon it muſt of neceſſitie follow, that the vigor and vitall efficacie of ſermons doth grow from certaine accidents which are not in them but in their maker; his virtue, his geſture, his countenance, his zeale, the motion of his body, and the inflection of his voice who firſt vttereth them as his owne, is that which giueth them the forme, the nature, the very eſſence of inſtruments auaileable to eternall life. If they like neither that nor this, what remayneth but that their finall concluſion be, *Sermons we know are the only ordinarie meanes to ſaluation, but why or how we cannot tell.* Wherefore to end this tedious controuerſie, wherein the too great importunitie of our ouer eager aduerſaries hath conſtrayned vs much longer to dwell, then the barrennes of ſo poore a cauſe could haue ſeemed at the firſt likely either to require or to admit, if they which without partialities and paſſions are accuſtomed to weigh all things, and accordingly to giue their ſentence, ſhall heere ſit downe to receyue our audit, and to caſt vp the whole reckoning on both ſides, the ſumme which truth amounteth vnto will appeare to be but this, that as medicines prouided of nature and applied by arte for the benefit of bodily health, take effect ſometimes vnder and ſometimes aboue the naturall proportion of their vertue, according as the minde and fancie of the patient doth more or leſſe concurre with them: So whether wee barely reade vnto men the Scriptures of God, or by Homilies concerning matter of beliefe and conuerſation ſeeke to lay before them the duties which they owe vnto God and man; whether we deliuer them bookes to reade and conſider of in priuat at their owne beſt leyſure, or call them to the hearing of Sermons publiquely in the houſe of God; albeit euery of theſe and the like vnto theſe meanes doe truely and dayly effect that in the harts of men for which they are each and all meant, yet the operation which they haue in common being moſt ſenſible and moſt generally noted in one kinde aboue the reſt, that one

hath in ſome mens opinions drowned altogether the reſt, and iniuriouſly brought to paſſe that they haue bene thought not *leſſe effectuall* then the other, but without the other *vneffectuall* to ſaue ſoules. Whereas the cauſe why Sermons only are obſerued to preuaile ſo much while all meanes elſe ſeeme to ſleepe and do nothing, is in truth nothing but that ſingular affection and attention which the people ſheweth euery where towards the one, and their cold diſpoſition to the other, the reaſon hereof being partly the arte which our aduerſaries vſe for the credit of their Sermons to bring men out of conceipt with all other teaching beſides; partly a cuſtome which men haue to let thoſe things careleſly paſſe by their eares, which they haue oftentimes heard before, or know they may heare againe whenſoeuer it pleaſeth themſelues; partly the ſpeciall aduantages which ſermons naturally haue to procure attention both in that they come alwayes new, and becauſe by the hearer it is ſtill preſumed that if they be let ſlip for the preſent, what good ſoeuer they conteine is loſt, and that without all hope of recouerie. This is the true cauſe of oddes betweene ſermons and other kindes of wholeſome inſtruction. As for the difference which hath bene hetherto ſo much defended on the contrary ſide, making Sermons the only ordinarie meanes vnto faith and eternall life, ſith this hath neither euidence of truth nor proofe ſufficient to giue it warrant, a cauſe of ſuch qualitie may with farre better grace and conueniencie aske that pardon which common humanitie doth eaſily graunt, then claime in chalenging manner that aſſent which is as vnwilling when reaſon guideth it to be yelded where it is not, as withheld where it is apparently due. All which notwithſtanding, as we could greatly wiſh that the rigor of this their opinion were alayed and mitigated, ſo becauſe we hold it the part of religious ingenuitie to honor virtue in whomeſoeuer; therefore it is our moſt hartie deſire, and ſhall be alwayes our prayer vnto Almightie God, that in the ſelfeſame feruent zeale wherewith they ſeeme to affect the good of the ſoules of men and to thirſt after nothing more then that all men might by all meanes be directed in the way of life, both they and we may conſtantly perſiſt to the worlds end. For in this we are not their aduerſaries, though they in the other hetherto haue bene ours.

Of Prayer.

23 Betweene the throne of God in heauen and his Church vpon earth here militant if it be ſo that Angels haue their continuall intercourſe, where ſhould we finde the ſame more verified then in theſe two ghoſtly exerciſes, the one *Doctrine*, the other *Prayer*? For what is the aſſembling of the Church to learne, but the receiuing of Angels deſcended from aboue? What to pray, but the ſending of Angels vpward? His heauenly inſpirations and our holie deſires are as ſo many Angels of entercourſe and commerce betweene God and vs. As teaching bringeth vs to know that God is our ſupreme truth; ſo prayer teſtifieth that we acknowledge him our ſoueraigne good. Beſides, ſith on God as the moſt high all inferiour cauſes in the world are dependent, and the higher any cauſe is, the more it coueteth to impart vertue vnto things beneath it, how ſhould any kinde of ſeruice we do or can do, finde greater acceptance then prayer, which ſheweth our concurrence with him in deſiring that wherewith his very nature doth moſt delight? Is not

the

the name of prayer vſuall to ſignifie euen all the ſeruice that euer we do vnto God? And that for no other cauſe, as I ſuppoſe, but to ſhew that there is in religion no acceptable dutie which deuout inuocation of the name of God doth not either preſuppoſe or inferre. Prayers are thoſe [a] calues of mens lips; thoſe moſt gracious and ſweet [b] odors; thoſe rich preſents and gifts which being [c] carryed vp into heauen, do beſt teſtifie our dutifull affection, and are for the purchaſing of all fauour at the hands of God the moſt vndoubted meanes we can vſe. On others what more eaſily, and yet what more fruitefully beſtowed then our prayers? If we giue counſell, they are the ſimpler only that neede it; if almes, the poorer only are relieued; but by prayer we do good to all. And whereas euery other dutie beſides is but to ſhew it ſelfe as time and opportunitie require, for this [d] all times are conuenient: when we are not able to do any other thing for mens behoofe, when through maliciouſnes or vnkindnes they vouchſafe not to accept any other good at our hands, prayer is that which we alwayes haue in our power to beſtow, and they neuer in theirs to refuſe. Wherefore God forbid, ſayth [e] Samuel, ſpeaking vnto a moſt vnthankefull people, a people wearie of the benefite of his moſt vertuous gouernment ouer them, God forbid that I ſhould ſinne againſt the Lord, and ceaſe to pray for you. It is the firſt thing wherewith a righteous life beginneth, and the laſt wherewith it doth end. The knowledge is ſmall which we haue on earth concerning things that are done in heauen. Notwithſtanding thus much we know euen of Saincts in heauen that they pray. And therefore prayer being a worke common to the Church as well triumphant as militant, a worke common vnto men with Angels, what ſhould we thinke but that ſo much of our liues is celeſtiall and diuine as we ſpend in the exerciſe of prayer. For which cauſe we ſee that the moſt comfortable [f] viſitations, which God hath ſent men from aboue, haue taken eſpecially the times of prayer as their moſt naturall opportunities.

[a] *Oſe.14.3.*
[b] *Reu.5.8.*
[c] *Act.10.4.*
[d] *Rom.1.9. 1.Theſ.5.17. Luc.18.1.*
[e] *1.Sam.12.23*
[f] *Dan.9.20. Act.10.30.*

24 This holy and religious dutie of ſeruice towards God concerneth vs one way in that we are men, and another way in that we are ioyned as partes to that viſible myſticall body which is his Church. As men, we are at our owne [g] choice, both for time, and place, and forme, according to the exigence of our owne occaſions in priuat; But the ſeruice, which we do as members of a publique body, is publique, and for that cauſe muſt needes be accompted by ſo much worthier then the other, as a whole ſocietie of ſuch condition exceedeth the worth of any one. In which conſideration vnto Chriſtian aſſemblies there are [h] moſt ſpeciall promiſes made. [i] S. Paul, though likely to preuaile with God as much as one, did notwithſtanding thinke it much more both for Gods glory and his owne good, if prayers might be made and thanks yeelded in his behalfe by a number of men. The [k] Prince and people of Nineueh aſſembling themſelues as a maine army of ſupplicants, it was not in the power of God to withſtande them. I ſpeake no otherwiſe concerning the force of publique prayer in the Church of God, then before me [l] Tertullian hath done, *Wee come by troupes to the place of aſſemblie, that being banded as it were together, we may be ſupplicants enough to beſiege God with our prayers. Theſe forces are vnto him acceptable.* When wee publiquely make our prayers, it can-

Of publique Prayer.

[g] *Pſal.55.18. Dan.9.3. Act.10.9.*
[h] *Matth.18.20.*
[i] *2.Cor.1.11.*
[k] *Ioha.4.11.*
[l] *Apologet.1. 39. Ambroſ.lib.de pan. Multi minimi dum congregantur, vnanimes ſunt magni, & multorum preces inexpugnabile eſt contemni,*

it cannot be but that we do it with much more comfort then in priuat, for that the things we aske publiquely are approued as needefull and good in the iudgement of all, we heare them ſought for and deſired with common conſent. Againe, thus much help and furtherance is more yeelded, in that if ſo be our zeale and deuotion to Godward be ſlacke, the [a] alacritie and feruor of others ſeruеth as a preſent ſpurre. [b] *For euen prayer it ſelfe* (ſaith S. Baſill) *when it hath not the conſort of many voices to ſtrengthen it, is not it ſelfe.* Finally, the good which we do by publique prayer is more then in priuat can be done, for that beſides the benefit which heere is no leſſe procured to our ſelues, the whole Church is much bettered by our good example, and conſequently whereas ſecret neglect of our dutie in this kinde is but only our owne hurt, one mans contempt of the common prayer of the Church of God may be and oftentimes is moſt hurtfull vnto many. In which conſiderations the [c] Prophet Dauid ſo often voweth vnto God the ſacrifice of praiſe and thankſgiuing in the congregation; ſo earneſtly exhorteth others to ſing praiſes vnto the Lord in his Courtes, in his Sanctuarie, before the memoriall of his holines; and ſo much complaineth of his owne vncomfortable exile, wherein although he ſuſtained many moſt grieuous indignities, and indured the want of ſundrie both pleaſures and honors before inioyed, yet as if [d] this one were his only griefe and the reſt not felt, his ſpeeches are all of the heauenly benefit of publique aſſemblies, and the happines of ſuch as had free acceſſe thereunto.

a *Pſal.122.1.*

b Καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ προσευχὴ μὴ ἔχουσα τοὺς συμφωνοῦντας ἀναδρεσίρα πολλῷ ἑαυτῆς. *Baſil. epiſt. 63.*

c *Pſal.26.12. 34.18. Pſal.30.4. 96.9.*

d *Pſal.27.4. 42.4. 84.1.*

Of the forme of Common prayer,

25 A great part of the cauſe, wherefore religious mindes are ſo inflamed with the loue of publique deuotion, is that vertue, force and efficacie, which by experience they finde that the very forme and reuerend ſolemnitie of common prayer dulie ordered hath, to help that imbecillitie and weakenes in vs, by meanes whereof we are otherwiſe of our ſelues the leſſe apt to performe vnto God ſo heauenly a ſeruice, with ſuch affection of hart, and diſpoſition in the powers of our ſoules as is requiſite. To this end therefore all things hereunto apperteining haue bene euer thought conuenient to be done with the moſt ſolemnitie and maieſtie that the wiſeſt could deuiſe. It is not with publique as with priuat prayer. In this [e] rather ſecrecie is commended then outward ſhew, whereas that being the publique acte of a whole ſocietie, requireth accordingly more care to be had of externall appearance. The very aſſembling of men therefore vnto this ſeruice hath bene euer ſolemne. And concerning the place of aſſemblie, although it ſerue for other vſes as well as this, yet ſeeing that our Lord himſelfe hath to this as to the chiefeſt of all other plainely ſanctified his owne Temple, by entituling it [f] *the houſe of prayer*, what preeminence of dignitie ſoeuer hath bene either by the ordinance, or through the ſpeciall fauor and prouidence of God annexed vnto his Sanctuarie, the principall cauſe thereof muſt needes be in regard of *Common prayer*. For the honor and furtherance whereof, if it be as the graueſt of the [g] auncient Fathers ſeriouſly were perſwaded, and do oftentimes plainely teach, affirming that the houſe of prayer is a Court bewtified with the preſence of celeſtiall powers, that there we ſtand, we pray, we ſound forth hymnes vnto God, hauing his Angels intermingled as our aſſociates; and that with reference hereunto [h] the Apoſtle doth require ſo great care to be had of decencie for the Angels ſake; how can we

e *Math.6.5.6.*

f *Math.21.13.*

g *Chryſ. Hom. 15. ad Hebra. & 24. in Act.*

h *1.Cor.11.10.*

we come to the houſe of prayer, and not be moued with the [a] very glory of the place it ſelfe, ſo to frame our affections praying, as doth beſt beſeeme them, whoſe ſutes the Almightie doth there ſit to heare, and his Angels attend to further? When this was ingrafted in the mindes of men, there needed no penall ſtatutes to draw them vnto publique prayer. The watning ſound was no ſooner heard, but the [b] Churches were preſently filled, the pauements couered with bodies proſtrat, and waſht with their teares of deuout ioy. And as the place of publique prayer is a circumſtance in the outward forme thereof, which hath moment to help deuotion; ſo the perſon much more with whom the people of God do ioyne themſelues in this action, as with him that ſtandeth and ſpeaketh in the preſence of God for them. The authoritie of his place, the feruor of his zeale, the pietie and grauitie of his whole behauior muſt needes exceedingly both grace and ſet forward the ſeruice he doth. The authoritie of his calling is a furtherance, becauſe if God haue ſo farre receyued him into fauour, as to impoſe vpon him by the hands of men that office of bleſſing the people in his name, and making interceſſion to him in theirs, which office he hath ſanctified with his owne moſt gracious [c] promiſe, and ratified that promiſe by manifeſt actuall performance thereof, when [d] others before in like place haue done the ſame, is not his very ordination a ſeale as it were to vs that the ſelfeſame diuine loue which hath choſen the inſtrument to worke with, will by that inſtrument effect the thing whereto he ordeyned it, in bleſſing his people and accepting the prayers which his ſeruant offereth vp vnto God for them? It was in this reſpect a comfortable title which the auncient vſed to giue vnto Gods Miniſters, terming them vſually [e] *Gods moſt beloued*, which were ordeyned to procure by their prayers his loue and fauour towards all. Againe, if there be not zeale and feruencie in him which propoſeth for the reſt thoſe ſutes and ſupplications which they by their ioyfull acclamations muſt ratifie; if he praiſe not God with all his might; if he powre not out his ſoule in prayer; if he take not their cauſes to hart, or ſpeake not as Moſes, Daniel and Ezra did for their people; how ſhould there be but in them froſen coldnes, when his affections ſeeme benummed from whome theirs ſhould take fire? Vertue and godlines of life are required at the hands of the Miniſter of God, not only in that he is to teach and inſtruct the people, who for the moſt part are rather led away by the ill example, then directed aright by the wholeſome inſtruction of them, whoſe life ſwarueth from the rule of their owne doctrine; but alſo much more in regard of this other part of his function, whether we reſpect the weakenes of the people apt to loath and abhorre the ſanctuarie, when they which performe the ſeruice thereof are ſuch as the ſonnes of Heli were; or elſe conſider the [f] inclination of God himſelfe, who requireth the lifting vp of pure hands in prayer, and hath giuen the world plainely to vnderſtand that the wicked although they cry ſhall not be heard. They are no fit ſupplicants to ſeeke his mercie in behalfe of others, whoſe owne vnrepented ſinnes prouoke his iuſt indignation. [g] Let thy Prieſts therefore O Lord be euermore clothed with righteouſnes, that thy Saincts may thereby with more deuotion reioyce and ſing. But of all helps for due performance of this ſeruice the greateſt is that very ſet and ſtanding order it ſelfe,

[a] *Pſal. 96. 6.* Power and bewtie are in his ſanctuarie.

[b] *Ad domos ſtatim Dominicas currimus, corpora bumi ſternimus, mixtis cum fletu gaudijs ſupplicamus. Saluia. de prou. lib. 7.*

[c] *Num. 6. 23.*

[d] *2. Chr. 30. 27.*

[e] *Cod. lib. 1. tit. 3. de Epiſc. & cler. 43. & 44. ſæpe.*

[f] *1. Tim. 2. 8. Iohn. 9. 31. Iere. 11. 11. Ezech. 8. 18.*

[g] *Pſal. 132. 9.*

it ſelfe, which framed with common aduiſe, hath both for matter and forme preſcribed whatſoeuer is herein publiquely done. No doubt frō God it hath proceeded, and by vs it muſt be acknowledged a worke of his ſingular care and prouidence, that the Church hath euermore held a preſcript forme of common prayer, although not in all things euery where the ſame, yet for the moſt part reteining ſtill the ſame analogie. So that if the Liturgies of all ancient Churches throughout the world be compared amongſt themſelues, it may be eaſily perceiued they had all one originall mould, and that the publike prayers of the people of God in Churches throughly ſetled did neuer vſe to be voluntarie dictates proceeding from any mans extemporall wit. To him which conſidereth the grieuous and ſcandalous inconueniences whereunto they make themſelues dayly ſubiect, with whome any blinde and ſecret corner is iudged a fit houſe of common prayer; the manifold confuſions which they fall into where euery mans priuat ſpirit and gift (as they terme it) is the only Biſhop that ordeyneth him to this miniſterie; the irkeſome deformities whereby through endleſſe and ſenſeleſſe effuſions of indigeſted prayers they oftentimes diſgrace in moſt vnſufferable manner the worthyeſt part of Chriſtian dutie towards God, who herein are ſubiect to no certaine order, but pray both what and how they liſt; to him I ſay which wayeth duly all theſe things the reaſons cannot be obſcure, why God doth in publique prayer ſo much reſpect the [a] ſolemnitie of places where, [b] the authoritie and calling of perſons by whome, and the [c] preciſe appointment euen with what words or ſentences his name ſhould be called on amongſt his people.

a 2.Chro.6.20.
b Ioel.2.17.
c 2.Chron.29. 30.

Of them which like not to haue any ſet forme of common prayer.

26 No man hath hetherto bene ſo impious as plainely and directly to condemne prayer. The beſt ſtratageme that Satan hath who knoweth his kingdome to be no one way more ſhaken then by the publique deuout prayers of Gods Church, is by traducing the forme and manner of them to bring them into contempt, and ſo to ſhake the force of all mens deuotion towards them. From this and from no other forge hath proceeded a ſtrange conceipt, that to ſerue God with any ſet forme of common prayer is ſuperſtitious. As though [d] God himſelfe did not frame to his Prieſts the very ſpeech wherewith they were charged to bleſſe the people; or as if our Lord, euen of purpoſe to preuent this phancie of extemporall and voluntarie prayers, had not left vs of his owne framing one, which might both remaine as a part of the Church liturgie, and ſerue as a paterne whereby to frame all other prayers with efficacie, yet without ſuperfluitie of words. If prayers were no otherwiſe accepted of God then being conceiued alwayes new, according to the exigence of preſent occaſions; if it be right to iudge him by our owne bellies, and to imagin that he doth loath to haue the ſelfeſame ſupplications often iterated, euen as we do to be euery day fed without alteration or change of diet; if prayers be actions which ought to waſt away themſelues in the making; if being made to remaine that they may be reſumed and vſed againe as prayers, they be but inſtruments of ſuperſtition; ſurely we cannot excuſe Moſes, who gaue ſuch occaſion of ſcandall to the world, by not being contented to prayſe the name of Almightie God according to the vſuall naked ſimplicitie of Gods ſpirit for that admirable victorie giuen them againſt Pharao, vnleſſe ſo dangerous a precedent

d Num.6.23.

cedent were left for the caſting of prayers into certaine poeticall mouldes, and for the framing of prayers which might be repeated often, although they neuer had againe the ſame occaſions which brought them forth at the firſt. For that very hymne of Moſes grew afterwards to be a part of the ordinarie Iewiſh liturgie; nor only that, but ſundrie other ſithence inuented. Their bookes of common prayer conteyned partly hymnes taken out of the holy ſcripture, partly benedictions, thankſgiuings, ſupplications penned by ſuch as haue bene from time to time the gouernors of that ſynagogue. Theſe they ſorted into their ſeuerall times and places, ſome to begin the ſeruice of God with, and ſome to ende, ſome to go before, and ſome to follow, and ſome to be interlaced betweene the diuine readings of the Lawe and Prophets. Vnto their cuſtome of finiſhing the Paſſouer with certaine Pſalmes there is not any thing more probable, then that the holy Euangeliſt doth euidently allude ſaying, that after the cup deliuered by our Sauiour vnto his Apoſtles, [a] *they ſung* and went forth to the mount of Oliues. As the Iewes had their ſongs of Moſes and Dauid and the reſt, ſo the Church of Chriſt from the very beginning hath both vſed the ſame, and beſides them other alſo of like nature, the ſong of the Virgin Mary, the ſong of Zachary, the ſong of Simeon, ſuch hymnes as the Apoſtle doth often ſpeake of ſaying, [b] *I will pray and ſing with the ſpirit*; Againe, [c] *In Pſalmes, Hymnes, and Songs, making melodie vnto the Lord and that hartely.* Hymnes and Pſalmes are ſuch kindes of prayer as are not woont to be conceiued vpon a ſuddaine, but are framed by meditation before hand, or elſe by propheticall illumination are inſpired, as at that time it appeareth they were when God by extraordinary gifts of the ſpirit inabled men to all parts of ſeruice neceſſary for the edifying of his Church.

a *Math. 26. 30.* ὑμνήσαντες, hauing ſung the Pſalmes which were vſuall at that feaſt, thoſe Pſalmes which the Iewes call the great *Halleluia* beginning at the 113. and continuing to the end of the 118 See *Paul. Burgenſ. in Pſ. 112. addit. 1.* and *Scalig. de emendat. tempo.*

b *1. Cor. 14. 15.*

c *Epheſ. 5. 19.*

27 Now albeit the admonitioners did ſeeme at the firſt to allow no preſcript forme of prayer at all, but thought it the beſt that their Miniſter ſhould alwayes be left at libertie to pray as his owne diſcretion did ſerue, yet becauſe this opinion vpon better aduiſe they afterwards retracted, their defendor and his aſſociates haue ſithence propoſed to the world a forme ſuch as themſelues like, and to ſhew their diſlike of ours, haue taken againſt it thoſe exceptions, which whoſoeuer doth meaſure by number, muſt needes be greatly out of loue with a thing that hath ſo many faults; whoſoeuer by waight, cannot chooſe but eſteeme very highly of that, wherein the wit of ſo ſcrupulous aduerſaries hath not hetherto obſerued any defect which themſelues can ſeriouſly thinke to be of moment. *Groſſe errors and manifeſt impietie* they graunt we haue *taken away*. Yet [d] many things in it they ſay are amiſſe, many inſtances they giue of things in our common prayer not agreeable as they pretend with the word of God. It hath in their eye too great affinitie with the forme of the Church of Rome; it differeth too much from that which Churches elſewhere reformed allow and obſerue; our attyre diſgraceth it; it is not orderly read nor geſtured as beſeemeth; it requireth nothing to be done which a childe may not lawfully do; it hath a number of ſhort cuts or ſhreddings which may be better called wiſhes then prayers; it intermingleth prayings and readings in ſuch manner as if ſupplicants ſhould vſe in propoſing their ſutes vnto mortall Princes, all the world would iudge them mad; it is too long and by that meane

Of them who allowing a ſet forme of prayer, yet allow not ours.

d T.C. lib. 1. page 131. Afterwards pag. 135. Whereas M. Doctor affirmeth that there can be nothing ſhewed in ỹ whole booke which is not agreeable vnto the word of God: I am very loath &c.

Notwithstanding my dutie of defending the truth, and loue which I haue first towards God, and then towardes my countrey, constraineth me being thus prouoked to speake a few words more particularly of the forme of prayer, that when the blemishes thereof do appeare, it may please the Queenes Maiestie, and her honorable Councell, with those of the Parliamēt &c.

meane abridgeth preaching; it appoynteth the people to say after the Minister; it spendeth time in singing and in reading the Psalmes by course from side to side; it vseth the Lords Prayer too oft; the songs of *Magnificat*, *Benedictus*, and *Nunc dimittis* it might very well spare; it hath the *Letany*, the Creede of *Athanasius*, and *Gloria patri*, which are superfluous; it craueth earthly things too much; for deliuerance from those euils against which we pray it giueth no thankes; some things it asketh vnseasonablie when they neede not to be prayed for, as deliuerance from thunder and tempest when no danger is nigh; some in too abiect and diffident manner, as that God would giue vs that which we for our vnworthines dare not aske; some which ought not to be desired, as the deliuerance from suddaine death, riddance from all aduersitie, and the extent of sauing mercie towards all men. These and such like are the imperfections, whereby our forme of common prayer is thought to swarue from the word of God. A great fauourer of that part, but yet (his error that way excepted) a learned, a painefull, a right vertuous and a good man did not feare sometime to vndertake, against popish detractors, the generall maintenance and defense of our whole Church seruice, as hauing in it nothing repugnant to the word of God. And euen they which would file away most from the largenes of that offer, do notwithstanding in more sparing termes acknowledge little lesse. For when those opposite iudgements which neuer are woont to conster things doubtfull to the better, those very toongs which are alwayes prone to aggrauate whatsoeuer hath but the least shew whereby it may be suspected to sauour of or to sound towards any euill, do by their owne voluntarie sentence cleerely free vs from *grosse errors*, and from *manifest impietie* herein, who would not iudge vs to be discharged of all blame, which are confest to haue no great fault euen by their very word and testimonie, in whose eyes no fault of ours hath euer hitherto bene accustomed to seeme small? Neuertheless what they seeme to offer vs with the one hand, the same with the other they pull backe againe. They graunt we erre not in palpable manner, we are not openly and notoriously impious, yet errors we haue which the sharp insight of their wisest men do espie, there is hidden impietie which the profounder sort are able enough to disclose. Their skilfull eares perceiue certaine harsh and vnpleasant discords in the sound of our common prayer, such as the rules of diuine harmonie, such as the lawes of God cannot beare.

The forme of our Liturgie too neere the Papists, too farre different from that of other reformed Churches as they pretend.

28 Touching our conformitie with the Church of Rome, as also of the difference betweene some reformed Churches and ours, that which generally hath bene alreadie answered may serue for answere to that exception which in these two respects they take particularly against the forme of our common prayer. To say that in nothing they may be followed which are of the Church of Rome were violent and extreme. Some things they do in that they are men, in that they are wise men and Christian men somethings, some things in that they are men mis-led and blinded with error. As farre as they follow reason and truth, we feare not to tread the selfesame steps wherein they haue gone, and to be their followers. Where Rome keepeth that which is auncienter and better; others whome we much more affect leauing it for newer, and changing it for worse, we had rather follow the perfections of them whome

whome we like not, then in defects reſemble them whome we loue. For although they profeſſe they agree with vs touching [a] *a preſcript forme of prayer to be vſed in the Church*, yet in that very forme which they ſay is [b] *agreeable to Gods word, and the vſe of reformed Churches*, they haue by ſpeciall proteſtation declared, that their meaning is not it ſhall be preſcribed as a thing whereunto they will tye their Miniſter. *It ſhall not* (they ſay) *be neceſſary for the Miniſter dayly to repeate all theſe things before mentioned, but beginning with* ſome like *confeſſion to proceede to the Sermon, which ended, he* either *vſeth the prayer for all eſtates before mentioned*, or elſe prayeth as the ſpirit of God ſhall moue his heart. Herein therefore we hold it much better with the Church of Rome to appoint a preſcript forme which euery man ſhall be bound to obſerue, then with them to ſet downe a kinde of direction, a forme for men to vſe if they liſt, or otherwiſe to change as pleaſeth themſelues. Furthermore, the Church of Rome hath rightly alſo conſidered, that publique prayer is a dutie intire in it ſelfe, a dutie requiſite to be performed much oftner then ſermons can poſſible be made. For which cauſe, as they, ſo we haue likewiſe a publique forme how to ſerue God both morning and euening, whether ſermons may be had or no. On the contrary ſide, their forme of reformed prayer ſheweth only what ſhall be done [c] *vpon the dayes appointed for the preaching of the word*; with what words the Miniſter ſhall begin, [d] *when the houre appointed for the Sermon is come*; what ſhall be ſaid or ſung before *Sermon*, and what after. So that, according to this forme of theirs, it muſt ſtand for a rule, *No Sermon, no ſeruice*. Which ouerſight occaſioned the French ſpitefully to tearme religion in that ſort exerciſed a meere *preach*. Sundrie other more particular defects there are, which I willingly forbeare to rehearſe, in conſideration whereof we cannot be induced to preferre their reformed forme of prayer before our owne, what Church ſoeuer we reſemble therein.

[a] T.C.lib.1. pag. 135.
[b] A booke of the forme of common prayers tendered to the Parliamẽt. pag 46.
[c] Pag. 22.
[d] 24.

29 The attyre which the Miniſter of God is by order to vſe at times of diuine ſeruice being but a matter of meere formalitie, yet ſuch as for comlines ſake hath hitherto bene iudged by the wiſer ſort of men not vnneceſſarie to concurre with other ſenſible notes betokening the different kinde or qualitie of perſons and actions whereto it is tyed, as we thinke not our ſelues the holier becauſe we vſe it, ſo neither ſhould they with whome no ſuch thing is in vſe thinke vs therefore vnholie, becauſe we ſubmit our ſelues vnto that, which in a matter ſo indifferent the wiſedome of authoritie and lawe haue thought comely. To ſolemne actions of royaltie and iuſtice their ſuteable ornaments are a bewtie. Are they only in religion a ſtaine? [e] *Diuine religion* ſaith S.Ierome (he ſpeaketh of the prieſtly attyre of the lawe) *hath one kinde of habit wherein to miniſter before the Lord, an other for ordinarie vſes belonging vnto common life*. Pelagius hauing carped at the curious neatnes of mens apparell in thoſe dayes, and through the ſowernes of his diſpoſition ſpoken ſomewhat too hardly thereof, affirming that [f] *the glory of cloathes and ornaments was a thing contrary to God and godlines*; S.Ierome whoſe cuſtome is not to pardon ouer-eaſily his aduerſaries, if any where they chaunce to trip, preſſeth him as thereby making all ſorts of men in the world *Gods enimies. Is it enmitie with God* (ſayth he) *if I weare my coate ſomewhat hanſome?* If a Biſhop, a Prieſt, a Deacon, and the reſt

Attyre belonging to the ſeruice of God. T.C.lib.1. pag.71. We thinke the ſurplice eſpecially vnmeete for a Miniſter of the Goſpell to weare, pa.75 It is eaſily ſeene by Salomon Eccleſ.8.9. that to weare a white garment was greatly eſteemed in the Eaſt parts, and was ordinary to thoſe that were in any eſtimation, as blacke with vs: and therefore was no ſeuerall apparell for the Miniſters to execute their miniſterie in.
[e] *Hieron.in 44. Ezech.*
[f] *Hieron.Aduer. Pelag.lib.1.ca.9.*

rest of the Ecclesiasticall order *come to administer the vsuall sacrifice in a* [a] *white garment*, are they hereby Gods aduersaries? *Clarkes, Monkes, Widowes, Virgins, take heed, it is dangerous for you to be otherwise seene then in foule and ragged cloathes. Not to speake any thing of secular men, which are proclaymed to haue warre with God, as oft as euer they put on precious and shining clothes.* By which words of Ierome we may take it at the least for a probable collection, that his meaning was to draw Pelagius into hatred, as condemning by so generall a speech euen the neatenes of that very garment it selfe, wherein the Clergie did then vse to administer publiquely the holy sacrament of Christs most blessed body and bloud. For that they did then vse some such ornament, the words of [b] Chrysostome giue plaine testimonie, who speaking to the Clergie of Antioch, telleth them that if they did suffer notorious malefactors to come to the Table of our Lord and not put them by, it would be as heauily reuenged vpon them, as if themselues had shed his bloud, that for this purpose God had called them to the roomes which they held in the Church of Christ, that this they should recken was *their dignitie, this their safetie, this their whole crowne and glory*; and therefore this they should carefully intend, and not when the sacrament is administred imagin themselues called only *to walke vp and downe in a white and shining garment.* Now whereas these speeches of Ierome and Chrysostome do seeme plainely to allude vnto such ministeriall garments as were then in vse, to this they answere, that by Ierome nothing can be gathered but only that the Ministers came to Church in hansome holiday apparell, and that himselfe did not thinke them bound by the law of God to go like slouens, but the weed which we meane he defendeth not; that [c] Chrysostome meaneth in deed the same which we defend, but seemeth rather to reprehend then to allow it as we do. Which answere wringeth out of Ierome and Chrysostome that which their words will not gladly yeeld. They both speake of the same persons namely the Clergie; and of their weed at the same time when they administer the blessed sacrament; and of the selfe same kinde of weed, a white garment, so farre as we haue wit to conceiue; and for any thing we are able to see, their manner of speech is not such as doth argue either the thing it selfe to be different whereof they speake, or their iudgemēts concerning it different; although the one do only maintaine it against Pelagius, as a thing not therefore vnlawfull, becausse it was faire or hansome, and the other make it a matter of small commendation in it selfe, if they which weare it do nothing els but aire the robes which their place requireth. The honestie, dignitie and estimation of white apparell in the Easterne part of the world is a token of greater fitnes for this sacred vse, wherein it were not conuenient that any thing basely thought of should be suffered. Notwithstanding I am not bent to stand stiffely vpon these probabilities, that in Ieromes and Chrysostomes time any such attire was made seuerall to this purpose. Yet surely the words of Salomon are very impertinent to proue it an ornament, *therefore* not seuerall for the Ministers to execute their ministerie in, becausse men of credit and estimation wore their ordinarie apparrell white. For we know that whē Salomon wrote those words, the seuerall apparell for the ministers of the law to execute their ministerie in was such. The [d] wise man which feared God from his hart, and honoured the seruice

[a] T.C.lib.1. pag. 77. By a white garment is meant a comely apparell, and not slouenly.

[b] *Chrysost. ad popul. Antioch. to.5.serm.60.*

[c] T.C.lib.1. pag.75. It is true, Chrysostome maketh mention of a white garment, but not in commendation of it but rather to the contrary: for he sheweth that the dignitie of their ministerie was in taking heede that none vnmeete were admitted to the Lords supper, not in going about the Church with a white garment.

[d] *Eccles.45.7.*

ſeruice that was done vnto him, could not mention ſo much as the garments of holines but with effectuall ſignification of moſt ſingular reuerence and loue. Were it not better that the loue which men beare to God ſhould make the leaſt things that are imployed in his ſeruice amiable, then that their ouer-ſcrupulous diſlike of ſo meane a thing as a veſtment ſhould frō the very ſeruice of God withdraw their harts and affections? I tearme it the rather a meane thing, a thing not much to be reſpected, becauſe euen they ſo accompt now of it, whoſe firſt diſputatiōs againſt it were ſuch as if religion had ſcarcely any thing of greater waight. Their [a] allegations were then, that *if a man were aſſured to gaine a thouſand by doing that which may offend any one brother, or be vnto him a cauſe of falling, he ought not to do it*; that this *popiſh apparell, the ſurplice eſpecially hath bene by Papiſts abhominably abuſed*; that it hath bene *a marke and a very ſacrament of abhomination*; that remayning, it ſerueth as *a monument of Idolatrie*, and not only edifieth not but as a dangerous and ſcandalous Ceremonie doth exceeding much harme *to them of whoſe good we are commanded to haue regard*; that it cauſeth men *to periſh and make ſhipwrack of conſcience*, for ſo themſelues profeſſe they meane, when they ſay the weake are offended herewith; that it *hardneth Papiſts, hindereth the weake from profiting in the knowledge of the Goſpell, grieueth godly mindes, and giueth them occaſion to thinke hardly of their Miniſters*; that if the *Magiſtrate may commaund*, or *the Church appoint* rites and Ceremonies, yet ſeeing our *abſtinence from things in their owne nature indifferent if the weake brother ſhould be offended, is a flat commandement of the holy Ghoſt, which no authoritie either of Church or Common-wealth can make voyd*, therefore neither may the one nor the other lawfully *ordeyne this Ceremonie which hath great incommoditie and no profit, great offence and no edifying*; that by the lawe it ſhould haue bene burnt and conſumed with fire as a thing infected with leproſie; that the example of Ezechias beating to powder the Braſen Serpent, and of Paule abrogating thoſe abuſed feaſts of Charitie, *inforceth vpon vs the dutie of aboliſhing altogether* a thing which hath bene and is ſo offenſiue; finally, that God by his Prophet hath giuen *an expreſſe Commandement* which in this caſe toucheth vs no leſſe then of old it did the Iewes, [b] *Ye ſhall polute the couering of the images of ſiluer and the rich ornament of your images of gold, and caſt them away as a ſtayned rag, thou ſhalt ſay vnto it, Get thee hence.* Theſe and ſuch like were their firſt diſcourſes touching that Church attyre which with vs for the moſt part is vſuall in publique prayer; our eccleſiaſticall lawes ſo appointing, as well becauſe it hath bene of reaſonable continuance, and by ſpeciall choice was taken out of the number of thoſe holy garmēts, which (ouer and beſides their myſticall reference) ſerued for [c] *comlines* [d] vnder the law, and is in the number of thoſe Ceremonies, which may with choice & diſcretion be vſed to that purpoſe in the church of Chriſt; as alſo for that it ſuteth ſo fitly with that lightſome affection of [e] ioy, wherein God delighteth whē his Saincts praiſe him; and ſo liuely reſembleth the glory of the Saincts in heauen, together with the bewtie wherein Angels haue appeared vnto men, that they which are to appeare for men in the preſence of God as Angels, if they were left to their owne choice and would chooſe any, could not eaſily deuiſe a garment of more decencie for ſuch a ſeruice. As for thoſe forereherſed vehement allegations againſt it, ſhall we giue them

[a] T.C.lib.1. pag.79. 71. 75. 72. T.C.lib.2. pag.403. Lib.1.pag.73. Page.73. Page.76. Lib.2.pa.403. Lib.1.pag.78. Page.81. Page.78.

[b] *Eſa.30.22.*

[c] *Exod.28.2.*
[d] *Exod.39.27.*

[e] *Pſal.149.2. Apoc.15.6. Marc.16.5.*

credit whē the very authors from whome they come confeſſe they belieue not their owne ſayings? For when once they began to perceiue how many both of them in the two Vniuerſities, and of others who abroad hauing eccleſiaſticall charge do fauor mightely their cauſe and by all meanes ſet it forward, might by perſiſting in the extremitie of that opinion hazard greatly their owne eſtates, and ſo weaken that part which their places do now giue them much opportunitie to ſtrengthen, they asked counſell as it ſeemeth from ſome abroad, who wiſely conſidered that the body is of farre more worth then the rayment. Whereupon for feare of dangerous inconueniences, it hath bene thought good to adde, [a] that ſometimes authoritie *muſt and may with good conſcience be obeyed, euen where commandement is not giuen vpon good grounds*; that *the dutie of preaching is one of the abſolute commandements of God, and therefore ought not to be forſaken for the bare inconuenience of a thing which in the owne nature is indifferent*; that *one of the fouleſt ſpots in the ſurplis is the offence which it giueth in occaſioning the weake to fall and the wicked to be* confirmed in their wickednes, yet hereby there is no vnlawfulnes proued but *only an inconueniencie* that ſuch things ſhould be eſtabliſhed, howbeit no ſuch inconueniencie neither *as may not be borne with*; that when God doth flatly commaund vs to abſtaine from things in their owne nature indifferent if they offend our weake bretheren, his meaning is not we ſhould obey his commandement herein vnleſſe we may do it *and not leaue vndone that which the Lord hath abſolutely cōmanded.* Alwayes prouided that whoſoeuer will inioy the benefit of this diſpēſation to weare a ſcandalous badge of idolatrie, rather then forſake his paſtorall charge, do *as occaſion ſerueth teach* neuertheleſſe ſtill *the incommoditie of the thing it ſelfe, admoniſh the weake brethren that they be not, and pray vnto God ſo to ſtrengthen them that they may not be offended thereat.* So that whereas before they which had authoritie to inſtitute rites and ceremonies, were denied to haue power to inſtitute this, it is now confeſt that this they may alſo *lawfully* but not ſo *conueniently* appoint; they did well before and as they ought, who had it in vtter deteſtation and hatred as a thing abhominable, they now do well which thinke it may be both borne and vſed with a very good conſcience; before, he which by wearing it were ſure to winne thouſands vnto Chriſt ought not to do it if there were but one which might be offended, now though it be with the offence of thouſands yet it may be done rather then that ſhould be giuen ouer whereby notwithſtanding we are not certaine we ſhall gaine one; the examples of Ezechias and of Paule, the charge which was giuen to the Iewes by Eſay, the ſtrict apoſtolicall prohibition of things indifferent whenſoeuer they may be ſcandalous were before ſo forcible lawes againſt our eccleſiaſticall attire, as neither Church nor Common-wealth could poſſiblie make voide, which now one of farre leſſe authoritie then either hath found how to fruſtrate by diſpenſing with the breach of inferior commandements, to the ende that the greater may be kept. But it booteth them not thus to ſoder vp a broken cauſe, whereof their firſt and laſt diſcourſes will fall aſunder doe what they can. Let them ingenuouſly confeſſe that their inuectiues were too bitter, their arguments too weake, the matter not ſo dangerous as they did imagin. If thoſe alleaged teſtimonies of ſcripture did indeede concerne the matter to ſuch effect

as

[a] T.C. lib.1. pag 74. & Lib.2.pa.250. Index. lib.3. cap.8. Lib.3.pa.262. Pag.263.

Lib.3.pa.263.

Pag.263.

as was pretended, that which they ſhould inferre were vnlawfulnes, becauſe they were cited as prohibitions of that thing which indeede they concerne. If they proue not our attyre vnlawfull becauſe in truth they concerne it not, it followeth that they proue not any thing againſt it, and conſequently not ſo much as vncomlines or inconueniẽcie. Vnleſſe therfore they be able throughly to reſolue thẽſelues that there is no one ſentence in all the ſcriptures of God which doth controll the wearing of it in ſuch maner and to ſuch purpoſe as the Church of England alloweth; vnleſſe they can fully reſt and ſettle their mindes in this moſt ſound perſwaſion, that they are not to make themſelues the only competent iudges of decencie in theſe caſes, and to deſpiſe the ſolemne iudgement of the whole Church, preferring before it their owne conceipt, grounded only vpon vncertaine ſuſpitions and feares, whereof if there were at the firſt ſome probable cauſe when things were but rawe and tender, yet now very tract of time hath it ſelfe worne that out alſo; vnleſſe I ſay thus reſolued in minde they hold their paſtorall charge with the comfort of a good conſcience, no way grudging at that which they do, or doing that which they thinke themſelues bound of dutie to reproue, how ſhould it poſſiblie helpe or further them in their courſe to take ſuch occaſiõs as they ſay are requiſite to be taken, and in penſiue manner to tell their audience, *Bretheren, our hearts deſire is* « *that we might inioy the full libertie of the Goſpell as in other reformed Churches they do* « *elſewhere, vpon whome the heauie hand of authoritie hath impoſed no grieuous burthen.* « *But ſuch is the miſerie of theſe our dayes, that ſo great happines we cannot looke to attaine* « *vnto. Were it ſo, that the equitie of the law of Moſes could preuaile; or the zeale of Eze-* « *chias be found in the harts of thoſe guides and gouernors vnder whome we liue; or the* « *voice of Gods owne Prophets be duly heard; or the example of the Apoſtles of Chriſt be* « *followed, yea or their precepts be anſwered with full and perfect obedience, theſe abhomi-* « *nable rags, poluted garments, marks and ſacraments of idolatrie, which power as you ſee* « *conſtrayneth vs to weare and conſcience to abhorre, had long ere this day bene remoued* « *both out of ſight and out of memory. But as now things ſtand, behold to what narrow* « *ſtraights we are driuen. On the one ſide we feare the words of our Sauiour Chriſt, wo be* « *to them by whome ſcandall and offence commeth; on the other ſide at the Apoſtles ſpeech* « *we cannot but quake and tremble, If I preach not the Goſpell wo be vnto me. Being thus* « *hardly beſet, we ſee not any other remedie but to hazard your ſoules the one way, that we* « *may the other way endeuour to ſaue them. Touching the offenſe of the weake therefore,* « *we muſt aduenture it. If they periſh, they periſh. Our paſtorall charge is Gods abſolute* « *commandement. Rather then that ſhall be taken from vs, we are reſolued to take this* « *filth and to put it on, although we iudge it to be ſo vnfit and inconuenient, that as oft as* « *euer we pray or preach ſo arayed before you, we do as much as in vs lyeth to caſt away your* « *ſoules that are weake minded, and to bring you vnto endleſſe perdition. But we beſeech* « *you bretheren haue care of your owne ſafetie, take heed to your ſteps that ye be not take in* « *thoſe ſnares which we lay before you. And our prayer in your behalfe to Almightie God is,* « *that the poiſon which we offer you may neuer haue the power to do you harme.* Aduiſe « and counſell is beſt ſought for at their hands which either haue no part at all in the cauſe whereof they inſtruct, or elſe are ſo farre ingaged that themſelues are to beare the greateſt aduẽture in the ſucceſſe of their owne counſels. The one of which two conſiderations maketh men the leſſe reſpectiue, and

the other the more circumſpect. Thoſe good and learned men which gaue the firſt direction to this courſe had reaſon to wiſh that their owne proceedings at home might be fauoured abroad alſo, and that the good affection of ſuch as inclined towards them might be kept aliue. But if themſelues had gone vnder thoſe ſailes which they require to be hoiſed vp, if they had bene themſelues to execute their owne theorie in this Church, I doubt not but eaſily they would haue ſeene being neerer at hand, that the way was not good which they tooke of aduiſing men, firſt to weare the apparell, that thereby they might be free to continue their preaching, and then of requiring them ſo to preach as they might be ſure they could not continue, except they imagin that lawes which permit them not to do as they would, will indure them to ſpeake as they liſt euen againſt that which themſelues do by conſtraint of lawes; they would haue eaſily ſeene that our people being accuſtomed to thinke euermore that thing euill which is publiquely vnder any pretenſe reproued, and the men themſelues worſe which reproue it and vſe it too, it ſhould be to little purpoſe for them to ſalue the wound by making proteſtations in diſgrace of their owne actions, with plaine acknowledgement that they are ſcandalous, or by vſing faire intreatie with the weake bretheren; they would eaſily haue ſeene how with vs it cannot be indured to heare a man openly profeſſe that he putteth fire to his neighbors houſe, but yet ſo halloweth the ſame with prayer that he hopeth it ſhall not burne. It had bene therefore perhaps ſafer and better for ours to haue obſerued [a] S. Baſils aduiſe both in this and in all things of like nature, *Let him which approueth not his gouernors ordinances either plainely (but priuatly alwayes) ſhew his diſlike if he haue λόγον ἰσχυρὸν, ſtrong and inuincible reaſon againſt them, according to the true will and meaning of Scripture, or elſe let him quietly with ſilence do that which is inioyned.* Obedience with profeſt vnwillingnes to obey is no better then manifeſt diſobedience.

a *Baſil. Aſcet. reſponſ. ad inter. 47.*

30 Hauing thus diſputed whether the ſurplice be a fit garment to be vſed in the ſeruice of God, the next queſtion whereinto we are drawne is, whether it be a thing allowable or no that the Miniſter ſhould ſay ſeruice in the Chancell, or turne his face at any time from the people, or before ſeruice ended remoue from the place where it was begun. By them which trouble vs with theſe doubts we would more willingly be reſolued of a greater doubt, whether it be not a kinde of taking Gods name in vaine to debaſe religion with ſuch friuolous diſputes, a ſinne to beſtow time and labour about them. Things of ſo meane regard and qualitie, although neceſſarie to be ordered, are notwithſtanding very vnſauorie when they come to be diſputed of; becauſe diſputation preſuppoſeth ſome difficultie in the matter which is argued, whereas in things of this nature they muſt be either very ſimple or very froward who neede to be taught by diſputation what is meete. When we make profeſſion of our faith we ſtand; when we acknowledge our ſinnes or ſeeke vnto God for fauour, we fall downe, becauſe the geſture of conſtancie becommeth vs beſt in the one, in the other the behauiour of humilitie. Some parts of our Liturgie conſiſt in the reading of the word of God, and the proclayming of his lawe, that the people may thereby learne what theyr duties are towardes him; ſome conſiſt in wordes of prayſe and thankſgiuing, whereby

Of geſture in praying, and of different places choſen to that purpoſe. T. C. li. 1. pag. 134.

whereby we acknowledge vnto God what his bleſſings are towards vs; ſome are ſuch as albeit they ſerue to ſingular good purpoſe euen when there is no Communion adminiſtred, neuertheleſſe being deuiſed at the firſt for that purpoſe are at the Table of the Lord for that cauſe alſo commonly read; ſome are vttered as from the people, ſome as with them vnto God, ſome as from God vnto them, all as before his ſight whom we feare, and whoſe preſence to offend with any the leaſt vnſeemelines we would be ſurely as loath as they who moſt reprehend or deride that we do. [a] Now becauſe the Goſpels which are weekly read do all hiſtorically declare ſomething which our Lord Ieſus Chriſt himſelfe either ſpake, did or ſuffered in his owne perſon, it hath bene the cuſtome of Chriſtian men then eſpecially in token of the greater reuerence to ſtand, to vtter certaine words of acclamation, and at the name of Ieſus to bowe. Which harmeleſſe Ceremonies as there is *no man conſtrained to vſe*, ſo we know no reaſon wherefore any man ſhould yet imagin it an vnſufferable euill. It ſheweth a [b] reuerend regard to the Sonne of God aboue other meſſengers, although ſpeaking as from God alſo. And againſt Infidels, Iewes, Arrians, who derogate from the honor of Ieſus Chriſt ſuch Ceremonies are moſt profitable. [c] As for any erronious *eſtimation* aduancing the Sonne *aboue the Father and the holy Ghoſt*, ſeeing that the truth of his equalitie with them is a myſterie ſo hard for the wits of mortall men to riſe vnto, of all hereſies that which may giue him ſuperioritie aboue them is leaſt to be feared. But to let go this as a matter ſcarce worth the ſpeaking of, whereas if fault be in theſe things any where iuſtly found, law hath referred the whole diſpoſition and redreſſe thereof to the Ordinarie of the place; [d] they which elſewhere complaine that diſgrace and *iniurie* is offered euen to the meaneſt pariſh Miniſter, when the Magiſtrate appointeth him what to weare, and leaueth not ſo ſmall a matter as that to his owne diſcretion, being preſumed a man diſcreet and truſted with the care of the peoples ſoules, do [e] thinke the graueſt Prelates in the land no competent Iudges to diſcerne and appoint where it is fit for the Miniſter to ſtand, or which way conuenient to looke praying. From their Ordinarie therefore they appeale to themſelues, finding great fault that we neither reforme the thing againſt the which they haue ſo long ſithence giuen ſentence, nor yet make anſwere vnto that they bring, which is that [f] S. Luke declaring how Peter ſtood vp *in the midſt of the diſciples*, did thereby deliuer an [g] *vnchangeable* rule, that *whatſoeuer* is done in the Church *ought to be done* in the midſt of the Church, and therefore not Baptiſme to be adminiſtred in one place, Mariage ſolemnized in another, the Supper of the Lord receiued in a third, in a fourth Sermons, in a fift prayers to be made; that the cuſtome which we vſe is Leuiticall, abſurd, and ſuch as hindereth the vnderſtanding of the people; that if it be *meete* for the Miniſter at ſometime to looke towards the people, if the body of the Church be a fit place for ſome part of diuine ſeruice, it muſt needes follow that whenſoeuer his face is turned any other way, or any thing done any other where, it hath abſurditie. *All theſe reaſons* they ſay haue bene brought, and were hetherto neuer anſwered, beſides a number of meriments and ieſts vnanſwered likewiſe, wherewith they haue pleaſantly moued much laughter at our manner of ſeruing God. Such is their euill hap to play vpon dull ſpirited men.

[a] T.C.lib.1. pag.203.

[b] *Marc.12.6.*

[c] T.C.lib.3. pag.215.

[d] T.C.lib.1. pag.74.

[e] T.C.lib.1. pag.134. Lib.3.pa.187.

[f] *Act.1.15.*

[g] T.C.lib.1. pag.134. Lib.3.pa.187.

We are ſtill perſwaded that a bare denyall is anſwere ſufficient to things which meere fancie obiecteth; and that the beſt apologie to words of ſcorne and petulancie is Iſacks apologie to his brother Iſmael, the apologie which patience and ſilence maketh. Our anſwere therefore to their reaſons is no; to their ſcoffes nothing.

Eaſines of praying after our forme.

[a] T.C.lib.1. pag.133. & lib.3.pag.184. Another fault in the whole ſeruice or Liturgie of England is for that it maintaineth an vnpreaching Miniſterie, in requiring nothing to be done by the Miniſter which a child of ten yeares old can nót do as well and as lawfully as that man wherewith the booke contenteth it ſelfe.

31 When they obiect that our booke requireth [a] nothing to be done which a childe may not do as *lawfully and as well as that man wherewith the booke contenteth it ſelfe*, is it their meaning that the ſeruice of God ought to be a matter of great difficultie, a labour which requireth great learning and deepe skill, or els that the booke conteining it ſhould teach what men are fit to attend vpon it, and forbid either men vnlearned or children to be admitted thereunto? In ſetting downe the forme of common prayer, there was no neede that the booke ſhould mention either the learning of a fit, or the vnfitnes of an ignorant Miniſter, more then that he which deſcribeth the manner how to pitch a field ſhould ſpeake of moderation and ſobrietie in diet. And concerning the dutie it ſelfe, although the hardnes thereof be not ſuch as needeth much arte, yet ſurely they ſeeme to be very farre carryed beſides themſelues to whome the dignitie of publique prayer doth not diſcouer ſomewhat more fitnes in men of grauitie and ripe diſcretion then in children of *ten yeares of age*, for the decent diſcharge and performance of that office. It cannot be that they who ſpeake thus ſhould thus iudge. At the boord and in priuate it very well becommeth childrens innocencie to pray, and their elders to ſay Amen. Which being a part of their vertuous education, ſerueth greatly both to nouriſh in them the feare of God, and to put vs in continuall remembrãce of that powerfull grace which openeth the mouthes of infants to ſound his prayſe. But publique prayer, the ſeruice of God in the ſolemne aſſemblie of Saincts is a worke though eaſie yet withall ſo waightie and of ſuch reſpect, that the great facilitie thereof is but a ſlender argument to proue it may be as well and as lawfully committed to children as to men of yeares, howſoeuer their abilitie of learning be but only to do that in decent order wherewith the booke contenteth it ſelfe. The booke requireth but orderly reading. As in truth what ſhould any preſcript forme of prayer framed to the Miniſters hand require, but only ſo to be read as behoueth? We know that there are in the world certaine voluntarie ouerſeers of all bookes, whoſe cenſure in this reſpect would fall as ſharp on vs as it hath done on many others, if deliuering but a forme of prayer, we ſhould either expreſſe or include any thing, more then doth properly concerne prayer. The Miniſters greatnes or meanneſſe of knowledge to do other things, his aptnes or inſufficiencie otherwiſe then by reading to inſtruct the flocke, ſtandeth in this place as a ſtranger with whome our forme of common prayer hath nothing to do. Wherein their exception againſt eaſines, as if that did nouriſh ignorance, proceedeth altogether of a needles iealouſie. I haue often heard it inquired of by many, how it might be brought to paſſe that the Church ſhould euery where haue able Preachers to inſtruct the people; what impediments there are to hinder it, and which were the ſpeedieſt way to remoue them. In which conſultations the multitude of pariſhes, the paucitie of ſchooles, the manifold diſcouragements which are offered vnto

mens inclinations that way, the penurie of the eccleſiaſticall eſtate, the irrecouerable loſſe of ſo many liuings of principall value cleane taken away from the Church long ſithence by being appropriated, the dayly bruſes that ſpirituall promotions vſe to take by often falling, the want of ſomewhat in certaine ſtatutes which concerne the ſtate of the Church, the too great facilitie of many Biſhops, the ſtonie hardnes of too many patrons harts not touched with any feeling in this caſe: ſuch things oftentimes are debated, and much thought vpon by them that enter into any diſcourſe concerning defect of knowledge in the Clergie. But whoſoeuer be found guiltie, the Communion booke hath ſurely deſerued leaſt to be cald in queſtion for this fault. If all the Clergie were as learned as themſelues are that moſt complaine of ignorance in others, yet our booke of prayer might remaine the ſame; and remaining the ſame it is, I ſee not how it can be a let vnto any mans skill in preaching. Which thing we acknowledge to be Gods good gift, howbeit no ſuch neceſſarie element that euery act of religion ſhould be thought imperfect and lame wherein there is not ſomewhat exacted that none can diſcharge but an able Preacher.

32 Two faults there are which our Lord and Sauiour himſelfe eſpeciallie reproued in prayer, the one when oſtentation did cauſe it to be open; the other when ſuperſtition made it long. As therefore prayers the one way are faultie, not whenſoeuer they be openly made, but when hypocriſie is the cauſe of open praying: ſo the length of prayer is likewiſe a fault, howbeit not ſimplie, but where error and ſuperſtition cauſeth more then conuenient repetition or continuation of ſpeech to be vſed. It is not as ſome do imagin (ſaith S.[a] Auguſtine) that long praying is that fault of much ſpeaking in prayer which our Sauiour did reproue; for then would not he himſelfe in prayer haue continued[b] whole nightes. Vſe in prayer no vaine ſuperfluitie of words as the Heathens do, for they imagin that their much ſpeaking will cauſe them to be heard, where as in truth the thing which God doth regard is how vertuous their mindes are, and not how copious their toongs in prayer; how well they thinke, and not how long they talke who come to preſent their ſupplications before him. Notwithſtanding for as much as in publique prayer we are not only to conſider what is needfull in reſpect of God, but there is alſo in men that which we muſt regard; we ſomewhat the rather incline to length, leaſt ouer-quicke diſpatch of a dutie ſo important ſhould giue the world occaſion to deeme that the thing it ſelfe is but little accompted of, wherein but little time is beſtowed. Length therefore is a thing which the grauitie and waight of ſuch actions doth require. Beſides, this benefit alſo it hath, that they whome earneſt lets and impediments do often hinder from being partakers of the whole, haue yet through the length of diuine ſeruice opportunitie left them at the leaſt for acceſſe vnto ſome reaſonable part thereof. Againe it ſhould be conſidered, how it doth come to paſſe that we are ſo long. For if that very ſeruice of God in the Iewiſh Synagogues, which our Lord did approue and ſanctifie with the preſence of his owne perſon, had ſo large portions of the law and the prophets together with ſo many prayers and Pſalmes read day by day as equall in a manner the length of ours, and yet in that reſpect was neuer thought to deſerue blame, is it now an offence that the like meaſure

The length of our ſeruice. T.C. lib. 1. pag. 133. & lib. 3. pag. 184.

[a] *Aug. ep. 121.*

[b] *Luc. 6. 12.*

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of time is beſtowed in the like maner? Peraduenture the Church hath not now the leaſure which it had then, or els thoſe things whereupon ſo much time was then well ſpent, haue ſithence that loſt their dignitie and worth. If the reading of the Law, the Prophets and Pſalmes be a part of the ſeruice of God as needfull vnder Chriſt as before, and the adding of the new Teſtament as profitable as the ordeyning of the old to be read; if therewith in ſtead of Iewiſh prayers it be alſo for the good of the Church to annex that varietie which [a] the Apoſtle doth commend; ſeeing that the time which we ſpend is no more then the orderly performance of theſe things neceſſarily requireth, why are we thought to exceede in length? Words be they neuer ſo few are too many when they benefit not the hearer. But he which ſpeaketh no more then edifieth is vndeſeruedly reprehended for much ſpeaking. That as [b] *the Diuell vnder colour of long prayer draue preaching out of the Church* heretofore, ſo we *in appointing ſo long time of prayers and reading, whereby the leſſe can be ſpent in preaching, maintaine an vnpreaching miniſterie*, is neither aduiſedly nor truly ſpoken. They reproue long prayer and yet acknowledge it to be in it ſelfe a thing commendable. For ſo it muſt needes be, if the Diuell haue vſed it as *a colour* to hide his malitious practiſes. When malice would worke that which is euill, and in working auoide the ſuſpition of any euill intent, the colour wherewith it ouercaſteth it ſelfe is alwaies a faire and plauſible pretenſe of ſeeking to further that which is good. So that if we both reteine that good which Satan hath pretended to ſeeke, and auoyd the euill which his purpoſe was to effect, haue we not better preuented his malice then if as he hath vnder colour of long prayer driuen preaching out of the Church, ſo we ſhould take the quarell of ſermons in hand and reuenge their cauſe by requitall, thruſting prayer in a manner out of dores vnder colour of long preaching? In caſe our prayers being made at their full length did neceſſarily inforce ſermons to be the ſhorter, yet neither were this to vphold and maintaine an *vnpreaching* miniſterie, vnleſſe we will ſay that thoſe auncient Fathers, Chryſoſtome, Auguſtine, Leo, and the reſt, whoſe Homilies in that conſideration were ſhorter for the moſt part then our ſermons are, did then not preach when their ſpeeches were not long. The neceſſitie of ſhortnes cauſeth men to cut off impertinent diſcourſes, and to compriſe much matter in few words. But neither doth it maintaine inhabilitie, nor at all preuent opportunitie of preaching, as long as a competent time is graunted for that purpoſe. *An howre and a halfe* is, they ſay, in reformed Churches *ordinarily* thought reaſonable for *their whole liturgie or ſeruice*. Do we then continue as [c] Ezra did in reading the lawe from morning till midday? or [d] as the Apoſtle S. Paule did in prayer and preaching, till men through wearines be taken vp dead at our feete? The huge length whereof they make ſuch complaint is but this, that if our whole forme of prayer be read, and beſides an howre allowed for a Sermon, we ſpend ordinarily in both more time then they do by halfe an howre. Which halfe howre being ſuch a matter as the *age of ſome and infirmitie of other ſome are not able to beare*; if we haue any ſenſe of the *common imbecilitie*, if any care to preſerue mens wits from being broken with the very *bent of ſo long attention*, if any loue or deſire to prouide that things moſt holy be not with *hazard* of mens ſoules abhord and *loathed*, this halfe howres

a 1. Tim. 2. 1.

b T.C. lib. 3. pag. 184.

c Nehe. 8. 3.

d Act. 20. 9.

howres tediouſnes muſt be remedied, and that only by cutting off the greateſt part of our common prayer. For no other remedie will ſerue to help ſo dangerous an inconuenience.

33 The brethren in Ægypt (ſaith S. Auguſtine epiſt. 121.) are reported to haue many prayers, but euery of them very ſhort, as if they were darts throwne out with a kinde of ſuddaine quicknes, leaſt that vigilant and erect attention of minde, which in prayer is very neceſſarie, ſhould be waſted or dulled through continuance, if their prayers were few and long. But that which S. Auguſtine doth allow they condemne. Thoſe prayers whereunto deuout mindes haue added a pearcing kinde of breuitie, as well in that reſpect which we haue alreadie mentioned, as alſo thereby the better to expreſſe that quick and ſpeedie expedition, where with ardent affections the very wings of prayer are delighted to preſent our ſutes in heauen, euen ſooner then our toongs can deuiſe to vtter them, they in their moode of contradiction ſpare not openly to deride, and that with ſo baſe termes as do very ill beſeeme men of their grauitie. Such ſpeeches are ſcandalous, they ſauor not of God in him that vſeth them, and vnto vertuouſly diſpoſed mindes they are grieuous corroſiues. Our caſe were miſerable, if that wherewith we moſt endeuour to pleaſe God were in his ſight ſo vile and deſpicable as mens diſdainefull ſpeech would make it.

In ſtead of ſuch prayers as the primitiue Churches haue vſed, and thoſe that be reformed now vſe, we haue (they ſay) diuers ſhort cuts or ſhreddings, rather wiſhes then prayers. T.C. lib. 1. pag. 138. & lib. 3. pa. 210. 211.

34 Againe, for as much as effectuall prayer is ioyned with a vehement intention of the inferior powers of the ſoule, which cannot therein long continue without paine, it hath bene therefore thought good ſo by turnes to interpoſe ſtill ſomewhat for the higher part of the minde the vnderſtanding to worke vpon, that both being kept in continuall exerciſe with varietie, neither might feele any great wearines, and yet each be a ſpurre to other. For prayer kindleth our deſire to behold God by ſpeculation; and the minde delighted with that contemplatiue ſight of God, taketh euery where new inflammations to pray, the riches of the myſteries of heauenly wiſedome continually ſtirring vp in vs correſpondent deſires towards them. So that he which prayeth in due ſort is thereby made the more attentiue to heare, and he which heareth the more earneſt to pray, for the time which we beſtow as well in the one as the other. But for what cauſe ſoeuer we do it, this intermingling of leſſons with prayers is [a] in their taſte a thing as vnſauerie, and as vnſeemely in their ſight, as if the like ſhould be done in ſutes and ſupplications before ſome mightie Prince of the world. Our ſpeech to worldly ſuperiors we frame in ſuch ſort as ſerueth beſt to informe and perſwade the mindes of them, who otherwiſe neither could nor would greatly regard our neceſſities: Whereas becauſe we knowe that God is indeede a King, but *a great* King; who vnderſtandeth all things before hand which no other King beſides doth, a king which needeth not to be informed what we lack, a king readier to graunt then we to make our requeſts; therefore in prayer we do not ſo much reſpect what precepts arte deliuereth touching the method of perſwaſiue vtterance in the preſence of great men, as what doth moſt auaile to our owne edi-

Leſſons intermingled with our prayers.

[a] We haue no ſuch formes in the ſcripture as that wee ſhould pray in two or three lines, and then after hauing read awhile ſome other thing, come and pray as much more, and ſo the 20. or 30. time with pauſes betweene. If a man ſhould come to a Prince and hauing very many things to demaund, after he had demaunded one thing, would ſtay a long time, and then demaund another, and ſo the third, the Prince might well thinke that either he came to aske before he knew what he had neede of, or that he had forgotten ſome peece of his ſute, or that he were diſtracted in his vnderſtanding, or ſome other ſuch like cauſe of the diſorder of his ſupplication. T.C. lib. 1. pa. 138. This kinde of reaſon the Prophet in the matter of ſacrifices doth vſe. T. C. lib. 3. page 210.

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fication in pietie and godly zeale. If they on the contrary ſide do thinke that the ſame rules of decencie which ſerue for things done vnto terrene powers ſhould vniuerſally decide what is fit in the ſeruice of God, if it be their meaning to hold it for a maxime, that the Church muſt deliuer hir publique ſupplications vnto God in no other forme of ſpeech then ſuch as were decent, if ſute ſhould be made to the great Turke, or ſome other Monarke, let them aplie their owne rule vnto their owne forme of common prayer. Suppoſe that the people of a whole towne with ſome choſen man before them did continually twice or thrice in a weeke reſort to their King, and euery time they come firſt acknowledge themſelues guiltie of rebellions and treaſons, then ſing a ſong, after that explane ſome Statute of the land to the ſtanders by, and therein ſpend at the leaſt an hower, this done, turne themſelues againe to the King, and for euery ſort of his ſubiects craue ſomewhat of him, at the length ſing him an other ſong, and ſo take their leaue. Might not the King well thinke that either they knew not what they would haue, or els that they were diſtracted in minde, or ſome other ſuch like cauſe of the diſorder of their ſupplication? This forme of ſuing vnto Kings were abſurd. This forme of praying vnto God they allow. When God was ſerued with legall ſacrifices, ſuch was the miſerable and wretched diſpoſition of ſome mens mindes, that the beſt of euery thing they had being culled out for themſelues, if there were in their flockes any poore ſtarued or diſeaſed thing not worth the keeping, they thought it good enough for the altar of God, pretending (as wiſe hypocrites do when they rob God to inrich themſelues) that the fatnes of Calues doth benefit him nothing, to vs the beſt things are moſt profitable, to him all as one if the minde of the offerer be good which is the only thing he reſpecteth. In reproofe of which their deuout fraud, the Prophet Malachie alleageth that gifts are offered vnto God not as * ſupplies of his want in deede, but yet as teſtimonies of that affection wherewith we acknowledge and honor his greatnes. For which cauſe ſith the greater they are whome we honor, the more regard we haue to the qualitie and choice of thoſe preſents which we bring them for honors ſake, it muſt needes follow that if we dare not diſgrace our worldly ſuperiors with offering vnto them ſuch refuſe as we bring vnto God himſelfe, we ſhew playnely that our acknowledgement of his greatnes is but fained, in hart we feare him not ſo much as we dread them. [a] *If ye offer the blinde for ſacrifice it is not euill. Offer it now vnto thy Prince. Will he be content or accept thy perſon ſaith the Lord of hoſtes? Curſed be the deceyuer which hath in his flocke a male, and hauing made a vow ſacrificeth vnto the Lord a corrupt thing: For I am a great King ſaith the Lord of hoſts.* Should we hereupon frame a rule that what forme of ſpeech or behauiour ſoeuer is fit for ſuters in a Princes Court, the ſame and no other beſeemeth vs in our prayers to Almightie God?

* Μέρη τιμῆς τὰ δῶρα, τὰ παρ' ἑκάστοις τίμια. Καὶ γὰρ τὸ δῶρόν ἐστι κτήματος δόσις καὶ τιμῆς σημεῖον. Διὸ καὶ οἱ φιλοχρήματοι καὶ οἱ φιλότιμοι ἀφίενται αὐτῶν. Ἀμφοτέροις γὰρ ἔχειν δόκουσι. Καὶ γὰρ κτῆμα ἐστιν οὗ ἀφίανται οἱ φιλοχρήματοι, καὶ τιμὴν ἔχει οὗ οἱ φιλότιμοι. *Ariſt. Rhet. lib. 1. ca. 5.*

a *Mala. 1. 8. 14*

The number of our prayers for earthly things, and our oft reher-

35 But in vaine we labor to perſwade them that any thing can take away the tediouſnes of prayer, except it be brought to the very ſame both meaſure and forme which themſelues aſſigne. Whatſoeuer therefore our Liturgie hath more then theirs, vnder one deuiſed pretenſe or other they cut it off. We haue

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of prayers for earthly things in their opinion too great a number; ſo oft to rehearſe the Lords prayer in ſo ſmall a time is as they thinke a loſſe of time; the peoples praying after the Miniſter they ſay both waſteth time, and alſo maketh an vnpleaſant ſound; the Pſalmes they would not haue to be made (as they are) a part of our common prayer, nor to be ſung or ſaid by turnes, nor ſuch muſicke to be vſed with them; thoſe euangelicall hymnes they allow not to ſtand in our Liturgie; the Letanie, the Creede of Athanaſius, the ſentence of Glorie wherewith we vſe to conclude Pſalmes, theſe things they cancell, as hauing bene inſtituted in regard of occaſions peculiar to the times of old, and as being therefore now ſuperfluous. Touching prayers for things earthly, we ought not to thinke that the Church hath ſet downe ſo many of them without cauſe. They peraduenture, which finde this fault, are of the ſame affection with Salomon, ſo that if God ſhould offer to graunt them whatſoeuer they aske, they would neither craue riches, nor length of dayes, nor yet victorie ouer their enemies, but only an vnderſtanding hart, for which cauſe themſelues hauing Eagles wings, are offended to ſee others flye ſo neere the ground. But the tender kindnes of the Church of God it very well beſeemeth to help the weaker ſort which are by ſo great oddes mo in number, although ſome few of the perfecter and ſtronger may be therewith for a time diſpleaſed. Ignorant we are not, that of ſuch as reſorted to our Sauiour Chriſt being preſent on earth, there came not any vnto him with better ſucceſſe for the benefit of their ſoules euerlaſting happines, then they whoſe bodily neceſſities gaue them the firſt occaſion to ſeeke reliefe, where they ſaw willingnes and abilitie of doing euery way good vnto all. The graces of the ſpirit are much more precious then worldly benefits; our ghoſtly euils of greater importance then any harme which the bodie feeleth. Therefore our deſires to heauenward ſhould both in meaſure and number no leſſe exceede then their glorious obiect doth euery way excell in value. Theſe things are true and plaine in the eye of a perfect iudgement. But yet it muſt be withall conſidered, that the greateſt part of the world are they which be fartheſt from perfection. Such being better able by ſenſe to diſcerne the wants of this preſent life, then by ſpirituall capacitie to apprehend things aboue ſenſe, which tend to their happines in the world to come, are in that reſpect the more apt to applie their mindes euen with hartie affection and zeale at the leaſt vnto thoſe branches of publique prayer, wherein their owne particular is moued. And by this meane there ſtealeth vpon them a double benefite; firſt becauſe that good affection, which things of ſmaller accompt haue once ſet on worke, is by ſo much the more eaſily rayſed higher; and ſecondly in that the very cuſtome of ſeeking ſo particular aide and reliefe at the hands of God, doth by a ſecret contradiction withdraw them from indeuouring to help themſelues by thoſe wicked ſhifts which they know can neuer haue his allowance, whoſe

ſing of the Lords prayer.

I can make no Geometricall and exact meaſure, but verely I beliue there ſhall be found more then a third part of the prayers, which are not Pſalmes and texts of Scripture, ſpent in praying for, and praying againſt the commodities and incommodities of this life, which is contrary to all the arguments or contents of the prayers of the Church ſet downe in the ſcripture, and eſpecially of our Sauiour Chriſts prayer, by the which ours ought to be directed. T. C. lib. 1. pag. 136. What a reaſon is this, we muſt repeate the Lords prayer oftentimes, therefore oftentimes in halfe an hower, and one in the necke of another? Our Sauiour Chriſt doth not there giue a preſcript forme of prayer whereunto he bindeth vs: but giueth vs a rule and ſquire to frame all our prayers by. I know it is neceſſarie to pray, and pray often. I know alſo that in a few words it is impoſſible for any man to frame ſo pithie a prayer, and I cõfeſſe that the Church doth well in concluding their prayers with the Lords prayer: but I ſtand vpon this, that there is no neceſſitie layd vpon vs to vſe theſe very words and no more. T. C. lib. 1. pag. 219.

assistance their prayer seeketh. These multiplied petitions of worldly things in prayer haue therefore, besides their direct vse, a seruice whereby the Church vnder hand, through a kinde of heauenly fraud, taketh therewith the soules of men as with certaine baites. If then their calculation be true (for so they reckon) that a full third of our prayers be allotted vnto earthly benefits, for which our Sauiour in his platforme hath appointed but one petition amongst seauen, the difference is without any great disagreement; we respecting what men are, and doing that which is meete in regard of the common imperfection; our Lord contrariwise proposing the most absolute proportion that can be in mens desires, the very highest marke whereat we are able to aime. For which cause also our custome is both to place it [a] in the front of our prayers as a guide, and to adde it in the ende of some principall limmes or parts as a complement which fully perfecteth whatsoeuer may be defectiue in the rest. Twice we rehearse it ordinarily, and oftner as occasion requireth more solemnitie or length in the forme of diuine seruice, not mistrusting, till these new curiosities sprang vp, that euer any man would thinke our labour herein mispent, the time wastfully consumed, and the office it selfe made worse by so repeating that which otherwise would more hardly be made familiar to the simpler sort, for the good of whose soules there is not in Christian Religion any thing of like continuall vse and force throughout euery hower and moment of their whole liues. I meane not only because prayer, but because this very prayer is of such efficacie and necessitie: For that our Sauiour did but set men a bare example how to contriue or deuise prayers of their owne, and no way binde them to vse this, is no doubt an error. [b] Iohn the Baptists disciples which had bene alwayes brought vp in the bosome of Gods Church from the time of their first infancie till they came to the schoole of Iohn, were not so brutish that they could be ignorant how to call vpon the name of God, but of their maister they had receyued a forme of prayer amongst themselues, which forme none did vse sauing his disciples, so that by it as by a marke of speciall difference they were knowne from others. And of this the Apostles hauing taken notice, they request that as Iohn had taught his, so Christ would likewise teach them to pray. Tertullian and S. Augustine do for that cause terme it *orationem legitimam*, the prayer which Christs owne lawe hath tyed his Church to vse in the same prescript forme of words wherewith he himselfe did deliuer it, and therefore what part of the world soeuer we fall into if Christian Religion haue bene there receiued, the ordinarie vse of this very prayer hath with equall continuance accompanyed the same as one of the principall and most materiall duties of honor done to Iesus Christ. Seeing [c] *that we haue* (saith S. Cyprian) *an aduocate with the father for our sinnes, when we that haue sinned come to seeke for pardon, let vs alleage vnto God the words which our aduocate hath taught. For sith his promise is our plaine warrant, that in his name what we aske we shall receyue, must we not needes much the rather obteine that for which we sue if not only his name do countenance but also his speech present our requests?* Though men should speake with the toongs of Angels, yet words so pleasing to the eares of God as those which the Sonne of God himselfe hath composed were not possible for men to frame. He therefore which made vs to liue hath also taught vs to pray, to the end that speaking vnto

[a] *Præmissa legitima & ordinaria oratione quasi fundamento, accidentium ius est desideriorum, ius est superstruendis extrinsecus petitiones. Tertul. de Orat.*

[b] *Luc. 11. 1.*

[c] *Cypr. in Orat. Dom.*

vnto the Father in the Sonnes owne preſcript forme without ſcholie or gloſſe of ours, we may be ſure that we vtter nothing which God will either diſallow or denie. Other prayers we vſe many beſides this, and this oftner then any other; although not tyed ſo to do by any commandement of Scripture, yet moued with ſuch conſideratiõs as haue bene before ſet downe: the cauſeleſſe diſlike whereof which others haue conceiued, is no ſufficient reaſon for vs as much as once to forbeare in any place a thing which vttered with true deuotion and zeale of hart affordeth to God himſelfe that glorie, that aide to the weakeſt ſort of men, to the moſt perfect that ſolide comfort which is vnſpeakeable.

36 With our Lords prayer they would finde no fault, ſo that they might perſwade vs to vſe it before or after Sermons onely (becauſe ſo their maner is) and not (as all Chriſtian people haue bene of old accuſtomed) inſert it ſo often into the liturgie. But the peoples cuſtome to repeate any thing after the Miniſter, they vtterly miſlike. Twice we appoint that the words which the Miniſter firſt pronounceth, the whole Congregation ſhall repeate after him. As firſt in the publique Confeſſion of ſinnes, and againe in rehearſall of our Lords prayer preſently after the bleſſed Sacrament of his body and bloud receyued. A thing no way offenſiue, no way vnfit or vnſeemly to be done, although it had bene ſo appointed oftner then with vs it is. But ſurely with ſo good reaſon it ſtandeth in thoſe two places, that otherwiſe to order it were not in all reſpects ſo well. Could there be any thing deuiſed better then that we all at our firſt acceſſe vnto God by prayer, ſhould acknowledge meekely our ſinnes, and that not only in hart but with toong, all which are preſent being made eare-witneſſes euen of euery mans diſtinct and deliberate aſſent vnto each particular branch of a common inditement drawne againſt our ſelues? How were it poſſible that the Church ſhould any way els with ſuch eaſe and certaintie prouide, that none of her children may as Adam diſſemble that wretchednes, the penitent confeſſion whereof is ſo neceſſarie a preamble, eſpecially to common prayer? In like maner if the Church did euer deuiſe a thing fit and conuenient, what more then this, that whẽ together we haue all receiued thoſe heauenly myſteries wherein Chriſt imparteth himſelfe vnto vs, and giueth viſible teſtification of our bleſſed communion with him, we ſhould in hatred of all hereſies, factions and ſchiſmes, the Paſtor as a leader, the people as willing followers of him ſtep by ſtep declare openly our ſelues vnited as brethren in one, [a] by offering vp with all our harts and toongs that moſt effectuall ſupplication, wherein he vnto whome we offer it hath himſelfe not only comprehended all our neceſſities, but in ſuch ſort alſo framed euery petition, as might moſt naturally ſerue for many, and doth though not alwayes require, yet alwayes import a multitude of ſpeakers together? For which cauſe communicants haue euer vſed it, and we at that time by the forme of our very vtterance doe ſhewe we vſe it, yea euery word and ſyllable of it as communicants. In the reſt we obſerue that cuſtome whereunto [b] S. Paule alludeth, and where-

The peoples ſaying after the Miniſter. Another fault is that all the people are appointed in diuers places to ſay after the Miniſter, whereby not only the time is vnprofitablie waſted, and a confuſed noyſe of the people one ſpeaking after an other cauſed, but an opinion bred in their heads that thoſe only be their prayers which they pronounce with their owne mouthes after the Miniſter, otherwiſe then the order which is left to the Church doth beare, 1. Cor. 14. 16. and otherwiſe then Iuſtin Martyr ſheweth the cuſtome of the Churches to haue bene in his time. T. C. lib. 1. pag. 139. & lib. 3. page 211. 212. 213.

[a] τίς γὰρ ἐν ἰχθρὸν ἀγαθὸς διώκτας μεθ' ὧν μίαν αἴτησιν πρὸς θεὸν τῶν φωνῶν. *Baſil. praf. in Pſal.*

[b] 1. Cor. 14. 16.

of the Fathers of the Church in their writings make often mention, to ſhew indefinitely what was done, but not vniuerſally to binde for euer all prayers vnto one only faſhion of vtterance. The reaſons which we haue alleaged induce vs to thinke it ſtill *a good worke*, which they in their penſiue care for the well beſtowing of time accompt *waſte*. As for vnpleaſantnes of ſound if it happen, the good of mens ſoules doth either deceiue our eares that we note it not, or arme them with patience to indure it. We are not ſo nice as to caſt away a ſharp knife becauſe the edge of it may ſometimes grate. And ſuch ſuttle opinions as few but Vtopians are likely to fall into, we in this Clymate do not greatly feare.

Our maner of reading the Pſalmes otherwiſe then the reſt of the Scripture. They haue alwaies the ſame profit to be ſtudied in, to be read and preached vpon which other ſcriptures haue, and this aboue the reſt that they are to be ſung. But to make dayly prayers of them hand ouer head, or otherwiſe then the preſent eſtate wherein we be, doth agree with the matter conteined in them is an abuſing of them. T. C. lib. 3. page 206.

37 The complaint which they make about Pſalmes and Hymnes, might as well be ouerpaſt without any anſwere, as it is without any cauſe brought forth. But our deſire is to content them if it may be, and to yeeld them a iuſt reaſon euen of the leaſt things wherein vndeſeruedly they haue but as much as dreamed or ſuſpected that we do amiſſe. They ſeeme ſometimes ſo to ſpeake, as if it greatly offended them, that ſuch Hymnes and Pſalmes as are Scripture ſhould in common prayer be otherwiſe vſed then the reſt of the ſcripture is woont; ſometime diſpleaſed they are at the artificiall muſick which we adde vnto Pſalmes of this kinde or of any other nature elſe; ſometime the plaineſt and the moſt intelligible reherſall of them yet they ſauor not, becauſe it is done by interlocution, and with a mutuall returne of ſentences from ſide to ſide. They are not ignorant what difference there is betweene other parts of Scripture and Pſalmes. The choice and flower of * all things profitable in other bookes the Pſalmes do both more briefly conteine, and more mouingly alſo expreſſe, by reaſon of that poeticall forme wherewith they are written. The ancient when they ſpeake of the booke of Pſalmes vſe to fall into large diſcourſes, ſhewing how this part aboue the reſt doth of purpoſe ſet forth and celebrate all the conſiderations and operations which belong to God, it magnifieth the holy meditations and actions of diuine men, it is of things heauenly an vniuerſall declaration, working in them whoſe harts God inſpireth with the due conſideration thereof, an habit or diſpoſition of minde whereby they are made fit veſſels both for receipt and for deliuerie of whatſoeuer ſpirituall perfection. What is there neceſſarie for man to know which the Pſalmes are not able to teach? They are to beginners an eaſie and familiar introduction, a mightie augmentation of all vertue and knowledge in ſuch as are entered before, a ſtrong confirmation to the moſt perfect amongſt others. Heroicall magnanimitie, exquiſite iuſtice, graue moderation, exact wiſdome, repentance vnfained, vnwearied patience, the myſteries of God, the ſufferings of Chriſt, the terrors of wrath, the comforts of grace, the workes of prouidence ouer this world, and the promiſed ioyes of that world which is to come, all good neceſſarily to be either knowne or done or had, this one celeſtiall fountaine yeldeth. Let there be any griefe or diſeaſe incident into the ſoule of man, any wound or ſickneſſe named, for which there is not in this treaſure-houſe a preſent comfortable remedie at all times readie to be found. Hereof it is that we couet to make the Pſalmes eſpecially familiar vnto all. This is the very cauſe why we iterate the Pſalmes oftner then any other part of Scripture beſides,

* ἱκανωτικὴ τῶν παντέρων ὑμνολογία. *Dionyſ. Hierar. Eccleſ. c. 3.*

beſides, the cauſe wherefore we inure the people together with their Miniſter, and not the Miniſter alone to reade them as other parts of ſcripture he doth.

38 Touching muſicall harmonie whether by inſtrument or by voyce, it being but of high and low in ſounds a due proportionable diſpoſition, ſuch notwithſtanding is the force thereof, and ſo pleaſing effects it hath in that very part of man which is moſt diuine, that ſome haue bene thereby induced to thinke that the ſoule it ſelfe by nature is, or hath in it harmonie. A thing which delighteth all ages and beſeemeth all ſtates; a thing as ſeaſonable in griefe as in ioy; as decent being added vnto actions of greateſt waight and ſolemnitie, as being vſed when men moſt ſequeſter themſelues from action. The reaſon hereof is an admirable facilitie which muſique hath to expreſſe and repreſent to the minde more inwardly then any other ſenſible meane the very ſtanding riſing and falling, the very ſteps and inflections euery way, the turnes and varieties of all paſſions whereunto the minde is ſubiect: yea ſo to imitate them, that whether it reſemble vnto vs the ſame ſtate wherein our mindes alreadie are, or a cleane contrarie, we are not more contentedly by the one confirmed, then changed and led away by the other. In harmonie the very image and character euen of vertue and vice is perceiued, the minde delighted with their reſemblances, and brought by hauing them often iterated into a loue of the things themſelues. For which cauſe there is nothing more contagious and peſtilent then ſome kindes of harmonie; then ſome nothing more ſtrong and potent vnto good. And that there is ſuch a difference of one kinde from another we neede no proofe but our owne experience, in as much as we are at the hearing of ſome more inclined vnto ſorrow and heauines; of ſome, more mollified and ſoftned in minde; one kinde apter to ſtay and ſettle vs, another to moue and ſtirre our affections; there is that draweth to a maruelous graue and ſober mediocritie, there is alſo that carryeth as it were into exſtaſies, filling the minde with an heauenly ioy and for the time in a maner ſeuering it from the body. So that although we lay altogether aſide the conſideration of dittie or matter, the very harmonie of ſounds being framed in due ſort and carryed from the eare to the ſpirituall faculties of our ſoules, is by a natiue puiſſance and efficacie greatly auaileable to bring to a perfect temper whatſoeuer is there troubled, apt as well to quicken the ſpirits, as to allay that which is too eager, ſoueraigne againſt melancholie and deſpaire, forcible to draw forth teares of deuotion if the minde be ſuch as can yeeld them, able both to moue and to moderate all affections. The Prophet Dauid hauing therefore ſinguler knowledge not in Poetrie alone but in Muſique alſo, iudged them both to be things moſt neceſſarie for the houſe of God, left behinde him to that purpoſe a number of diuinely endited poemes, and was farther the author of adding vnto poetrie melodie in publique prayer, melodie both vocall and inſtrumentall for the rayſing vp of mens harts, and the ſweetning of their affections towards God. In which conſiderations the Church of Chriſt doth likewyſe at this preſent daye reteyne it as an ornament to Gods ſeruice, and an helpe to our owne deuotion. They which vnder pretenſe of the lawe Ceremoniall abrogated, require the abrogation of inſtrumentall muſique approuing neuertheleſſe the vſe of vocall melodie to remaine,

Of Muſique with Pſalmes.

muſt ſhew ſome reaſon wherefore the one ſhould be thought a legall Ceremonie and not the other. In Church muſique curioſitie and oſtentation of arte, wanton or light or vnſutcable harmonie, ſuch as only pleaſeth the eare, and doth not naturally ſerue to the very kinde and degree of thoſe impreſſions which the matter that goeth with it leaueth, or is apt to leaue in mens mindes, doth rather blemiſh and diſgrace that we do then adde either bewtie or furtherance vnto it. On the other ſide theſe faults preuented the force and efficacie of the thing it ſelfe, when it drowneth not vtterly, but fitly ſuteth with matter altogether ſounding to the prayſe of God, is in truth moſt admirable, and doth much edifie if not the vnderſtanding becauſe it teacheth not, yet ſurely the affection, becauſe therein it worketh much. They muſt haue harts very dry and tough, from whome the melodie of Pſalmes doth not ſometime draw that wherein a minde religiouſly affected delighteth. Be it as Rabanus Maurus obſerueth, that at the firſt the Church in this exerciſe was more ſimple and plaine then we are, that their ſinging was little more then only a melodious kinde of pronunciation, that the cuſtome which we now vſe was not inſtituted ſo much for their cauſe which are ſpirituall, as to the end that into groſſer and heauier mindes whome bare words do not eaſily moue, the ſweetnes of melodie might make ſome entrance for good things. S. Baſil himſelfe acknowledging as much, did not thinke that from ſuch inuentions the leaſt iot of eſtimation and credit thereby ſhould be derogated: [a] *For* (ſayth he) *whereas the holy ſpirit ſaw that mankinde is vnto virtue hardly drawne, and that righteouſnes is the leſſe accompted of by reaſon of the prouenes of our affections to that which delighteth, it pleaſed the wiſedome of the ſame ſpirit to borrow from melodie that pleaſure, which mingled with heauenly myſteries, cauſeth the ſmoothnes and ſoftnes of that which toucheth the eare, to conuey as it were by ſtealth the treaſure of good things into mãs minde. To this purpoſe were thoſe harmonious tunes of Pſalmes deuiſed for vs, that they which are either in yeares but young, or touching perfection of vertue as yet not growne to ripenes, might when they thinke they ſing, learne. O the wiſe conceipt of that heauenly teacher, which hath by his skill found out a way, that doing thoſe things wherein we delight, we may alſo learne that whereby we profit.*

[a] Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ εἶδε τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον δυσάγωγον πρὸς ἀρετὴν τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων, διὰ τοῦτο τὴν ἡδονὴν ὑπηρέτησε τοῦ ὀρθοῦ βίου κατασκευάζειν ἡμᾶς, τί ποιεῖ· τὸ ἐκ τῆς μελῳδίας τέρπειν τοῖς δόγμασιν ἐγκατίμιξεν ἵνα τῷ ἀφανεῖ καὶ λείῳ τῆς ἀκοῆς τὸ ἐκ τῶν λόγων ὠφέλιμον λανθάνοντος ὑποδεξώμεθα. Διὰ τοῦτο τὰ ἁρμόνια ταῦτα μέλη τῶν ψαλμῶν ἡμῖν ἐπινενόηται, ἵνα οἱ παῖδες τὴν ἡλικίαν ἢ καὶ ὅλως οἱ νεαρὸν τὸ ἦθος τῷ μὲν ᾄδειν μελῳδῶσι τῇ δὲ ἀληθείᾳ τὰς ψυχὰς ἐκπαιδεύωνται. Ὦ τῆς σοφῆς ἐπινοίας τοῦ διδασκάλου ὁμοῦ τε ἅδειν ἡμᾶς καὶ τὰ λυσιτελῆ μανθάνειν μηχανωμένου. *Baſil. in Pſal.*

Of ſinging or ſaying Pſalmes and other parts of common prayer, wherein the people and Miniſter anſwere one an other by courſe. For the ſinging of Pſalmes by courſe and ſide after ſide although it be very ancient, yet it is not commendable, and ſo much the more to be ſuſpected, for that the diuell hath gone about to get it ſo great authoritie, partly by deriuing it frõ Ignatius time, and partly in making the world beleiue that this came from heauen, and that the Angels were heard to ſing after this ſort. Which as it is a meere fable, ſo is it confuted by Hiſtoriographers, whereof ſome aſcribe the beginning

39 And if the Prophet Dauid did thinke that the very meeting of men together, and their accompanying one another to the houſe of God, ſhould make the bond of their loue inſoluble, and tye them in a league of inuiolable amitie, Pſal. 54. 14. how much more may we iudge it reaſonable to hope, that the like effects may grow in each of the people towards other, in them all towards their paſtor, and in their paſtor towards euery of them, betweene whome there dayly and interchangeably paſſe in the hearing of God himſelfe, and in the preſence of his holy Angels ſo many heauenly acclamations, exultations, prouocations, petitions,

ons, ſongs of comfort, Pſalmes of prayſe and thankeſgiuing, in all which particulars, as when the Paſtor maketh their ſutes, and they with one voyce teſtifie a generall aſſent thereunto; or when he ioyfully beginneth, and they with like alacritie follow; deuiding betweene them the ſentences wherewith they ſtriue which ſhall moſt ſhew his owne, and ſtirre vp others zeale to the glory of that God whoſe name they magnifie; or when he propoſeth vnto God their neceſſities, and they their owne requeſts for reliefe in euery of them; or when he lifteth vp his voyce like a trumpet to proclayme vnto them the lawes of God, they adioyning though not as Iſrael did by way of generalitie a cheerefull promiſe, [a] *All that the Lord hath commaunded wee will do*, yet that which God doth no leſſe approue, that which ſauoureth more of meekenes, that which teſtifieth rather a feeling knowledge of our common imbecillitie, vnto the ſeuerall branches thereof, ſeuerall, lowlie and humble requeſts for grace at the mercifull hands of God to performe the thing which is commanded; or when they wiſh reciprocally each others ghoſtly happines; or when he by exhortation rayſeth them vp, and they by proteſtation of their readines declare, he ſpeaketh not in vaine vnto them; theſe interlocutorie formes of ſpeech what are they elſe but moſt effectuall partly teſtifications and partly inflammations of all pietie? When and how this cuſtome of ſinging by courſe came vp in the Church it is not certainely knowne. [b] Socrates maketh Ignatius the Biſhop of Antioch in Syria the firſt beginner thereof euen vnder the Apoſtles themſelues. But againſt Socrates they ſet the authoritie of [c] Theodoret, who draweth the originall of it from Antioch as Socrates doth; howbeit aſcribing the inuention to others, Flauian, and Diodore, men which conſtantly ſtoode in defenſe of the Apoſtolique faith againſt the Biſhop of that Church Leontius, a fauourer of the Arrians. Againſt both Socrates and Theodoret, [d] Platina is brought as a witneſſe, to teſtifie that Damaſus Biſhop of Rome began it in his time. Of the Latine Church it may be true which Platina ſayth. And therefore the eldeſt of that Church which maketh any mention thereof, is [e] Saint Ambroſe, Biſhop of Millan at the ſame time when Damaſus was of Rome. Amongſt the Græcians [f] Saint Baſill hauing brought it into his Church before they of Neoceſarea vſed it, Sabellius the heretique and Marcellus tooke occaſion thereat to incenſe the Churches againſt him, as being an author of new deuiſes in the ſeruice of God. Whereupon to auoid the opinion of noueltie and ſingularitie, he alleageth for that which himſelfe did the example of the Churches of Ægypt, Libia, Thebes, Paleſtina, Tharabians, Phenicians, Syrians, Meſopotamians, and in a maner all that reuerenced the cuſtome of ſinging Pſalmes together. If the Syrians had it then before Baſil, Antioch the mother Church of thoſe partes muſt needes haue vſed it before Baſil, and conſequently before Damaſus. The queſtion is then how long before, and whether ſo long that Ignatius or as auncient as Ignatius may bee probablie thought the firſt inuentors. Ignatius in Traianes dayes ſuffered Martyrdome. And [g] of the Churches in Pontus and Bithynia to Traiane the Emperour his owne Vicegerent there affirmeth, that the onely crime hee knewe of them, was, they

of this to Damaſus, ſome other vnto Flauianus and Diodorus. T.C. lib. 1. page 203.

a *Exod 19.8. 24.3. Deut. 5. 27. 26.17. Ioſ. 24.16.*

b *Socrat. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 6. ca. 8.*

c *Theod. lib. 2. ca. 24.*

d *Plat. in Vita Damaſi.*

e *Bene mari plerumq; comparatur Eccleſia qua primo ingredientis populi agmine totis veſtibulis undas vomit; deinde in oratione totum plebis tanquam undis refluentibus ſtridet, cum reſponſorijs pſalmorum, cantu virorum, mulierum, virginum, parvulorum conſonus undarum fragor reſultat. Hexam. l. 2. c. 3.*

f *Baſil. epiſt. 63.*

g *Plin. ſecund. epiſt.*

they vſed to meete together at a certayne day, and to prayſe Chriſt with Hymnes as a God, *ſecum inuicem* one to another amongſt themſelues. Which for any thing we knowe to the contrarye might be the ſelfeſame forme which Philo Iudæus expreſſeth, declaring how the Eſſens were accuſtomed with Hymnes and Pſalmes to honor God, ſometime all exalting their voyces together in one, and ſometime one part anſwering an other, wherein as he thought, they ſwarued not much from the paterne of Moſes and [a] Miriam. Whether Ignatius did at any time heare the Angels prayſing God after that ſort or no, what matter is it? If Ignatius did not, yet one which muſt be with vs of greater authoritie did. [b] *I ſawe the Lord* (ſayth the Prophet Eſay) *on an high Throne, the Seraphims ſtood vpon it,* one cryed to another *ſaying, Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of hoſts, the whole world is full of his glory.* But whoſoeuer were the author, whatſoeuer the time, whenceſoeuer the example of beginning this cuſtome in the Church of Chriſt, ſith we are woont to ſuſpect things only before tryall, and afterwards either to approue them as good, or if we finde them euill, accordingly to iudge of them, their counſell muſt needs ſeeme very vnſeaſonable who aduiſe men now to ſuſpect that wherewith the world hath had by their owne accompt twelue hundreth yeares acquaintance and vpwards, enough to take away ſuſpition and iealouſie. Men know by this time if euer they will know whither it be good or euill which hath bene ſo long reteined. As for the Diuell, which way it ſhould greatly benefit him to haue this maner of ſinging Pſalmes accompted an inuention of Ignatius, or an imitation of the Angels of heauen we do not well vnderſtand. But we very well ſee in them who thus pleade a wonderfull celeritie of diſcourſe. For perceiuing at the firſt but only ſome cauſe of ſuſpition and feare leaſt it ſhould be euill, they are preſently in one and the ſelfeſame breath reſolued, that [c] *what beginning ſo euer it had, there is no poſsibilitie it ſhould be good.* The potent arguments which did thus ſuddainely breake in vpon them and ouercome them are firſt, that it is not vnlawfull for the people all ioyntly to praiſe God in ſinging of Pſalmes; ſecondly, that they are not any where forbidden by the lawe of God to ſing euery verſe of the whole Pſalme both with heart and voyce quite and cleane throughout; thirdly, that it cannot be vnderſtood what is ſung after our manner. Of which three for as much as lawfulnes to ſing one way proueth not an other way inconuenient, the former two are true allegations, but they lack ſtrength to accompliſh their deſire; the third ſo ſtrong that it might perſwade if the truth thereof were not doubtfull. And ſhall this enforce vs to baniſh a thing which all Chriſtian Churches in the world haue receyued; a thing which ſo many ages haue held; a thing which the moſt approued Councels and lawes haue ſo often time ratified; a thing which was neuer found to haue any inconuenience in it; a thing which alwayes heretofore the beſt men and wiſeſt gouernors of Gods people did thinke they could neuer commend enough; a thing, which

a *Exod.15.1. 21.*

b *Eſa.6.3.*

c From whence ſoeuer it came it cannot be good, conſidering that when it is graunted that all the people may praiſe God (as it is in ſinging of Pſalmes) then this ought not to be reſtrayned vnto a fewe; and where it is lawfull both with heart and voyce to ſing the whole Pſalme, there it is not meete that they ſhould ſing but the one halfe with their hart and voice, and the other with their hart only. For where they may both with heart and voice ſing, there the heart is not enough. Therefore beſides the incommoditie which commeth this way, in that being toſſed after this ſort, men cannot vnderſtand what is ſong, thoſe other two inconueniences come of this forme of ſinging, and therefore it is baniſhed in all reformed Churches. T.C.lib.1.pa.203.

which as Baſil was perſwaded, did both ſtrengthen the meditation of thoſe holie wordes which were vttered in that ſort, and ſerue alſo to make attentiue, and to rayſe vp the hearts of men; a thing whereunto Gods people of old did reſort, with hope and thirſt that thereby eſpecially their ſoules might be edified; a thing which filleth the minde with comfort and heauenly delight, ſtirreth vp flagrant deſires and affections correſpondent vnto that which the words conteyne, allayeth all kinde of baſe and earthly cogitations, baniſheth and driueth away thoſe euill ſecret ſuggeſtions which our inuiſible enimie is alwayes apt to miniſter, watreth the heart to the end it may fructifie, maketh the vertuous in trouble full of magnanimitie and courage, ſerueth as a moſt approued remedie againſt all dolefull and heauie accidents which befall men in this preſent life, to conclude, ſo fitly accordeth with the Apoſtles owne exhortation, [a] *Speake to your ſelues in Pſalmes and Hymnes and ſpirituall Songs, making melodie, and ſinging to the Lord in your hearts*, that ſurely there is more cauſe to feare leaſt the want thereof be a mayme, then the vſe a blemiſh to the ſeruice of God. It is not our meaning, that what we attribute vnto the Pſalmes ſhould be thought to depend altogether on that only forme of ſinging or reading them by courſe as with vs the maner is; but the ende of our ſpeech is to ſhew that becauſe the Fathers of the Church with whome the ſelfe-ſame cuſtome was ſo many ages agoe in vſe, haue vttered all theſe things concerning the fruite which the Church of God did then reape, obſeruing that and no other forme, it may be iuſtly auouched that we our ſelues reteyning it and beſides it alſo the other more newly and not vnfruitfully deuiſed, do neither want that good which the later inuention can affoord, nor looſe any thing of that for which the ancient ſo oft and ſo highly commend the former. Let noueltie therefore in this giue ouer endleſſe contradictions, and let ancient cuſtome preuaile.

a *Epheſ.* 5. 19.

40 We haue alreadie giuen cauſe ſufficient for the great conueniencie and vſe of reading the Pſalmes oftner then other ſcriptures. Of reading or ſinging likewiſe *Magnificat*, *Benedictus*, and *Nunc dimittis* oftner then the reſt of the Pſalmes, the cauſes are no whit leſſe reaſonable, ſo that if the one may very well monthlie the other may as well euen dayly be iterated. They are ſongs which concerne vs ſo much more then the ſongs of Dauid, as the Goſpell toucheth vs more then the Lawe, the new Teſtament then the olde. And if the Pſalmes for the excellencie of their vſe deſerue to be oftner repeated then they are, but that the multitude of them permitteth not any oftner repetition, what diſorder is it if theſe fewe Euangelicall Hymnes which are in no reſpect leſſe worthie, and may be by reaſon of their paucitie imprinted with much more eaſe in all mens memories, be for that cauſe euery day rehearſed? In our owne behalfe it is conuenient and orderly enough that both they and we make day by day prayers and ſupplications the very ſame; why not as fit and conuenient to magnifie the name of God day by day with certaine the very ſelfeſame Pſalmes of prayſe and thankeſgiuing? Either let them not allow the one, or elſe ceaſe to reproue the other. For the ancient receiued vſe of intermingling Hymnes and Pſalmes with diuine readings, enough hath bene written. And if any may fitly ſerue vnto that purpoſe, how

Of *Magnificat*, *Benedictus*, & *Nunc dimittis*.

These thankſgiuings were made by occaſion of certaine particular benefits, and are no more to be vſed for ordinarie prayers then the *Aue Maria*. So that both for this cauſe and the other before alleaged of the Pſalmes, it is not conuenient to make ordinarie prayers of them. T.C. lib. 3. page 208.

how ſhould it better haue bene deuiſed then that a competent number of the old being firſt read, theſe of the new ſhould ſucceede in the place where now they are ſet? In which place notwithſtanding there is ioyned with *Benedictus* the hundreth Pſalme; with *Magnificat* the ninetie eight; the ſixtie ſeauenth with *Nunc dimittis*, and in euery of them the choyce left free for the Miniſter to vſe indifferentlie the one or the other. Seeing therefore they pretend no quarell at other Pſalmes which are in like manner appointed alſo to be dayly read, why do theſe ſo much offend and diſpleaſe their taſte? They are the firſt gratulations wherewith our Lord and Sauiour was ioyfully receyued at his entrance into the world by ſuch as in their hearts, armes, and very bowels embraced him; being propheticall diſcoueries of Chriſt alreadie preſent, whoſe future comming the other Pſalmes did but fore-ſignifie, they are againſt the obſtinate incredulitie of the Iewes, the moſt luculent teſtimonies that Chriſtian Religion hath; yea the only ſacred Hymnes they are that Chriſtianitie hath peculiar vnto it ſelfe, the other being ſongs too of prayſe and thankſgiuing, but ſongs wherewith as we ſerue God, ſo the Iewe likewiſe. And whereas they tell vs theſe ſongs were fit for that purpoſe when Simeon and Zacharie, and the bleſſed Virgin vttered them, but cannot ſo be to vs which haue not receyued like benefite; ſhould they not remember how expreſſely Ezechias amongſt many other good
2. Chro. 29. 30 things is commended for this alſo, [a] that the prayſes of God were through his appoyntment dayly ſet forth by vſing in publique diuine Seruice the ſongs of Dauid and Aſaph vnto that very ende? Eyther there wanted wiſe men to giue Ezechias aduiſe, and to informe him of that which in his caſe was as true as it is in ours, namely, that without ſome inconuenience and diſorder he could not appoint thoſe Pſalmes to be vſed as ordinarie prayers, ſeeing that although they were ſongs of thankſgiuing ſuch as Dauid and Aſaph had ſpeciall occaſion to vſe, yet not ſo the whole Church and people afterwards whome like occaſions did not befall: or elſe Ezechias was perſwaded as we are that the prayſes of God in the mouthes of his Saincts are not ſo reſtrayned to their owne particular, but that others may both conueniently and fruitfully vſe them; firſt, becauſe the myſticall communion of all faithfull men is ſuch as maketh euery one to be intereſſed in thoſe precious bleſſings which any one of them receiueth at Gods hands; ſecondly, becauſe when any thing is ſpoken to extoll the goodnes of God whoſe mercie indureth for euer, albeit the very particular occaſion whereupon it riſeth do come no more, yet the fountaine continuing the ſame, and yeelding other new effects which are but only in ſome ſort proportionable, a ſmall reſemblance betweene the benefits which we and others haue receyued, may ſerue to make the ſame words of prayſe and thankſgiuing fit though not equally in all circumſtances fit for both, a cleere demonſtration whereof we haue in all the auncient Fathers Commentaries and meditations vpon the Pſalmes; laſt of all becauſe euen when there is not as much as the ſhowe of any reſemblance, neuertheleſſe by often vſing their words in ſuch manner, our mindes are dayly more and more inured with their affections.

Of the Letanie.

41 The publique eſtate of the Church of God amongſt the Iewes hath had many rare and extraordinarie occurrents, which alſo were occaſions of ſundrie [a] open ſolemnities and offices, whereby the people did with generall conſent make ſhew of correſpõdent affection towards God. The like duties appeare vſuall in the ancient Church of Chriſt, by that which [b] Tertullian ſpeaketh of chriſtian women matching themſelues with infidels. *She cannot content the Lord with performance of his diſcipline that hath at her ſide a vaſſall whom Satan hath made his viceagent to croſſe whatſoeuer the faithfull ſhould do. If her preſence be required at the time of Station or ſtanding prayer, he chargeth her at no time but that to be with him in his bathes; if a faſting day come, he hath on that day a banquet to make; if there be cauſe for the Church to goe forth in ſolemne Proceßion, his whole familie haue ſuch buſines come vpon them that no one can be ſpared.* Theſe *Proceßions* as it ſeemeth were firſt begun for the interring of holy Martyrs, and the viſiting of thoſe places where they were intombed. Which thing the name it ſelfe applied by [c] Heathens vnto the office of exequies, and partly the ſpeeches of ſome of the ancient deliuered concerning [d] Chriſtian Proceſſions, partly alſo the very droſſe which ſuperſtition thereunto added, I meane the cuſtome of inuocating Saincts in Proceſſions heretofore vſuall, do ſtrongly inſinuate. And as things inuented to one purpoſe are by vſe eaſily conuerted to [e] moe, it grew that ſupplications with this ſolemnitie for the appeaſing of Gods wrath, and the auerting of publique euils, were of the Greeke Church termed [f] *Litanies*; *Rogations*, of the Latine. To the people of *Vienna* (Mamercus being their Biſhop, about 450. yeares after Chriſt) there befell many things, the ſuddainenes and ſtrangenes whereof ſo amazed the harts of all men, that the Citie they began to forſake as a place which heauen did threaten with imminent ruine. It beſeemed not the perſon of ſo graue a prelate to be either vtterly without counſell as the reſt were, or in a common perplexitie to ſhew himſelfe alone ſecure. Wherefore as many as remayned he earneſtly exhorteth to preuent portended calamities, vſing thoſe vertuous and holie meanes wherewith others in like caſe haue preuailed with God. To which purpoſe he perfecteth the Rogations or Litanies before in vſe, and addeth vnto them that which the preſent neceſſitie required. Their good ſucceſſe moued [g] Sidonius Biſhop of Aruerna to vſe the ſame ſo corrected Rogations at ſuch time as he and his people were after afflicted with famine, and beſieged with potent aduerſaries. For till the emptie name of the Empire came to be ſetled in Charles the great, the fall of the Romans huge dominion concurring with other vniuerſall euils, cauſed thoſe times to be

We pray for the auoyding of thoſe dangers which are nothing neere vs, as from lightning and thundring in the midſt of winter, from ſtorme and tempeſt when the weather is moſt faire and the Seas moſt calme. It is true that vpon ſome vrgent calamitie a prayer may and ought to be framed which may beg either the commodine for want whereof the Church is in diſtreſſe, or the turning away of that miſchiefe which either approcheth or is alreadie vpon it: but to make thoſe prayers which are for the preſent time and danger ordinarie and dayly prayers, I cannot hetherto ſee any either ſcripture or example of the Primitiue Church. And heere for the ſimples ſake I will ſet downe after what ſort this abuſe crept into the Church. There was one Mamercus Biſhop of Vienna, which in the time of great earthquakes which were in Fraunce inſtituted certaine ſupplications which the Græcians and we of them call the Letanie, which concerned that matter: there is no doubt but as other diſcommodities roſe in other countreys, they likewiſe had prayers accordingly. Now Pope Gregorie either made himſelfe, or gathered the ſupplications that were made againſt the calamities of euery countrey, and made of them a great Letanie or Supplication as *Platina* calleth it, and gaue it to be vſed in all Churches: which thing albeit all Churches might do for the time in reſpect of the caſe of the calamitie which the Churches ſuffered, yet there is no cauſe why it ſhould be perpetuall that was ordayned but for a time, and why all lands ſhould pray to be deliuered from the incommodities that ſome land hath bene troubled with. T.C.l.1.p.137. *a Exod.15.20 Wiſd.10.20. 2.Sam.6.2. 1.Chro.13.5. 2.Chro.20.3. Ioel.2.15.* b *Tertul.lib.2.ad Vxor.* c *Terent. And.*

d *Hieron. epiſt. 22. ad Euſt. Martyres tibi quærantur in cubiculo tuo. Nunquam cauſa deerit procedendi ſi ſemper quando neceſſe eſt progreſſura ſis.*

c *Socrat.lib.6. ca.8. Sozom.lib.8. ca.8. Theod.lib.16. lib.30. Lib.3.ca.10. Nouel.68.51.*

f *Baſil.epi.63. Niceph.lib.14. ca.3. Cedren. in Theodoſ.*

g *Sidon.lib.7. epiſt.1.*

be dayes of much affliction and trouble throughout the world. So that Rogations or Litanies were then the very ſtrength, ſtay and comfort of Gods Church. Whereupon in the yeare 506. it was by the [a] Councill of Aurelia decreed, that the whole Church ſhould beſtow yearely at the feaſt of Pentecoſt three dayes in that kinde of proceſſionarie ſeruice. About halfe an hundreth yeares after to the end that the Latine Churches which all obſerued this cuſtome might not varie in the order and forme of thoſe great Litanies which were ſo ſolemnely euerywhere exerciſed, it was thought conuenient by Gregorie the firſt and the beſt of that name to draw the flower of them all into one. But this iron began at the length to gather ruſt. Which thing the [b] Synod of Colen ſaw and in part redreſt within that prouince, neither denying the neceſſarie vſe for which ſuch Litanies ſerue, wherein Gods clemencie and mercie is deſired by publique ſute, to the end that plagues, deſtructions, calamities, famines, warres, and all other the like aduerſities which for our manifold ſinnes we haue alwayes cauſe to feare, may be turned away from vs and preuented through his grace; nor yet diſſembling the great abuſe whereunto as ſundrie other things ſo this had growne by mens improbitie and malice, to whome that which was deuiſed for the appeaſing of Gods diſpleaſure, gaue opportunitie of committing things which iuſtly kindled his wrath. For remedie whereof it was then thought better, that theſe and all other ſupplications or proceſſions ſhould be no where vſed but only within the walles of the houſe of God, the place ſanctified vnto prayer. And by vs not only ſuch inconueniences being remedied, but alſo whatſoeuer was otherwiſe amiſſe in forme or matter, it now remayneth a worke, the abſolute perfection whereof vpbraydeth with error or ſomewhat worſe them whome in all parts it doth not ſatiſfie. As therefore Litanies haue bene of longer continuance then that we ſhould make either Gregorie or Mamercus the author of them, ſo they are of more permanent vſe then that now the Church ſhould thinke it needeth them not. What dangers at any time are imminent, what euils hang ouer our heads, God doth know and not we. We finde by dayly experience that thoſe calamities may be neereſt at hand, readyeſt to breake in ſuddainely vpon vs which we in regard of times or circumſtances may imagin to be fardeſt off. Or if they do not in deed approch, yet ſuch miſeries as being preſent all men are apt to bewaile with teares, the wiſe by their prayers ſhould rather preuent. Finally, if we for our ſelues had a priuiledge of immunitie, doth not true Chriſtian Charitie require that whatſouer any part of the world, yea any one of all our bretheren elſewhere doth either ſuffer or feare, the ſame we accompt as our owne burthen? What one petition is there found in the whole Letanie whereof we ſhall euer be able at any time to ſay that no man liuing needeth the grace or benefit therein craued at Gods hands? I am not able to expreſſe how much it doth grieue me, that things of principall excellencie ſhould be thus bitten at, by men whome God hath indued with graces both of wit and learning for better purpoſes.

a *Concil. to. 2. p. 513.*

b *Concil. to. 5. an. 1536.*

Of Athanaſius Creede, and Gloria Patri.

42 We haue from the Apoſtles of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt receyued that briefe Confeſſion of faith which hath bene alwayes a badge of the Church, a marke whereby to diſcerne Chriſtian men from Infidels and Iewes. [c] *This faith*

c *Irenæ. l. 3. c. 3.*

faith receyued from the Apoſtles and their diſciples (ſayth Irenæus) *the Church though diſperſed throughout the world, doth notwithſtanding keepe as ſafe as if it dwelt within the walles of ſome one houſe, and as vniformely hold, as if it had but one onely heart and ſoule; this as conſonantly it preacheth, teacheth and deliuereth as if but one toong did ſpeake for all. As one Sunne ſhineth to the whole world, ſo there is no faith but this one publiſhed, the brightnes whereof muſt enlighten all that come to the knowledge of the truth.* [a] *This rule* (ſayth Tertullian) *Chriſt did inſtitute, the ſtreame and current of this rule hath gone as farre, it hath continued as long as the very promulgation of the Goſpell.* [b] Vnder Conſtantine the Emperour about three hundreth yeares and vpward after Chriſt, Arius a prieſt in the Church of Alexandria, a ſuttle witted and a maruelous faire ſpoken man, but diſcontented that one ſhould be placed before him in honor, whoſe ſuperior he thought himſelfe in deſert, became through enuie and ſtomack prone vnto contradiction, and bold to broch at the length that hereſie wherein the deitie of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt conteined, but not opened in the former Creed, the coequalitie and coeternitie of the Sonne with the Father was denyed. Being for this impietie depriued of his place by the Biſhop of the ſame Church, the puniſhment which ſhould haue reformed him did but increaſe his obſtinacie and giue him occaſion of labouring with greater earneſtnes elſewhere to intangle vnwarie mindes with the ſnares of his damnable opinion. Arius in ſhort time had woon to himſelfe a number both of followers and of great defendors, whereupon much diſquietnes on all ſides enſued. The Emperour to reduce the Church of Chriſt vnto the vnitie of ſound beliefe, when other meanes whereof tryall was firſt made tooke no effect, gathered that famous aſſemblie of 318. Biſhops in the Councell of Nice, where beſides order taken for many things which ſeemed to neede redreſſe, there was with common conſent for the ſetling of all mens mindes, that other confeſſion of faith ſet downe which we call the Nicene Creede, whereunto the Arrians themſelues which were preſent ſubſcribed alſo: not that they ment ſincerely and in deede to forſake their error, but only to eſcape depriuation and exile which they ſawe they could not auoide openly perſiſting in their former opinions when the greater part had concluded againſt them, and that with the Emperors royall aſſent. Reſeruing therefore themſelues vnto future opportunities, and knowing that it would not boote them to ſtirre againe in a matter ſo compoſed, vnleſſe they could drawe the Emperour firſt and by his meanes the chiefeſt Biſhops vnto their part, till Conſtantines death and ſomewhat after they alwayes profeſſed loue and zeale to the Nicene faith, yet ceaſed not in the meane while to ſtrengthen that part which in hart they fauoured, and to infeſt by all meanes vnder colour of other quarels their greateſt aduerſaries in this cauſe: amongſt them Athanaſius eſpecially, whome by the ſpace of 46. yeares, from the time of his conſecration to ſucceede Alexander Archbiſhop in the Church of Alexandria till the laſt hower of his life in this world, they neuer ſuffered to inioy the comfort of a peaceable day. The hart of Conſtantine ſtolne from him. Conſtantius Conſtantines ſucceſſor his ſcourge and torment by all the wayes that malice armed with ſoueraigne authoritie could deuiſe and vſe. Vnder Iulian no reſt giuen him. And in the dayes of Valentinian as little. Crimes there were layde

[a] *Tertul. de præſcr. aduerſ. hæret. & aduerſ. Prax.*

[b] The like may be ſayd of the *Gloria patri* and the Athanaſius Creede. It was firſt brought into ȳ Church to the end that mē thereby ſhould make an open profeſſion in the Church of the diuinitie of the Sonne of God againſt the deteſtable opinion of Arius and his diſciples, wherewith at that time marueloufly ſwarmed almoſt the whole Chriſtendom. Now that it hath pleaſed the Lord to quench that fire, there is no ſuch cauſe why theſe things ſhould be in the Church, at the leaſt why that *Gloria patri* ſhould be ſo often repeated. T.C.li.1. page 137.

layde to his charge many, the leaſt whereof being iuſt had bereaued him of eſtimation and credit with men while the world ſtandeth. His Iudges euermore the ſelfeſame men by whome his accuſers were ſuborned. Yet the iſſue alwayes on their part ſhame; on his, triumph. Thoſe Biſhops and Prelates, who ſhould haue accompted his cauſe theirs, and could not many of them but with bleeding harts and with watred cheekes behold a perſon of ſo great place and worth conſtrayned to indure ſo foule indignities, were ſure by bewraying their affection towards him to bring vpon themſelues thoſe moleſtations, whereby if they would not be drawne to ſeeme his aduerſaries, yet others ſhould be taught how vnſafe it was to continue his friends. Whereupon it came to paſſe in the end, that (very few excepted) all became ſubiect to the ſway of time; other oddes there was none amongſt them, ſauing only that ſome fell ſooner away, ſome later from the ſoundnes of beliefe; ſome were leaders in the hoſt of impietie, and the reſt as common ſouldiours, either yeelding through feare, or brought vnder with penurie, or by flatterie inſnared, or els beguiled through ſimplicitie, which is the faireſt excuſe that well may be made for them. Yea (that which all men did wonder at) Oſius the auncienteſt Biſhop that Chriſtendom then had, the moſt forward in defenſe of the Catholique cauſe and of the contrary part moſt feared, that very Oſius with whoſe hand the Nicene Creede it ſelfe was ſet downe and framed for the whole Chriſtian world to ſubſcribe vnto, ſo farre yeelded in the end as euen with the ſame hand to ratifie the Arrians confeſſion, a thing which they neither hoped to ſee, nor the other part euer feared, till with amazement they ſaw it done. Both were perſwaded that although there had bene for Oſius no way but either preſently ſubſcribe or die, his anſwere and choice would haue bene the ſame that [a] Eleazars was, *It doth not become our age to diſſemble, whereby many young perſons might thinke, that* [b] *Oſius an hundred yeares old and vpward were now gone to an other religion, and ſo through mine hypocriſie* [*for a little time of tranſitorie life*] *they might be deceiued by me, and I procure malediction and reproch to my old age. For though I were now deliuered from the torments of men, yet could I not eſcape the hand of the Almightie, neither aliue nor dead.* But ſuch was the ſtreame of thoſe times, that all men gaue place vnto it, which we cannot but impute partly to their owne ouerſight. For at the firſt the Emperour was theirs, the determination of the Councell of Nice was for them, they had the Arrians hands to that Councell. So great aduantages are neuer changed ſo farre to the contrary, but by great error. It plainely appeareth that the firſt thing which weakened them was their ſecuritie. Such as they knew were in hart ſtill affected towards Arrianiſme, they ſuffered by continuall neerenes to poſſeſſe the mindes of the greateſt about the Emperour, which themſelues might haue done with very good acceptation and neglected it. In Conſtantines life time to haue ſettled Conſtantius, the ſame way had bene a dutie of good ſeruice towards God, a meane of peace and great quietnes to the Church of Chriſt, a labor eaſie, and how likely we may coniecture, when after that ſo much paine was taken to inſtruct and ſtrengthen him in the contrarie courſe, after that ſo much was done by himſelfe to the furtherance of hereſie, yet being touched in the end voluntarily with remorſe, nothing more grieued him then the memorie of former proceedings

[a] *2. Mac. 6. 24.*

[b] *Maior centenario. Sulpit. Seuer. hiſt. lib. 2.*

proceedings in the cauſe of Religion, and that which he now foreſaw in Iulian, the next Phiſition into whoſe hands the bodie that was thus diſtempered muſt fall. Howbeit this we may ſomewhat excuſe, in as much as euery mans particular care to his owne charge was ſuch as gaue them no leaſure to heede what others practiſed in Princes Courtes. But of the two Synodes of *Arimine* and *Seleucia* what ſhould we thinke? Conſtantius by the Arrians ſuggeſtion had deuiſed to aſſemble all the Biſhops of the whole world about this controuerſie, but in two ſeuerall places the Biſhops of the Weſt at *Arimine* in Italie, the Eaſterne at *Seleucia* the ſame time. Amongſt them of the Eaſt there was no ſtop, they agreed without any great adoe, gaue their ſentence againſt hereſie, excommunicated ſome chiefe maintainers thereof, and ſent the Emperour word what was done. They had at *Arimine* aboue foure hundreth which held the truth, ſcarce of the aduerſe part foure ſcore, but theſe obſtinate, and the other wearie of contending with them: whereupon by both it was reſolued to ſend to the Emperour ſuch as might informe him of the cauſe, and declare what hindered their peaceable agreement. There are choſen [a] for the Catholique ſide ſuch men as had in them nothing to be noted but boldnes, neither grauitie nor learning nor wiſedome. The Arrians for the credit of their faction take the eldeſt, the beſt experienced, the moſt warie and the longeſt practiſed Veterans they had amongſt them. The Emperour coniecturing of the reſt on either part by the qualitie of them whome he ſaw, ſent them ſpeedily away, and with them a certaine Confeſſion of faith [b] ambiguouſlie and ſubtlie drawne by the Arrians, whereunto vnleſſe they all ſubſcribed, they ſhould in no caſe be ſuffered to depart from the place where they were. At the length it was perceiued, that there had not bene in the Catholiques either at *Arimine* or at *Seleucia* ſo much foreſight, as to prouide that true intelligence might paſſe betweene them what was done. Vpon the aduantage of which error, their aduerſaries, abuſing each with perſwaſion that other had yeelded, ſurpriſed both. The Emperour the more deſirous and glad of ſuch euents, for that, beſides all other things wherein they hindred themſelues, the gall and bitternes of certaine mens writings, who ſpared him little for honors ſake, made him for their ſakes the leſſe inclineable to that truth, which he himſelfe ſhould haue honored and loued. Only in *Athanaſius* there was nothing obſerued throughout the courſe of that long tragedie other then ſuch as very well became a wiſe man to do and a righteous to ſuffer. So that this was the plaine condition of thoſe times, the whole world againſt *Athanaſius*, and *Athanaſius* againſt it; halfe a hundred of yeares ſpent in doubtfull tryall which of the two in the ende would preuaile, the ſide which had all, or elſe the part which had no friend but God and death, the one a defendor of his innocencie, the other a finiſher of all his troubles. Now although theſe contentions were cauſe of much euill, yet ſome good the Church hath reaped by them, in that they occaſioned the learned and ſound in faith to explane ſuch things as hereſie went about to deprаue. And in this reſpect the Creede of Athanaſius firſt exhibited vnto Iulius Biſhop of Rome, and afterwards (as we may probablie gather) ſent to the Emperour Iouian, for his more full information concerning that truth

[a] *Ex parte noſtra leguntur homines adoleſcentes, parum docti & parum cauti. Ab Arrianis autem miſſi ſenes callidi, & ingenio valentes, Veterno perfidiæ imbuti, qui apud regem facile ſuperiores extiterunt. Sulpit. lib. 2.*

[b] *Eiſdemque conſcripta ab improbis fidem tradit verbis fallentibus involutum qua Catholicam diſciplinam perfidia latente loqueretur. Ibid.*

which Arrianiſme ſo mightely did impugne, was both in the Eaſt and the Weſt Churches accepted as a treaſure of ineſtimable price, [a] by as many as had not giuen vp euen the very ghoſt of beliefe. Then was the Creede of *Athanaſius* written, howbeit not then ſo expedient to be publiquely vſed as now in the Church of God, becauſe while the heate of diuiſion laſteth truth it ſelfe induring oppoſition doth not ſo quietly and currantly paſſe throughout all mens hands, neither can be of that accompt which afterwards it hath, when the world once perceiueth the vertue thereof not only in it ſelfe, but alſo by the conqueſt which God hath giuen it ouer hereſie. That which hereſie did by ſiniſter interpretations goe about to peruert in the firſt and moſt auncient Apoſtolique Creede, the ſame being by ſingular dexteritie and plainenes cleered from thoſe hereticall corruptions partly by this Creede of *Athanaſius*, written about the yeare 340, and partly by [b] that other ſet downe in the Synod of Conſtantinople fortie yeares after, comprehending together with the Nicene Creede an addition of other articles which the Nicene Creede omitted, becauſe the controuerſie then in hand needed no mention to be made of them; theſe Catholique declarations of our beliefe deliuered by them which were ſo much neerer then we are vnto the firſt publication thereof, and continuing needefull for all men at all times to knowe, theſe Confeſſions as teſtimonies of our continuance in the ſame faith to this preſent day, we rather vſe then any other gloſſe or paraphraſe deuiſed by our ſelues, which though it were to the ſame effect, notwithſtanding could not be of the like authoritie and credit. For that of [c] Hilarie vnto S. Auguſtine hath bene euer and is likely to be alwayes true, *Your moſt religious wiſedome knoweth how great their number is in the Church of God, whome the very authoritie of mens names doth keepe in that opinion which they hold alreadie, or draw vnto that which they haue not before held.* Touching the Hymne of *Glorie*, our vſuall concluſion to Pſalmes, the [d] glorie of all things is that wherein their higheſt perfection doth conſiſt: and the glorie of God that diuine excellencie whereby he is eminent aboue all things, his omnipotent, infinite, and eternall being, [e] which Angels and glorified Saincts do intuitiuely behold, we on earth apprehend principally by faith, in part alſo by that kinde of knowledge which groweth from experience of thoſe effects, the greatnes whereof exceedeth the powers and habilities of all creatures both in heauen and earth. God is [f] glorified when ſuch his excellẽcie aboue all things is with due admiration acknowledged. Which dutifull acknowledgemẽt of Gods excellencie by occaſiõ of ſpeciall effects, being the very proper ſubiect and almoſt the only matter purpoſely treated of in all Pſalmes, if that ioyfull Hymne of glorie haue any vſe in the Church of God whoſe name we therewith extoll and magnifie, can we place it more fitly then where now it ſerueth as a cloſe or concluſion to Pſalmes? Neither is the forme thereof newly or vnneceſſarily inuented. *We muſt* (ſaith [g] S. Baſil) *as we haue receiued euẽ ſo baptize, and as we baptize euẽ ſo beleeue, and as we beleeue euen ſo giue glory.* Baptizing we vſe the name of the Father, of the Sonne, and of the holy Ghoſt; Confeſſing the Chriſtian faith we declare our beliefe in the Father, and in the Sonne, and in the holy Ghoſt; aſcribing glorie vnto God we giue it to the Father, and to the Sonne, and to the holy Ghoſt. It is ἀναδειξις τοῦ ὀρθοῦ φρονήματος, the

[a] Ταύτῃ μοὶ δοκοῦσιν ἀισθόμενοι τὴν ὁμολογίαν οἱ τε τῆς ἑσπερίας, καὶ τῆς ἑῴας ὅσον βιώσιμον. Greg. Naz. de Athana.

[b] That Creede which in the booke of common prayer followeth immediatly after the reading of the Goſpell.

[c] Hilar. Arela. epiſt. ad Auguſ.

[d] 1. Cor. 15. 40. Exod. 33. 18. Heb. 1. 3.

[e] Math. 18. 10.

[f] Ioſ. 7. 19. Pſal. 22. 23.

[g] Baſil. epiſt. 78.

the token of a true and ſound vnderſtanding for matter of doctrine about the Trinitie, when in miniſtring Baptiſme, and making confeſſion, and giuing glorie, there is a coniunction of all three, and no one of the three ſeuered from the other two. Againſt the Arrians affirming the Father to be greater then the Sonne in honor, excellencie, dignitie, maieſtie, this forme and manner of glorifying God was not at that time firſt begun, but receiued long before, and alleaged at that time as an argument for the truth. [a] *If* (ſayth *Fœbadius*) *there be that inequalitie which they affirme, then do we euery day blaſpheme God, when in thankſgiuings and offerings of ſacrifice we acknowledge thoſe things common to the Father and the Sonne.* The Arrians therefore for that they perceiued how this did preiudice their cauſe, altered the Hymne of Glorie, whereupon enſued in the Church of Antioch about the yeare 349. that iarre which [b] Theodoret and Sozomen mention. *In their Quires while they prayſed God together as the manner was, at the end of the Pſalmes which they ſung, it appeared what opinion euery man held, for as much as they glorified ſome the Father,* And *the Sonne,* And *the holie Ghoſt; ſome the Father* By *the Sonne* In *the Spirit; the one ſort thereby declaring themſelues to embrace the Sonnes equalitie with the Father as the Councell of Nice had defined, the other ſort againſt the Councell of Nice his inequalitie.* Leontius their Biſhop although an enimie to the better part, yet warie and ſuttle, as in a maner all the heads of the Arrians faction were, could at no time be plainely heard to vſe either forme, perhaps leaſt his open contradicting of them whome he fauoured not might make them the more eager, and by that meane the leſſe apt to be priuatly won; or peraduenture for that though he ioyned in opinion with that ſort of Arrians who denyed the Sonne to be equall with the Father, yet from them he diſſented which thought the Father and the Sonne not only vnequall but vnlike, as Aetius did vpon a friuolous and falſe ſurmiſe, that becauſe the Apoſtle hath ſayd [c] *one God* of *whome, one Lord* by *whome,* [d] *one Spirit* in *whome,* his different manner of ſpeech doth argue a different nature and being in them of whome he ſpeaketh, out of which blinde collection it ſeemeth that this their new deuiſed forme did firſt ſpring. But in truth euen that verie forme which the Arrians did then vſe (ſauing that they choſe it to ſerue as their ſpeciall marke of recogniſance, and gaue it ſecretlie within themſelues a ſiniſter conſtruction) hath not otherwiſe as much as the ſhew of any thing which ſoundeth towards impietie. For albeit if we reſpect Gods glorie within it ſelfe, it be the equall right and poſſeſſion of all three, and that without any oddes, any difference, yet touching his manifeſtation thereof vnto vs by continuall effects, and our perpetuall acknowledgement thereof vnto him likewiſe by vertuous offices, doth not euery toong both wayes confeſſe, that the brightneſſe of his glorie hath ſpread it ſelfe throughout the world *By* the miniſterie of his onely begotten Sonne, and is *In* the manifold graces of the Spirit euery way maruellous; againe, that whatſoeuer we doe to his glorie, it is done *In* the power of the holie Ghoſt, and made acceptable *By* the merit and mediation of Ieſus Chriſt? So that glorie to the Father *And* the Sonne, or glorie to the Father *By* the Sonne, ſauing only where euill mindes doe abuſe and peruert moſt holie things, are not elſe the voyces of error

[a] *Fœbad. lib. cont. Arria.*
[b] *Theod. lib. 2. ca. 24. Sozom. lib. 4. ca. 19.*
[c] *1. Cor. 8. 6.*
[d] *1. Cor. 12. 3. 4. 13.*

and ſchiſme, but of ſound and ſincere religion. It hath bene the cuſtome of the Church of Chriſt to end ſometimes prayers, and ſermons alwayes, with words of glorie, wherein, as long as the bleſſed Trinitie had due honor, and till Arrianiſme had made it a matter of great ſharpnes and ſubtiltie of wit to be a ſound belieuing Chriſtian, men were not curious what ſyllables or particles of ſpeech they vſed. Vpon which confidence and truſt notwithſtanding when S. Baſil began to practiſe the like indifferencie, and to conclude publique prayers, glorifying ſometime the Father with the Sonne and the holy Ghoſt, ſometime the Father by the Sonne in the Spirit, whereas long cuſtome had inured them vnto the former kinde alone, by meanes whereof the later was new and ſtrange in their eares, this needeleſſe experiment brought afterwards vpon him a neceſſary labor of excuſing himſelfe to his friends, and maintayning his owne acte againſt them, who becauſe the light of his candle too much drowned theirs, were glad to lay hold on ſo coulorable matter, and exceeding forward to traduce him as an author of ſuſpitious innouation. How hath the world forſaken that courſe which it ſometime held? How are the iudgements harts and affections of men altered? May we not wonder that a man of S. Baſils authoritie and qualitie, an Arch-prelate in the houſe of God, ſhould haue his name farre and wide cald in queſtion, and be driuen to his painefull apollogies, to write in his owne defenſe whole volumes, and yet hardly to obtaine with all his endeuor a pardon, the crime laide againſt him being but only a change of ſome one or two ſyllables in their vſuall Church-liturgie? It was thought in him an vnpardonable offence to alter any thing; in vs as intollerable that we ſuffer any thing to remaine vnaltered. The very Creede of *Athanaſius* and that ſacred Hymne of glory then which nothing doth ſound more heauenly in the eares of faithfull men are now reckoned as ſuperfluities, which we muſt in any caſe pare away, leaſt we cloy God with too much ſeruice. Is there in that confeſſion of faith any thing which doth not at all times edifie and inſtruct the attentiue hearer? Or is our faith in the bleſſed Trinitie a matter needles to be ſo oftentimes mentioned and opened in the principall part of that dutie which we owe to God, our publique prayer? Hath the Church of Chriſt from the firſt beginning by a ſecret vniuerſall inſtinct of Gods good Spirit alwaies tyed it ſelfe to end neither Sermon nor almoſt any ſpeech of moment which hath concerned matters of God without ſome ſpeciall words of honor and glorie to that Trinitie which we all adore; and is the like concluſion of Pſalmes becõme now at the length an eye-ſore or a gauling to their eares that heare it? Thoſe flames of Arrianiſme they ſay are quenched, which were the cauſe why the Church deuiſed in ſuch ſort to confeſſe and prayſe the glorious deitie of the Sonne of God. Seeing therefore the ſore is whole, why reteyne wee as yet the playſter? When the cauſe why any thing was ordeyned doth once ceaſe, the thing it ſelfe ſhould ceaſe with it, that the Church being eaſed of vnprofitable labours, needefull offices may the better be attended. For the doing of things vnneceſſarie, is many times the cauſe why the moſt neceſſarie are not done. But in this caſe ſo to reaſon will not ſerue their turnes. For firſt, the ground whereupon they build is not certainely their owne but with ſpeciall limitations. Few things are ſo reſtrayned

ſtrayned to any one end or purpoſe that the ſame being extinct they ſhould forthwith vtterly become fruſtrate. Wiſedome may haue framed one and the ſame thing to ſerue commodiouſly for diuers ends, and of thoſe ends any one be ſufficient cauſe for continuance though the reſt haue ceaſed, euen as the toong, which nature hath giuen vs for an inſtrument of ſpeech, is not idle in dumb perſons becauſe it alſo ſerueth for taſte. Againe, if time haue worne out, or any other meane altogether taken away what was firſt intended, vſes not thought vpon before may afterwards ſpring vp and be reaſonable cauſes of reteining that which other conſiderations did formerly procure to be inſtituted. And it commeth ſometime to paſſe that a thing vnneceſſarie in it ſelfe as touching the whole direct purpoſe whereto it was ment or can be applied, doth notwithſtanding appeare conuenient to be ſtill held euen without vſe, leaſt by reaſon of that coherence which it hath with ſomewhat moſt neceſſarie, the remouall of the one ſhould indamage the other, and therefore men which haue cleane loſt the poſſibilitie of ſight keepe ſtill their eyes neuertheles in the place where nature ſet them. As for theſe two branches whereof our queſtion groweth, Arrianiſme was in deede ſome occaſion of the one, but a cauſe of neither, much leſſe the only intire cauſe of both. For albeit conflict with Arrians brought forth the occaſion of writing that Creede which long after was made a part of the Church-liturgie, as Hymnes and ſentences of glorie were a part thereof before; yet becauſe ſufficient there is why both ſhould remaine in vſe, the one as a moſt diuine explication of the chiefeſt articles of our Chriſtian beliefe, the other as an heauenly acclamation of ioyfull applauſe to his prayſes in whome we belieue, neither the one nor the other vnworthie to be heard ſounding as they are in the Church of Chriſt, whither Arrianiſme liue or die. Againſt which poiſon likewiſe if we thinke that the Church at this day needeth not thoſe auncient preſeruatiues which ages before vs were ſo glad to vſe, we deceiue our ſelues greatly. The weedes of hereſie being growne vnto ſuch ripenes as that was, do euen in the very cutting downe ſcatter often times thoſe ſeedes which for a while lye vnſeene and buried in the earth, but afterward freſhly ſpring vp againe no leſſe pernicious then at the firſt. Which thing they very well know and I doubt not will eaſily cõfeſſe, who liue to their great both toile and griefe, where the blaſphemies of Arrians, Samoſatenians, Tritheits, Eutychians, and Macedonians are renued; renued by them who to hatch their hereſie haue choſen thoſe Churches as fitteſt neſts where *Athanaſius* Creede is not heard; by them I ſay renued, who following the courſe of extreame reformation, were wont in the pride of their owne proceedings to glorie, that whereas Luther did but blow away the roofe, and Zwinglius batter but the walls of popiſh ſuperſtition, the laſt and hardeſt worke of all remained, which was to raze vp the very ground and foundation of poperie, that doctrine concerning the deitie of Chriſt which *Satanaſius* (for ſo it pleaſed thoſe impious forſaken miſcreants to ſpeake) hath in this memorable Creede explaned. So manifeſtly true is that which one of the [a] ancient hath cõcerning Arianiſme *Mortuis authoribus huius veneni ſcelerata tamen eorum doctrina non moritur*, the authors of this venome being dead and gone, their wicked doctrine notwithſtanding continueth.

[a] *Fabad. contra Arr.*

Our want of particular thankſgiuing. As ſuch prayers are needfull whereby we beg releaſe from our diſtreſſes, ſo there ought to be as neceſſary prayers of thankſgiuing when we haue receiued thoſe things at the Lords hand which we asked. T.C. lib. 1. page. 138. I do not ſimplie require a ſollemne and expreſſe thankſgiuing for ſuch benefits, but only vpon a ſuppoſition, which is, that if it be expedient that there ſhould be expreſſe prayers againſt ſo many of their earthly miſeries, that then alſo it is meete that vpon the deliuerance there ſhould be an expreſſe thankſgiuing. T.C. lib. 3. page 209.

43 Amongſt the heapes of theſe exceſſes and ſuperfluities, there is eſpied the want of a principall part of dutie, *There are no thankſgiuings for the benefits for which there are petitions* in our booke of prayer. This they haue thought a point materiall to be obiected. Neither may we take it in euill part to be admoniſhed what ſpeciall duties of thankefulnes we owe to that mercifull God, for whoſe vnſpeakeable graces the only requitall which we are able to make is a true, hartie, and ſincere acknowledgement how precious we eſteeme ſuch benefits receiued, and how infinite in goodnes the author from whome they come. But that to euery petition we make for things needfull there ſhould be ſome anſwerable ſentence of thanks prouided particularly to follow ſuch requeſts obteined, either it is not a matter ſo requiſite as they pretend; or if it be, wherefore haue they not then in ſuch order framed their owne booke of Common prayer? Why hath our Lord & Sauiour taught vs a forme of prayer conteyning ſo many petitions of thoſe things which we want, and not deliuered in like ſort as many ſeuerall formes of thankſgiuing to ſerue when any thing we pray for is graunted? What anſwere ſoeuer they can reaſonablie make vnto theſe demaunds, the ſame ſhall diſcouer vnto them how cauſeleſſe a cenſure it is that there are not in our booke thankſgiuings for all the benefits for which there are petitions. For concerning the bleſſings of God whether they tend vnto this life or the life to come, there is great cauſe why we ſhould delight more in giuing thanks, then in making requeſts for them, in as much as the one hath penſiuenes and feare, the other alwayes ioy annexed: the one belongeth vnto them that ſeeke, the other vnto them that haue found happines; they that pray do but yet ſowe, they that giue thanks declare they haue reaped. Howbeit becauſe there are ſo many graces whereof we ſtand in continuall neede, graces for which we may not ceaſe dayly and hourely to ſue, graces which are in beſtowing alwayes, but neuer come to be fully had in this preſent life, and therefore when all things here haue an end, endleſſe thanks muſt haue their beginning in a ſtate which bringeth the full and finall ſatiſfaction of all ſuch perpetuall deſires; againe, becauſe our common neceſſities and the lacke which we all haue, as well of ghoſtly as of earthly fauours is in each kinde ſo eaſily knowne, but the gifts of God according to thoſe degrees and times which he in his ſecret wiſdome ſeeth meete, are ſo diuerſlie beſtowed, that it ſeldome appeareth what all receiue, what all ſtand in neede of it ſeldome lieth hid, we are not to meruaile though the Church do oftner concurre in ſutes then in thanks vnto God for particular benefits. Neuertheleſſe leaſt God ſhould be any way vnglorified, the greateſt part of our dayly ſeruice they know conſiſteth, according to [a] the bleſſed Apoſtles owne preciſe rule, in much varietie of Pſalmes and Hymnes, for no other purpoſe, but only that out of ſo plentifull a treaſure there might be for euery mans hart to chooſe out his owne ſacrifice, and to offer vnto God by particular ſecret inſtinct what fitteth beſt the often occaſions which any ſeuerall either partie or congregation may ſeeme to haue. They that would cleane take from vs therefore the dayly vſe of the very beſt meanes we haue to magnifie

The default of the booke for that there are no formes of thankſgiuing for the releaſe from thoſe common calamities from which we haue petitions to be deliuered. T.C. lib. 3. page 208.

[a] *Eph. 5. 9. Coloſ. 3. 16.*

magnifie and praiſe the name of Almightie God for his rich bleſſings, they that complaine of our reading and ſinging ſo many Pſalmes for ſo good an end, they I ſay that finde fault with our ſtore ſhould of all men be leaſt willing to reproue our ſcarcitie of thankſgiuings. But becauſe peraduenture they ſee it is not either *generallie* fit or poſſible that Churches ſhould frame thankſgiuings anſwerable to each petition, they ſhorten ſomewhat the reynes of their cenſure, there are no formes of thankſgiuing they ſay for releaſe of thoſe *common calamities*, from which we haue petitions to be deliuered. *There are prayers ſet forth to be ſayd in the common calamities and vniuerſall ſcourges of the Realme, as plague, famine, &c. And in deede ſo it ought to be by the word of God. But as ſuch prayers are needfull*, whereby we beg releaſe from our diſtreſſes, ſo there ought to be as neceſſarie prayers of thankſgiuing, when we haue receiued thoſe things at the Lords hand which we asked in our prayers. As oft therefore as any publique or vniuerſall ſcourge is remoued, as oft as we are deliuered from thoſe either imminent or preſent calamities, againſt the ſtorme and tempeſt whereof we all inſtantly craued fauour from aboue, let it be a queſtion what we ſhould render vnto God for his bleſſings vniuerſally, ſenſiblie, and extraordinarily beſtowed. A prayer of three or foure lines inſerted into ſome part of our Church-liturgie? No we are not perſwaded that when God doth in trouble inioyne vs the dutie of inuocation, and promiſe vs the benefit of deliuerance, and profeſſe that the thing he expecteth after at our hands is to glorifie him as our mightie and only Sauiour, the Church can diſcharge in maner conuenient a worke of ſo great importance by foreordeyning ſome ſhort Collect wherein briefely to mention thanks. Our cuſtome therefore whenſoeuer ſo great occaſions are incident, is by publique authoritie to appoint throughout all Churches ſet and ſolemne formes as well of ſupplication as of thankſgiuing, the preparations and intended complements whereof may ſtirre vp the mindes of men in much more effectuall ſort, then if only there ſhould be added to the booke of prayer that which they require. But we erre in thinking that they require any ſuch matter. For albeit their words to our vnderſtanding be very playne that in our booke *there are prayers ſet forth* to be ſayd when *common calamities* are felt, as *plague, famine*, and ſuch like; againe that *in deede ſo it ought to be by the word of God*; that likewiſe *there ought to be as neceſſarie prayers of thankſgiuing when we haue receiued thoſe things*; finally that the want of ſuch formes of thankſgiuing for the releaſe from thoſe common calamities from which we haue petitions to be deliuered, is the *default of the booke* of common prayer: yet all this they meane but only by way of *ſuppoſition if expreſſe prayers* againſt ſo many earthly miſeries were conuenient, *that then* in deede as many expreſſe and particular thankſgiuings ſhould be likewiſe neceſſarie. Seeing therefore we know that they hold the one ſuperfluous, they would not haue it ſo vnderſtood as though their mindes were that any ſuch addition to the booke is needefull whatſoeuer they ſay for arguments ſake concerning this pretended defect. The truth is they waue in and out, no way ſufficiently grounded, no way reſolued what to thinke, ſpeake or write, more then onely that becauſe they haue taken it vpon them they muſt (no remedie now) be oppoſite.

T.C. lib. 1. page 138.

In some things the matter of our prayer as they affirme, vnsound.

44 The last supposed fault concerneth some few things, the very matter whereof is thought to be much amisse. In a song of prayse to our Lord Iesus Christ we haue these words, *When thou hadst ouercome the sharpnes of death, thou didst open the kingdome of heauen to all belieuers.* Which maketh some shew of giuing countenance to their error, who thinke that the faithfull which departed this life before the comming of Christ, were neuer till then made pertakers of ioy, but remayned all in that place which they terme the *Lake of the fathers.* In our liturgie request is made that we may be preserued from suddaine death. This seemeth friuolous, because the godly should be alwayes prepared to dye. Request is made that God would giue those things which we for our vnworthines dare not aske. This they say *carrieth with it the note of popish seruile feare, and sauoureth not of that confidence and reuerent familiaritie that the children of God haue through Christ with their heauenly Father.* Request is made that we may euermore be defended from all aduersitie. For this *there is no promise in scripture,* and therefore *it is no prayer of faith or of the which we can assure our selues that we shall obteine it.* Finally, request is made that God would haue mercie vpon all men. This is impossible, because some are the vessels of wrath to whome God will neuer extend his mercie.

When thou hadst ouercome the sharpnes of death, thou didst open the kingdome of heauen vnto all belieuers.

45 As Christ hath purchased that heauenly kingdome the last perfection whereof is *glory in the life to come,* grace in this life a preparation thereunto; so the same he hath *opened* to the world in such sort, that whereas none can possiblie without him attaine saluation, by him *all that beliene* are saued. Now whatsoeuer he did or suffered, the ende thereof was to open the dores of the kingdome of heauen which our iniquities had *shut vp.* But because by *ascending after that the sharpnes of death* was ouercome, he tooke the very *locall possession* of glory, and that *to the vse of all that are his,* euen as himselfe before had witnessed, [a] *I goe to prepare a place for you,* and againe, whome thou hast giuen me O Father [b] *I will that where I am they be also with me,* that my glory which thou hast giuen me they may behold, it appeareth that *when Christ did ascend* he then most *liberally opened* the kingdome of heauen *to the ende* that with him and by him all belieuers might raigne. In what estate the Fathers rested which were dead before, it is not hereby either one way or other determined. All we can rightly gather is, that as touching their soules what degree of ioy or happines soeuer it pleased God to bestow vpon them, *his ascention* which succeeded *procured* theirs, and theirs concerning the body must needes be *not only of* but after his. As therefore [c] *Heluidius* against whome S. Ierome writeth, abused greatly those words of Mathew concerning Ioseph and the mother of our Sauiour Christ, *He knew her not till she had brought forth her first borne,* thereby gathering against the honor of the blessed Virgin, that a thing denyed with speciall circumstance doth import an opposite affirmation when once that circumstance is expired: after the selfe-same manner it should be a weake Collection, if whereas we say that *when* Christ had ouercome the sharpnes of death, he *then opened* the kingdome of heauen to all belieuers, a thing in such sort affirmed with circumstance were taken as insinuating an opposite denyall before that circumstance be accomplished, and consequently that because when the sharpnes of death was ouercome he then opened heauen *as well to beliewing*

a *Iohn.14.*
b *Iohn.17.24.*
c *Hieron.contr. Helu. Aug.hær.84.*

Gentiles

Gentiles as Iewes, heauen till then was no receptacle to the ſoules of either. Wherefore be the Spirits of the iuſt and righteous before Chriſt truly or falſely thought excluded out of heauenly ioy, by that which we in the words alleaged before do attribute to Chriſts aſcenſion, there is to no ſuch opinion nor to the [a] fauourers thereof any countenance at all giuen. We cannot better interpret the meaning of theſe words then Pope Leo himſelfe expoundeth them, whoſe ſpeech concerning our Lords aſcenſion may ſerue in ſtead of a marginall gloſſe, [b] *Chriſts exaltation is our promotion, and whether the glorie of the head is alreadie gone before, thether the hope of the bodie alſo is to follow. For as this day we haue not only the poſſeſſion of paradiſe aſſured vnto vs, but in Chriſt we haue entred the higheſt of the heauens.* His opening the kingdome of heauen and his entrance thereinto was not only to his owne vſe but for the benefit of all belieuers.

a *Lyr. ſuper Gen. 29. Th. p. 3. q. 52. ar. 5.*

b *Leo. Ser. 1. de Aſcenſ.*

46 Our good or euill eſtate after death dependeth moſt vpon the qualitie of our liues. Yet ſomewhat there is why a vertuous minde ſhould rather wiſh to depart this world with a kinde of treatable diſſolution, then to be ſuddainely cut off in a moment; rather to be taken then ſnatched away from the face of the earth. Death is that which all men ſuffer, but not all men with one minde, neither all men in one manner. For being of neceſſitie a thing common, it is through the manifold perſwaſions, diſpoſitions and occaſions of men with equall deſert both of praiſe and diſpraiſe ſhunned by ſome, by others deſired. So that abſolutely we cannot diſcommend, we cannot abſolutely approue either willingnes to liue or forwardnes to dye. And concerning the wayes of death, albeit the choiſe thereof be only in his hands who alone hath power ouer all fleſh, and vnto whoſe appointment we ought with patience meekely to ſubmit our ſelues (for to be agents voluntarily in our owne deſtruction is againſt both God and Nature) yet there is no doubt but in ſo great varietie, our deſires will and may lawfully preferre one kinde before an other. Is there any man of worth and vertue, although not inſtructed in the ſchoole of Chriſt, or euer taught what the ſoundnes of religion meaneth, that had not rather end the dayes of this tranſitorie life as *Cyrus* in *Xenophon*, or in *Plato Socrates* are deſcribed, then to ſinke downe with them of whome [c] Elihu hath ſaid, *Momento moriuntur*, there is ſcarce an inſtant betweene their flouriſhing and their not being? But let vs which know what it is to dye as Abſalon or Ananias and Saphira dyed, let vs beg of God that when the hower of our reſt is come, the paternes of our diſſolution may be [d] Iacob, Moſes, Ioſua, Dauid, who leaſureablie ending their liues in peace, prayed for the mercies of God to come vpon their poſteritie; repleniſhed the harts of the neereſt vnto them with words of memorable conſolation; ſtrengthned men in the feare of God, gaue them wholeſome inſtructions of life, and confirmed them in true religion, in ſumme, taught the world no leſſe vertuouſly how to dye, then they had done before how to liue. To ſuch as iudge things according to the ſenſe of naturall men and aſcend no higher, ſuddainenes becauſe it ſhorteneth their griefe ſhould in reaſon be moſt acceptable. That which cauſeth bitternes in death is the languiſhing attendance and expectation thereof ere it come. And therefore Tyrants vſe what arte they can to increaſe the ſlownes of death.

Touching prayer for deliuerãce from ſuddaine death

c *Iob. 34. 20.*

d *Heb. 11. 21. Deut. 33. Ioſ. 24. 1. Reg. 2.*

Quicke

Quicke riddance out of life is often both requeſted and beſtowed as a benefit. Commonly therefore it is for vertuous conſiderations that wiſedome ſo farre preuaileth with men as to make them deſirous of ſlow and deliberate death againſt the ſtreame of their ſenſuall inclination, content to indure the longer griefe and bodily paine, that the ſoule may haue time to call it ſelfe to a iuſt accompt of all things paſt, by meanes whereof repentance is perfected, there is wherein to exerciſe patience, the ioyes of the kingdome of heauen haue leiſure to preſent themſelues, the pleaſures of ſinne and this worlds vanities are cenſured with vncorrupt iudgement, Charitie is free to make aduiſed choice of the ſoile wherein her laſt ſeede may moſt frutefully be beſtowed, the minde is at libertie to haue due regard of that diſpoſition of worldly things which it can neuer afterwards alter, and becauſe [a] the neerer we draw vnto God, the more we are oftentimes inlightned with the ſhining beames of his glorious preſence as being then euen almoſt in ſight, a leaſurable departure may in that caſe bring forth for the good of ſuch as are preſent that which ſhall cauſe them for euer after from the bottome of their harts to pray, *O let vs die the death of the righteous, and let our laſt end be like theirs.* All which benefits and opportunities are by ſuddaine death preuented. And beſides for as much as death how ſoeuer is a generall effect of the wrath of God againſt ſinne, and the ſuddainenes thereof a thing which hapneth but to few, the world in this reſpect feareth it the more as being ſubiect to doubtfull conſtructions, which as no man willingly would incurre, ſo they whoſe happie eſtate after life is of all mens the moſt certaine ſhould eſpecially wiſh that no ſuch accident in their death may giue vncharitable mindes occaſion of raſh, ſiniſter, and ſuſpitious verdits, whereunto they are ouer-prone, ſo that whether euill men or good be reſpected, whether we regard our ſelues or others, to be preſerued from ſuddaine death is a bleſſing of God. And our prayer againſt it importeth a two-fold deſire, firſt, that death when it commeth may giue vs ſome conuenient reſpit, or ſecondly, if that be denyed vs of God, yet we may haue wiſedome to prouide alwayes before-hand, that thoſe euils ouertake vs not which death vnexpected doth vſe to bring vpon careleſſe men, and that although it be ſuddaine in it ſelfe, neuertheleſſe in regard of our prepared mindes it may not be ſuddaine.

a *Cypr. de mortal.*

Prayer that thoſe things which we for our vnworthineſſe dare not aske, God for the worthineſſe of his Sonne would vouchſafe to graunt. This requeſt carieth with it ſtill the note of the Popiſh ſeruile feare, and ſauoureth not of that confidence and reuerent familiaritie that the children of God haue through Chriſt with their heauenly Father. T. C. lib. 1. page 136.

47 But is it credible that the very acknowledgement of our owne vnworthineſſe to obteyne, and in that reſpect our profeſſed fearefulnes to aske any thing otherwiſe then only for his ſake to whome God can denye nothing, that this ſhould be noted for a popiſh error, that this ſhould be termed baſenes, abiection of minde, or *ſeruilitie*, is it credible? That which we for our vnworthineſſe are afraid to craue, our prayer is that God for the worthineſſe of his Sonne would notwithſtanding vouchſafe to graunt. May it pleaſe them to ſhew vs which of theſe words it is that carryeth the note of popiſh and ſeruile feare? In reference to other creatures of this inferior world mans worth and excellencie is admired. Compared with God, the trueſt inſcription wherewith we can circle ſo baſe a coyne is that of Dauid,

[a] *Vniuerſa*

[a] *Vniuerſa vanitas eſt omnis homo*, whoſoeuer hath the name of a mortall man there is in him whatſoeuer the name of vanitie doth comprehend. And therefore what we ſay of our owne *vnworthines* there is no doubt but truth will ratifie. Alleaged in prayer it both becommeth and behoueth Saincts. For as humilitie is in ſuters a decent vertue, ſo the teſtification thereof by ſuch effectuall acknowledgements not only [b] argueth a ſound apprehenſion of his ſuperemi-nent glorie and maieſtie before whome we ſtand, but putteth alſo into his hands a kinde of pledge or bond for ſecuritie againſt our vnthankfulnes, the very naturall roote whereof is alwayes either ignorance, diſſimulation, or pride; ignorance, when we know not the author from whome our good commeth; diſſimulation, when our hands are more open then our eyes vpon that we receiue; pride, when we thinke our ſelues *worthie* of that which meere grace and vndeſerued mercy beſtoweth. In prayer therefore to abate ſo vaine imagitations with the *true conceipt of vnworthines* is rather to preuent then commit a fault. It being no error thus to thinke, no fault thus to ſpeake of our ſelues when we pray, is it a fault that the conſideration of our vnworthines maketh vs *feareſull* to open our mouthes by way of ſute? While Iob had proſperitie and liued in honor men feared him for his authorities ſake, and in token of their feare when they ſaw him they [c] *hid themſelues*. Betweene Elihu and the reſt of Iobs familiars the greateſt diſparitie was but in yeares. And he, though riper then they in iudgement, doing them reuerence in regard of age, ſtood long [d] *doubtfull*, and very loath to aduenture vpon ſpeach in his elders hearing. If ſo ſmall inequalitie betweene man and man make their modeſtie a commendable vertue, who reſpecting ſuperiors *as ſuperiors*, can neither ſpeake nor ſtand before them without feare: that the Publican approcheth not more boldly to God; that when Chriſt in mercie draweth neere to Peter, he in humilitie and feare craueth diſtance; that being to ſtand, to ſpeake, to ſue in the preſence of ſo great maieſtie we are afraid, let no man blame vs. [e] In which conſideration notwithſtanding, becauſe to flie altogether from God, to deſpaire that creatures vnworthie ſhall be able to obteine any thing at his hands, and vnder that pretenſe to ſurceaſe from prayers as bootles or fruitles offices, were to him no leſſe iniurious then pernitious to our owne ſoules, euen that which we tremble to do we do, we aske thoſe things which we dare not aske. The knowledge of our owne vnworthines is not without beliefe in the merits of Chriſt. With that true feare which the one cauſeth there is coupled true boldnes, and encoragement drawen from the other. The very ſilence which our vnworthines putteth vs vnto, doth it ſelfe make requeſt for vs, and that in the confidence of his grace. Looking inward we are ſtricken dumbe, looking vpward we ſpeake and preuaile. O happie mixture wherein things contrary do ſo qualifie and correct the one the daunger of the others exceſſe, that neither boldnes can make vs preſume as long as we are kept vnder with the ſenſe of our owne wretchednes; nor, while we truſt in the mercie of God through Chriſt Ieſus, feare be able to tyrannize ouer vs. As therefore our feare excludeth not that [f] boldnes which becommeth Saincts; ſo if their *familiaritie* with God do not ſauor of this feare, it draweth too neere that irreuerend confidence wherewith true humilitie can neuer ſtand.

[a] *Pſal.* 39. 5.

[b] Μεμνημένοι δὲ τῆς ἰδίας παρὰ πάντα ἀδ ενείας μεμνήσθαι καὶ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ παρὰ πάντα ὑπερβολῆς. *Philo. de ſacrif. Abel. & Cain.*

[c] *Iob.* 29. 8. Amongſt the parts of honor Ariſtotle rekoneth προσκυνήσεις and ἐκστάσεις. *Rhet. lib.* 1. *ca.* 5.

[d] *Iob.* 32. 6.

[e] The publican did indeed not liſt vp his eyes: So that if by his example wee ſhould ſay we dare aske nothing, wee ought alſo to aske nothing: otherwiſe in ſtead of teaching true humilitie, wee open a ſchoole to hypocriſie which the Lord deteſteth. T. C. l. 3. pa. 203.

[f] *Rom.* 5. 2. 8. 15. *Heb.* 10. 19.

Prayer to be euermore deliuered from all aduersitie. For as much as there is no promise in the Scripture that we should be free from all aduersitie and that euermore, it seemeth that this prayer might haue bene better conceiued being no prayer of faith or of ỹ which we can assure our selues that we shall obteine it. T.C. lib.1. pa.136.

48 Touching continuall deliuerance in the world from all aduersitie, their conceipt is that we ought not to aske it of God by prayer, for as much as in scripture there is no promise that we shall be euermore free from vexations, calamities and troubles. Mindes religiously affected are woont in euery thing of waight and moment which they do or see, to examine according vnto rules of pietie what dependencie it hath on God, what reference to themselues, what coherence with any of those duties whereunto all things in the world should leade, and accordingly they frame the inward disposition of their mindes sometime to admire God, sometimes to blesse him and giue him thanks, sometime to exult in his loue, sometime to implore his mercie. All which different eleuations of spirit vnto God are conteyned in the name of prayer. Euery good and holie desire though it lacke the forme, hath notwithstanding in it selfe the substance, and with him the force of a prayer, who regardeth the very moanings, grones and sighes of the hart of man. Petitionarie prayer belongeth only to such as are in themselues impotent, and stand in need of reliefe from others. We thereby declare vnto God what our owne desire is that he by his power should effect. It presupposeth therefore in vs first the want of that which we pray for; secondly, a feeling of that want; thirdly, an earnest willingnes of minde to be eased therein; fourthly, a declaration of this our desire in the sight of God, not as if he should be otherwise ignorant of our necessities, but because we this way shew that we honor him as our God, and are verely perswaded that no good thing can come to passe which he by his omnipotent power effecteth not. Now because there is no mans prayer acceptable whose person is odious, neither any mans person gratious without faith, it is of necessitie required that they which pray do belieue. The prayers which our Lord and Sauiour made were for his owne worthines accepted; ours God accepteth not but with this condition, if they be ioyned with [a] beliefe in Christ. The prayers of the iust are accepted alwayes, but not alwayes those things graunted for which they pray. For in prayer if faith and assurance to obteine were both one and the same thing, seeing that the effect of not obteining is a plaine testimonie that they which prayed were not sure they should obteine, it would follow that their prayer being without certaintie of the euent, was also made vnto God without faith, and consequently that God abhorred it. Which to thinke of so many prayers of Saincts as we finde haue failed in particular requests how absurd were it? His faithfull people haue this comfort that whatsoeuer they rightly aske, the same no doubt but they shall receiue, so farre as may stand with the glorie of God, and their owne euerlasting good, vnto either of which two it is no vertuous mans purpose to seeke or desire to obteine any thing preiudiciall, and therefore that clause which our Lord and Sauiour in the prayer of his agonie did expresse, we in petitions of like nature do alwayes implie, *Pater si possibile est*, if it may stand with thy will and pleasure. Or if not, but that there be secret impediments and causes in regard whereof the thing we pray for is denyed vs, yet the prayer it selfe which we make is a pleasing sacrifice to God who both accepteth and rewardeth it some other way. So that sinners in very truth are denyed when they [b] seeme to preuaile in their supplications, because it is not for their sakes or to their

a *Oratio quæ non fit per Christum non solum non potest delere peccatum sed etiam ipsa fit peccatum. Aug. enar. 1. in Psal. 108.*

b *Num. 11. 33. 1. Sam. 8. 7.*

their good that their ſutes take place; the faithfull contrariwiſe, becauſe it is for their good oftentimes that their petitions do not take place, preuaile euen then when they moſt [a] ſeeme denied. *Our Lord God in anger hath graunted ſome impatient mens requeſts, as on the other ſide the Apoſtles ſute he hath of fauor and mercie not graunted* ſayth S. Auguſtine. To thinke we may pray vnto God for nothing but what he hath promiſed in holie ſcripture we ſhall obteine, is perhaps an error. For of prayer there are two vſes. It ſerueth as a meane to procure thoſe things which God hath promiſed to graunt when we aske; and it ſerueth as a meane to expreſſe our lawfull deſires alſo towards that, which whether we ſhall haue or no we know not till we ſee the euent. Things in themſelues vnholie or vnſeemely we may not aske; we may whatſoeuer being not forbidden either nature or grace ſhall reaſonablie moue vs to wiſh as importing the good of men, albeit God himſelfe haue no where by promiſe aſſured vs of that particular which our prayer craueth. To pray for that which is in it ſelfe and of it owne nature apparently a thing impoſſible, were not conuenient. Wherefore though men do without offenſe wiſh daily that the affaires which with euill ſucceſſe are paſt might haue fallen out much better, yet to pray that they may haue bene any other then they are, this being a manifeſt impoſſibilitie in it ſelfe, the rules of religion do not permit. Whereas contrariwiſe when things of their owne nature contingent and mutable are by the ſecret determination of God appointed one way, though we the other way make our prayers and conſequently aske thoſe things of God which are *by this ſuppoſition* impoſſible, we notwithſtanding do not hereby in prayer tranſgreſſe our lawfull bounds. That Chriſt, as the only begotten Sonne of God, hauing no ſuperior, and therefore owing honor vnto none, neither ſtanding in any neede, ſhould either giue thanks, or make petition vnto God, were moſt abſurd. As man what could beſeeme him better, whether we reſpect his affection to Godward, or his owne neceſſitie, or his charitie and loue towards men? Some things he knew ſhould come to paſſe and notwithſtāding prayed for them, becauſe he alſo knew that the neceſſarie meanes to effect them, were his prayers. As in the Pſalme it is ſayd, [b] *Aske of me and I will giue thee the Heauens for thine inheritance and the ends of the earth for thy poſſeſſion.* Wherefore that which heere God promiſeth his Sonne, the ſame in the 17. of Iohn he prayeth for, [c] *Father the hower is now come, glorifie thy Sonne, that thy Sonne alſo may glorifie thee according as thou haſt giuen him power ouer all fleſh.* But had Chriſt the like promiſe concerning the effect of euery particular for which he prayed? That which was not effected could not be promiſed. And we know in [d] what ſort he prayed for remouall of that bitter cup which cup he taſted notwithſtanding his prayer. To ſhift off this example they anſwere firſt that [e] *as other children of God ſo Chriſt had a promiſe of deliuerance* as farre *as the glorie of God in the accompliſhment of his vocation would ſuffer.* And if we our ſelues haue not alſo in that ſort the promiſe of God to be euermore deliuered from all aduerſitie, what meaneth the ſacred Scripture to ſpeake in ſo large tearmes, *Bee obedient, and the Lorde thy God will make thee plenteous in* [f] *euery worke of thy hande, in the fruite of thy bodie, and in the fruite of thy cattle, and in the fruite of the lande for thy wealth.* Agayne, *Keepe his lawes, and thou ſhalt be bleſt*

Iob.1.12. & 2.6 Luc 8.32.

a *2.Cor.12.7. 8.9.*

Aug.epiſt.121. ad probam Vi-duam.

b *Pſal.2.8.*
c *Ioh.17.1.2.*
d *Matth.26.39 Marc.14.36. Luc.22.42.*
e Neither did our Sauiour Chriſt pray without promiſe: for as other the children of God to whoſe condition he had humbled himſelfe haue, ſo had he a promiſe of deliuerance ſo farre as the glorie of God in the accompliſhment of his vocation would ſuffer. T.C.lib.3. page 200.
f *Deut.30.9.*

aboue

a Deut 7.15. *aboue all people, the Lord ſhall take from thee* [a] *all infirmities.* The man whoſe de-
b Pſal.1.4. light is in the lawe of God, [b] *whatſoeuer he doth it ſhall proſper.* For the vngodly
there are *great plagues* remayning; but whoſoeuer putteth his truſt in the
c Pſal.32.11. Lord mercie imbraceth him [c] *on euery ſide.* Not only that mercie which kee-
peth from being ouerlayd or oppreſt, but mercie which ſaueth from being
d 7. *touched* with grieuous miſeries, mercie which turneth away the courſe of [d] *the
great water-flouds,* and permitteth them not to *come neere.* Neuertheleſſe, be-
cauſe the prayer of Chriſt did concerne but one calamitie, they are ſtill bould
to denye the lawfulnes of our prayer for deliuerance out of all, yea though
we pray with the ſame exception that he did, *If ſuch deliuerance may ſtand with
the pleaſure of Almightie God and not otherwiſe.* For they haue ſecondly found
e T. C. lib. 3. page 201. out a rule that prayer ought only to be made for deliuerance [e] *from this or that
particular aduerſitie, whereof we know not but vpon the euent what the pleaſure of God
is.* Which quite ouerthroweth that other principle wherein they require
vnto euery prayer which is of faith an aſſurance to obtaine the thing we pray
for. At the firſt to pray againſt all aduerſitie was vnlawfull, becauſe we cannot
aſſure our ſelues that this will be graunted. Now we haue licence to pray a-
gainſt any particular aduerſitie, and the reaſon giuen, becauſe we know not
but vpon the euent what God will do. If we know not what God will do,
it followeth that for any aſſurance we haue he may do otherwiſe then we
f We ought not to deſire to be free from all aduerſitie if it be his will, conſidering that he hath alreadie declared his will therein. T. C. lib. 3. pa. 201. pray, and we may faithfully pray for that which we cannot aſſuredly preſume
that God will graunt. Seeing therefore neyther of theſe two anſwers will
ſerue the turne, they haue a [f] third, which is, that to pray in ſuch ſort is but
idly miſpent labour, becauſe God alreadie hath reuealed his will touching
this requeſt, and we knowe that the ſute we make is denied before we make
it. Which neither is true, and if it were, was Chriſt ignorant what God had
determined touching thoſe things which himſelfe ſhould ſuffer? To ſay [g] *he
knewe not what waight of ſufferances his heauenly Father had meaſured vnto him* is
g T. C. lib. 3. page 201. ſomewhat hard, harder that although *he knewe them* notwithſtanding for the
preſent time they were *forgotten through the force of thoſe vnſpeakeable pangs
which he then was in.* The one againſt the plaine expreſſe words of the holie
h Iob.18.4. Euangeliſt, [h] *He knewe all things that ſhould come vpon him*; the other leſſe cre-
dible if any thing may be of leſſe credit then what the Scripture it ſelfe
gaineſayeth. Doth any of them which wrote his ſufferings make report that
memorie fayled him? Is there in his words and ſpeeches any ſigne of defect
that way? Did not himſelfe declare before whatſoeuer was to happen in the
courſe of that whole tragedie? Can we gather by any thing after taken frō his
owne mouth either in the place of publique iudgement or vpō the altar of the
Croſſe, that through the bruſing of his body ſome part of the treaſures of his
ſoule were ſcattered & ſlipt frō him? If that which was perfect both before and
after did faile at this only middle inſtant, there muſt appeare ſome manifeſt
cauſe how it came to paſſe. True it is that the pangs of his heauines and griefe
were *vnſpeakeable:* and as true that becauſe the mindes of the afflicted do neuer
think they haue fully cōceiued the waight or meaſure of their own wo, they vſe
their affectiō as a whetſtone both to wit & memory, theſe as nurces to feed grief,
ſo that the weaker his conceipt had bin touching that which he was to ſuffer,
the

the more it must needes in that hower haue helped to the mittigation of his anguish. But his anguish we see was then at the very highest whereunto it could possiblie rise; which argueth his deepe apprehension euen to the last drop of the gaule which that cup conteyned, and of euery circumstance wherein there was any force to augment heauines, but aboue all things the resolute determination of God and his owne vnchangeable purpose which he at that time could not forget. To what intent then was his prayer which plainely testifieth so great willingnes to auoide death? Will, whether it be in God or man belongeth to the essence and nature of both. The nature therefore of God being one, there are not in God diuers wills although Godhead be in diuers persons, because the power of willing is a naturall not a personall proprietie. Contrariwise, the person of our Sauiour Christ being but one there are in him two wills, because two natures, the nature of God and the nature of man, which both do imply this facultie and power. So that in Christ there is a diuine and there is an humane will, otherwise he were not both God and man. Hereupon the Church hath of olde condemned Monothelites as Heretiques, for holding that Christ had but one will. The workes and operations of our Sauiours humane will were all subiect to the will of God, and framed according to his law, [a] *I desired to do thy will O God, and thy law is within mine heart.* Now as mans will so the will of Christ hath two seuerall kindes of operation, the one naturall or necessarie, whereby it desireth simplie whatsoeuer is good in it selfe, and shunneth as generally all things which hurt; the other deliberate, when we therefore imbrace things as good, because the eye of vnderstanding iudgeth them good to that end which we simplie desire. Thus in it selfe we desire health, phisicke onely for healthes sake. And in this sort speciall reason often times causeth the will by choise to preferre one good thing before an other, to leaue one for an others sake, to forgoe meaner for the attainement of higher desires, which our Sauiour likewise did. These different inclinations of the will considered, the reason is easie how in Christ there might grow desires seeming but being not indeed opposite either the one of them vnto the other, or either of them to the will of God. For let the manner of his speech be weighed, [b] *My soule is now troubled, and what should I say? Father saue me out of this hower. But yet for this very cause am I come into this hower.* His purpose herein was most effectually to propose to the view of the whole world two contrarie obiects, the like whereunto in force and efficacie were neuer presented in that manner to any but only to the Soule of Christ. There was presented before his eyes in that fearefull hower on the one side Gods heauie indignation and wrath towards mankinde as yet vnappeased, death as yet in full strength, hell as yet neuer mastered by any that came within the confines and bounds thereof, somewhat also peraduenture more then is either possible or needfull for the wit of man to finde out, finally himselfe flesh and bloud * left alone to enter into conflict with all these; on the other side, a world to be saued by one, a pacification of wrath through the dignitie of that sacrifice which should be offred, a conquest ouer death through the power of that deitie which would not suffer the tabernacle thereof to see corruption, and an vtter disappointment of all the forces of infernall

[a] *Psal.40.8.*

[b] *Ioh.12.27.*

* *Math.27.46* *Non potuit diuinitas humanitatem & secundum aliquid deseruisse, & secundum aliquid non deseruisse? Subtraxit protectionem sed non separauit vnionem. Sic*

powers, through the puritie of that ſoule which they ſhould haue in their hands and not be able to touch. Let no man maruaile that in this caſe the ſoule of Chriſt was much *troubled*. For what could ſuch apprehenſions breede but (as their nature is) inexplicable paſſions of minde, deſires abhorring what they imbrace, and imbracing what they abhorre? In which agonie *how ſhould the toong goe about to expreſſe* what the ſoule indured? When the griefes of Iob were exceeding great, his words accordingly to open them were many; howbeit, ſtill vnto his ſeeming they were vndiſcouered, [a] *Though my talke* (ſayth Iob) *be this day in bitternes, yet my plague is greater then my groning*. But heere to what purpoſe ſhould words ſerue when nature hath more to declare then grones and ſtrong cryes, more then ſtreames of bloudie ſweates, more then his doubled and tripled prayers can expreſſe; who thriſe putting forth his hand to receiue that cup, beſides which there was no other cauſe of his comming into the world, he thriſe pulleth it backe againe, and as often euen with teares of bloud craueth, *If it be poſsible O Father: Or if not, euen what thine owne good pleaſure is*, for whoſe ſake the paſſion that hath in it a bitter and a bloudie conflict euen with wrath and death and hell is moſt welcome. Whereas therefore we finde in God a will reſolued that Chriſt ſhall ſuffer; and in the humane will of Chriſt two actuall deſires, the one auoyding, and the other accepting death; is that deſire which firſt declareth it ſelfe by prayer againſt that wherewith he concludeth prayer, or either of them againſt his minde to whome prayer in this caſe ſeeketh? we may iudge of theſe diuerſities in the will, by the like in the vnderſtanding. For as the intellectuall part doth not croſſe it ſelfe by conceiuing man to be iuſt and vniuſt when it meaneth not the ſame man, nor by imagining the ſame man learned and vnlearned, if learned in one skill, and in another kinde of learning vnskilfull, becauſe the partes of euery true oppoſition do alwaies both concerne the ſame ſubiect, and haue reference to the ſame thing, ſith otherwiſe they are but in ſhew oppoſite and not in truth: So the will about one and the ſame thing may in contrarie reſpects haue contrarie inclinations and that without contrarietie. The miniſter of iuſtice may for publique example to others, vertuouſly will the execution of that partie, whoſe pardon an other for conſanguinities ſake as vertuouſly may deſire. Conſider death in it ſelfe, and nature teacheth Chriſt to ſhun it; Conſider death as a meane to procure the ſaluation of the world, and mercie worketh in Chriſt all [b] willingnes of minde towards it. Therefore in theſe two deſires there can be no repugnāt oppoſition. Againe, compare them with the will of God, and if any oppoſition be, it muſt be only betweene his appointment of Chriſts death, and the former deſire which wiſheth deliuerāce from death. But neither is this deſire oppoſite to the will of God. The will of God was that Chriſt ſhould ſuffer the paines of death. Not ſo his will, as if the torment of innocencie did in it ſelfe pleaſe and delight God, but ſuch was his will in regard of the end whereunto it was neceſſary that Chriſt ſhould ſuffer. The death of Chriſt in it ſelfe therefore God willeth not, which to the end we might thereby obteine life he both alloweth and appointeth. In like maner the ſonne of man indureth willingly to that purpoſe thoſe grieuous paines, which ſimply not to haue ſhunned had bin againſt nature, & by cōſequēt againſt God.

eras deseruisti vt non adiuuaret, ſed non deseruisti vt vexaret. Sic ergo humanitas a diuinitate in passione derelicta est. Quam tamen mortem quia non pro sua iniquitate sed pro nostra redemptione sustinuit, quare sit derelicta requirit, nō quasi aduersus Deū de pena murmurans sed nobis innocentiā suam in pena demonstrans. Hug. de Sacra. li. 2. par. 1. c. 10.

Deus meus, vt quid dereliquisti me? Vox est nec ignorantiæ, nec diffidentiæ, nec querelæ, sed admirationis tantum, qua aliis inuestigauda causa ardorem & diligētiam acuat.

[a] *Iob. 23. 2.*

[b] *Esa. 53. 10. Ioh. 10. 15.*

I take it therefore to be an error that Chriſt either knew not what himſelfe was to ſuffer, or elſe had forgotten the things he knew. The roote of which error was an ouer-reſtrayned conſideration of prayer, as though it had no other lawfull vſe but only to ſerue for a choſen meane, whereby the will reſolueth to ſeeke that which the vnderſtanding certainely knoweth it ſhall obteyne: whereas prayers in truth both ours are, and his were, as well ſometime a preſentation of meere deſires, as a meane of procuring deſired effects at the hands of God. We are therefore taught by his example, that the preſence of dolorous and dreadfull obiects euen in mindes moſt perfect, may as cloudes ouercaſt all ſenſible ioy; that no aſſurance touching future victories can make preſent conflicts ſo ſweete and eaſie but nature will ſhun and ſhrinke from them, nature will deſire eaſe and deliuerance from oppreſſiue burthens; that the contrarie determination of God is oftentimes againſt the effect of this deſire, yet not againſt the affection it ſelfe, becauſe it is naturally in vs; that in ſuch caſe our prayers cannot ſerue vs as meanes to obteyne the thing we deſire; that notwithſtanding they are vnto God moſt acceptable ſacrifices becauſe they teſtifie we deſire nothing but at his hands, and our deſires we ſubmit with contentment to be ouerruled by his will, and in generall they are not repugnant vnto the naturall will of God which wiſheth to the works of his owne hands in that they are his owne handy-worke all happines, although perhaps for ſome ſpeciall cauſe in our owne particular a contrarie determination haue ſeemed more conuenient; finally, that thus to propoſe our deſires which cannot take ſuch effect as we ſpecifie, ſhall notwithſtanding otherwiſe procure vs his heauenly grace, euen as this very prayer of Chriſt obteined [a] Angels to be ſent him as comforters in his agonie. And according to this example we are not afraide to preſent vnto God our prayers for thoſe things which that he will performe vnto vs we haue no ſure nor certaine knowledge. [b] S. Paules prayer for the Church of Corinth was that they might not do any euill, although he knew that no man liueth which ſinneth not, although he knew that in this life we alwayes muſt pray, [c] *Forgiue vs our ſinnes.* It is our frailtie that in many things we all do amiſſe, but a vertue that we would do amiſſe in nothing, and a teſtimonie of that vertue when we pray that what occaſion of ſinne ſoeuer do offer it ſelfe we may be ſtrengthned from aboue to withſtand it. They pray in vaine to haue ſinne pardoned which ſeeke not alſo to preuent ſinne by prayer, euen euery particular ſinne by prayer againſt all ſinne, except men can name ſome tranſgreſſion wherewith wee ought to haue truce. For in very deede although we cannot be free from all ſinne collectiuely in ſuch ſort that no part thereof ſhall be found inherent in vs, yet diſtributiuely at the leaſt all great and grieuous actuall offences as they offer themſelues one by one both may and ought to be by all meanes auoyded. So that in this ſenſe to be preſerued from all ſinne is not impoſſible. Finally, concerning deliuerance it ſelfe from all aduerſitie, wee vſe not to ſay men are in aduerſitie whenſoeuer they feele any ſmall hinderance of their welfare in this world, but when ſome notable affliction or croſſe, ſome great calamitie or trouble befalleth them. Tribulation hath in it diuers circumſtances, the minde ſundrye faculties to apprehende them:

[a] *Luk. 22. 43.*

[b] *2. Cor. 13. 7.*

[c] We may not pray in this life to be free from all ſinne, becauſe we muſt alwayes pray Forgiue vs our ſinnes. T. C. lib. 3. pa. 200.

It offereth ſometime it ſelfe to the lower powers of the ſoule as a moſt vnpleaſant ſpectacle, to the higher ſometimes as drawing after it a traine of dangerous inconueniences, ſometime as bringing with it remedies for the curing of ſundrie euils, as Gods inſtrument of reuenge and furie ſometime, ſometime as a rod of his iuſt yet moderate ire and diſpleaſure, ſometime as matter for them that ſpitefully hate vs to exerciſe their poyſoned malice, ſometime as a furnace of tryall for vertue to ſhew it ſelfe, and through conflict to obteyne glorie. Which different contemplations of aduerſitie do worke for the moſt part their anſwerable effects. Aduerſitie either apprehended by ſenſe as a thing offenſiue and grieuous to nature; or by reaſon conceiued as a ſnare, an occaſion of many mens falling from God, a ſequell of Gods indignation and wrath, a thing which Satan deſireth and would be glad to behold; tribulation thus conſidered being preſent cauſeth ſorrow, and being imminent breedeth feare. For moderation of which two affections growing from the very naturall bitternes and gall of aduerſitie, [a] the ſcripture much alleageth contrarie fruits which affliction likewiſe hath whenſoeuer it falleth on them that are tractable, the grace of Gods holie ſpirit concurring therewith. But when the Apoſtle S.Paule teacheth that [b] euery one which will liue godly in Chriſt Ieſus muſt ſuffer perſecution, and by many tribulations we muſt enter into the kingdome of heauen, becauſe in a forreſt of many woolues, ſheepe cannot chooſe but feede in continuall danger of life; or when [c] S.Iames exhorteth to accompt it a matter of exceeding ioy when we fall into diuers temptations, becauſe by the tryall of faith patience is brought forth; was it ſuppoſe we their meaning to fruſtrate our Lords admonition, *Pray that ye enter not into temptation?* when himſelfe pronounceth them bleſſed that ſhould for his name ſake be ſubiect to all kindes of ignominie and opprobrious malediction, was it his purpoſe that no man ſhould euer pray with Dauid, [d] *Lord remoue from me ſhame and contempt?* In thoſe tribulations ſayth [e] S. Auguſtine, *which may hurt as well as profit, we muſt ſay with the Apoſtle, What we ſhould aske as we ought we know not, yet becauſe they are tough, becauſe they are grieuous, becauſe the ſenſe of our weakenes flieth them, we pray according to the generall deſire of the will of man that God would turne them away from vs, owing in the meane while this deuotion to the Lord our God, that if he remoue them not, yet we do not therefore imagine our ſelues in his ſight deſpiſed, but rather with godly ſufferance of euils expect greater good at his mercifull hands. For thus is vertue in weakenes perfected.* To the fleſh (as the Apoſtle himſelfe graunteth) all affliction is naturally grieuous. Therefore nature which cauſeth to feare teacheth to pray againſt all aduerſitie. Proſperitie in regard of our corrupt inclination to abuſe the bleſſings of Almightie God, doth proue for the moſt part a thing dangerous to the ſoules of men. Very eaſe it ſelfe is [f] death to the wicked, and the proſperitie of fooles ſlayeth them; their table is a ſnare, and their felicitie their vtter ouerthrow. Few men there are which long proſper and ſinne not. Howbeit euen as theſe ill effects although they be very vſuall and common are no barre to the hartie prayers whereby moſt vertuous mindes wiſh peace and proſperitie alwayes where they loue, becauſe they conſider that this in it ſelfe is a thing naturally deſired: ſo becauſe all aduerſitie is in it ſelfe againſt nature, what ſhould hinder to pray againſt it, although the prouidence

a *Pſal.119.71.*

b *2.Tim.3.12.* To pray againſt perſecution is contrary to that word which ſayth, that euery one which will liue godly in Chriſt Ieſu muſt ſuffer perſecution. T.C.lib.3. page 200.

c *Iam.1.3.*

d *Pſal.119.22*

e *Auguſt. epiſt. 121. ca. 14.*

f *Prou.1.32.*

prouidence of God turne it often vnto the great good of many men? Such prayers of the Church to be deliuered from all aduersitie are no more repugnant to any reasonable disposition of mens mindes towards death, much lesse to that blessed patience and meeke contentment which Saincts by heauenly inspiration haue to indure what crosse or calamitie soeuer it pleaseth God to lay vpon them, then our Lord and Sauiors owne prayer before his passion was repugnant vnto his most gratious resolution to dye for the sinnes of the whole world.

49 In praying for deliuerance from all aduersitie we seeke that which nature doth wish to it selfe; but by intreating for mercie towards all, we declare that affection wherewith Christian Charitie thirsteth after the good of the whole world, we discharge that dutie which [a] the Apostle himselfe doth impose on the Church of Christ as a *commendable* office, a sacrifice *acceptable* in Gods sight, a seruice according to his hart whose *desire* is to haue all men saued, a worke most suteable with his purpose who gaue himselfe to be the price of redemption *for all*, and a forcible meane to *procure the conuersion* of all such as are not yet acquainted with the mysteries of that truth which must saue their soules. Against it there is but the bare shew of this one impediment, that all mens saluation and many mens eternall condemnation or death are things the one repugnant to the other, that both cannot be brought to passe; that we know there are vessels of wrath to whome God will neuer extend mercie, and therefore that wittingly we aske an impossible thing to be had. The truth is that as life and death, mercie and wrath are matters of meere vnderstanding or knowledge, all mens saluation and some mens endlesse perdition are things so opposite that whosoeuer doth affirme the one must necessarily denye the other, God himselfe cannot effect both or determine that both shall be. There is in the knowledge both of God and man this certaintie that life and death haue deuided betweene them the whole bodie of mankinde. What portion either of the two hath, God himselfe knoweth; for vs he hath left no sufficient meanes to comprehend, and for that cause neither giuen any leaue to search in particular who are infalliblie the heires of the kingdome of God, who castawayes. Howbeit concerning the state of all men with whome we liue (for only of them our prayers are ment) we may till the worlds end, *for the present*, alwayes presume, that *as farre as in vs there is power to discerne* what others are, and as farre as any dutie of ours dependeth vpon the notize of their condition in respect of God, the safest axiomes for charitie to rest it selfe vpon are these, *He which believeth alreadie is*; and *He which believeth not as yet may be the child of God.* [b] It becommeth not vs *during life altogether to condemne any man seeing that* (for any thing we know) *there is hope of euery mans forgiuenes, the possibilitie of whose repentance is not yet cut off by death.* And therefore Charitie which [c] *hopeth all things* prayeth also for all men. Wherefore to let go personall knowledge touching vessels of wrath and mercie, what they are inwardly in the sight of God it skilleth not, for vs there is cause sufficient in all men whereupon to ground our prayers vnto God in their behalfe. For whatsoeuer the minde of man apprehendeth as good, the will of charitie and loue is to haue it inlarged in the very vttermost extent, that all may inioy it to whome

Prayer that all mē may finde mercie, and of the will of God that all men might be saued.

a *1.Tim.2.3.*

b *Sidon. Apol. lib.6. Epist.*

c *1.Cor.14.7.*

whome it can any way adde perfection. Becauſe therefore the farther a good thing doth reach the nobler and worthier we reckon it, our prayers for all mens good no leſſe then for our owne the Apoſtle with very fit tearmes commendeth as being καλὸν a worke commendable for the largenes of the affection from whence it ſpringeth, euen as theirs, [a] which haue requeſted at Gods hands the ſaluation of many with the loſſe of their owne ſoules, drowning as it were and ouerwhelming themſelues in the abundance of their loue towards others, is propoſed as being in regard of the rarenes of ſuch affections ὑπερκαλὸν more then excellent. But this extraordinarie height of deſire after other mens ſaluation is no common marke. The other is a dutie which belongeth vnto all and preuaileth with God dayly. For as it is in it ſelfe good, ſo God accepteth and taketh it in very good part at the hands of faithfull men. Our prayers for all men do include both them that ſhall finde mercie, and them alſo that ſhall finde none. For them that ſhall, no man will doubt but our prayers are both accepted and graunted. Touching them for whome we craue that mercie which is not to be obteined, let vs not thinke that [b] our Sauiour did miſinſtruct his diſciples, willing them to pray for the peace euen of ſuch as ſhould be vncapable of ſo great a bleſſing; or that the prayers of the [c] Prophet Ieremy offended God becauſe the anſwere of God was a reſolute denyall of fauor to them for whome ſupplication was made. And if any man doubt how God ſhould accept ſuch prayers in caſe they be oppoſite to his will, or not graunt them if they be according vnto that which himſelfe willeth, our anſwere is that ſuch ſutes God accepteth in that they are conformable vnto his *generall inclination* which is that all men might be ſaued, yet alwayes he graunteth them not for as much as there is in God ſometimes a more priuate *occaſioned will* which determineth the contrary. So that the other being the rule of our actions and not this, our requeſts for things oppoſite to this will of God are not therefore the leſſe gracious in his ſight. There is no doubt but we ought in all things to frame our wills to the will of God, and that otherwiſe in whatſoeuer we do we ſinne. For of our ſelues being ſo apt to erre, the only way which we haue to ſtreighten our pathes is by following the rule of his will whoſe footeſteps naturally are right. If the eye, the hand, or the foote do that which the will commandeth, though they ſerue as inſtruments to ſinne, yet is ſinne the commaunders fault and not theirs, becauſe nature hath abſolutely and without exception made them ſubiects to the will of man which is Lord ouer them. As the body is ſubiect to the will of man, ſo mans will to the will of God; for ſo it behoueth that the better ſhould guide and commaund the worſe. But becauſe the ſubiection of the body to the will is by naturall neceſſitie, the ſubiection of the will vnto God voluntarie; we therefore ſtand in neede of direction after what ſort our wills and deſires may be rightly conformed to his. Which is not done by willing alwayes the ſelfeſame thing that God intendeth. For it may chance that his purpoſe is ſometime the ſpeedie death of them whoſe long continuance in life if we ſhould not wiſh we were vnnaturall. When the obiect or matter therefore of our deſires is (as in this caſe) a thing both good of it ſelfe and not forbidden of God; when the end for which we deſire it is vertuous and apparently moſt holie; when the roote from which our affection

a *Rom. 9. 3. & 10. 1.*

b *Math. 10. 11. 12.*

c *Iere. 15. 1.*

ſection towards it proceedeth is Charitie, pietie that which we do in declaring our deſire by prayer; yea ouer and beſides all this, ſith we know that to pray for all men liuing is but to ſhew the ſame affection which towards euery of them our Lord Ieſus Chriſt hath borne, who knowing only as God who are his, did[a] as man taſte death for the good of all men, ſurely to that will of God which ought to be and is the knowne rule of all our actions, we do not herein oppoſe our ſelues, although his ſecret determination happily be againſt vs, which if we did vnderſtand as we do not, yet to reſt contented with that which God will haue done is as much as he requireth at the hands of men. And concerning our ſelues what we earneſtly craue in this caſe, the ſame, as all things elſe that are of like condition, we meekely ſubmit vnto his moſt gratious will and pleaſure. Finally, as we haue cauſe ſufficient why to thinke the practiſe of our Church allowable in this behalfe, ſo neither is ours the firſt which hath bene of that minde. For to end with the words[b] of Proſper, *This lawe of ſupplication for all men* (ſayth he) *the deuoute zeale of all Prieſts and of all faithfull men doth hold with ſuch full agreement, that there is not any part of all the world where Chriſtian people do not vſe to pray in the ſame manner. The Church euery where maketh prayers vnto God not only for Saincts and ſuch as alreadie in Chriſt are regenerate, but for all Infidels and enimies of the croſſe of Ieſus Chriſt, for all idolators, for all that perſecute Chriſt in his followers, for Iewes to whoſe blindnes the light of the Goſpell doth not yet ſhine, for heretiques and ſchiſmatiques, who from the vnitie of faith and charitie are eſtranged. And for ſuch what doth the Church aske of God but this, that leauing their errors they may be conuerted vnto him, that faith and charitie may be giuen them, and that out of the darkenes of ignorance they may come to the knowledge of his truth? which becauſe they cannot themſelues doe in their owne behalfe as long as the ſway of euill cuſtome ouerbeareth them, and the chaines of Satan deteine them bound, neither are they able to breake thorough thoſe errors wherein they are ſo determinatly ſetled, that they pay vnto falſitie the whole ſumme of whatſoeuer loue is owing vnto Gods truth, our Lord mercifull and iuſt requireth to haue all men prayed for; that when we behold innumerable multitudes drawne vp from the depth of ſo bottomles euils, we may not doubt but (in part) God hath done the thing we requeſted, nor diſpaire but that being thankefull for them towards whome already he hath ſhewed mercy, the reſt which are not as yet inlightned ſhall before they paſſe out of life be made partakers of the like grace. Or if the grace of him which ſaueth [for ſo we ſee it falleth out] ouerpaſſe ſome, ſo that the prayer of the Church for them be not receyued, this we may leaue to the hidden iudgements of Gods righteouſnes and acknowledge that in this ſecret there is a gulfe, which while we liue we ſhall neuer ſound.*

[a] *Propterea nihil contrariz etatis erat, ſi Chriſtus homo ſecundum affectum pietatis quam in humanitate ſua aſſumpſerat aliquid volebat, quod tamen ſecundum voluntatem diuinam in qua cum patre omnia diſponebat futurum non eſſe præſciebat, quia & hoc ad veram humanitatem pertinebat vt pietate moueretur, & hoc ad veram diuinitatem vt à ſua diſpoſitione non moueretur.* Hug. de quat. Chriſ. Volunt.

[b] *Proſp. de vocat. Gen. lib. 1. ca. 4. inter opera Ambroſ.*

50 Inſtruction and prayer whereof we haue hitherto ſpoken, are duties which ſerue as elements, parts or principles to the reſt that follow, in which number the Sacraments of the Church are chiefe. The Church is to vs that very[c] mother of our new birth, in whoſe bowels we are all bred, at whoſe breaſts we receyue nouriſhment. As many therefore as are apparently to our iudgement borne of God, they haue the ſeede of their regeneration by the miniſterie of the Church, which vſeth to that end and purpoſe not only the word, but the Sacraments, both hauing generatiue force and vertue, and of life through Chriſt.

Of the name, the author, and the force of Sacramẽts, which force conſiſteth in this, that God hath ordeyned thẽ as meanes to make vs partakers of him in Chriſt,

[c] *Galat. 4. 26. Eſa. 54. 3.*

As

As oft as we mention a Sacrament properly vnderſtood (for in the writings of the auncient Fathers all Articles which are peculiar to Chriſtian faith, all duties of religion conteyning that which ſenſe or naturall reaſon cannot of it ſelfe diſcerne, are moſt commonly named Sacraments) our reſtraint of the word to ſome fewe principall diuine Ceremonies importeth in euery ſuch Ceremonie two things, the ſubſtance of the Ceremonie it ſelfe which is viſible, and beſides that ſomewhat elſe more ſecret in reference whereunto we conceiue that Ceremonie to be a Sacrament. For we all admire and honor the holie Sacraments, not reſpecting ſo much the ſeruice which we do vnto God in receiuing them, as the dignitie of that ſacred and ſecret gift which we thereby receiue from God. Seeing that Sacraments therefore conſiſt altogether in relation to ſome ſuch gift or grace ſupernaturall as only God can beſtow, how ſhould any but the Church adminiſter thoſe Ceremonies as Sacraments which are not thought to be Sacraments by any but by the Church? There is in Sacraments to be obſerued their force and their forme of adminiſtration. Vpon their force their neceſſitie dependeth. So that how they are neceſſarie we cannot diſcerne till we ſee how effectuall they are. When Sacraments are ſayd to be viſible ſignes of inuiſible grace, we thereby conceiue how grace is in deede the very ende for which theſe heauenly myſteries were inſtituted, and beſides ſundrie other properties obſerued in them, the matter whereof they conſiſt is ſuch as ſignifieth, figureth, and repreſenteth their ende. But ſtill their efficacie reſteth obſcure to our vnderſtanding, except we ſearch ſomewhat more diſtinctly what grace in particular that is whereunto they are referred, and what manner of operation they haue towards it. The vſe of Sacraments is but only in this life, yet ſo that here they concerne a farre better life then this, and are for that cauſe accompanyed with *grace which worketh ſaluation.* Sacraments are the powerfull inſtruments of God to eternall life. For as our naturall life conſiſteth in the vnion of the bodie with the Soule; ſo our life ſupernaturall in the vnion of the Soule with God. And for as much as there is no vnion of God with man without that [a] meane betweene both which is both, it ſeemeth requiſite that we firſt conſider how God is in Chriſt, then how Chriſt is in vs, and how the Sacraments do ſerue to make vs pertakers of Chriſt. In other things we may be more briefe, but the waight of theſe requireth largenes.

[a] *Oportebat Deum carnem fieri & in ſemetipſo concordiam conſtituere terrenorum pariter atque cæleſtium, dum vtriuſque partis in ſe connectens pignora, & Deum pariter hominem Deo copularet. Tertul. de trinit.*

51 The Lord our God is but one God. In which indiuiſible vnitie notwithſtanding we adore the Father as being altogether of himſelfe, we glorifie that conſubſtantiall word which is the Sonne, we bleſſe and magnifie that coeſſentiall Spirit eternally proceeding from both which is the holie Ghoſt. Seeing therefore the Father is of none, the Sonne is of the Father, and the Spirit is of both, they are by theſe their ſeuerall properties really diſtinguiſhable each from other. For the ſubſtance of God with this propertie *to be of none,* doth make the perſon of the Father; the very ſelfeſame ſubſtance in number with this propertie *to be of the Father* maketh the perſon of the Sonne; the ſame ſubſtance hauing added vnto it the propertie of *proceeding from the other two,* maketh the perſon of the holie Ghoſt. So that in euery perſon there is implyed both the ſubſtance of God which is one, and alſo that propertie which

That God is in Chriſt by the perſonall incarnation of the Sonne, who is very God. *Iſa. 9.6. Iere. 23.6. Rom. 9.5. Ioh. 16.15. Ioh. 5.21. Coloſſ. 2.9. 1. Ioh. 5.20.*

which cauſeth the ſame perſon really and truly to differ from the other two. Euery [a] perſon hath his owne ſubſiſtence which no other beſides hath, although there be others beſides that are of the ſame ſubſtance. As no man but Peter can be the perſon which Peter is, yet Paule hath the ſelfeſame nature which Peter. Againe, Angels haue euery of them the nature of pure and inuiſible ſpirits, but euery Angell is not that Angell which appeared in a dreame to Ioſeph. *ſide lib. 3. cap. 6.*

[a] Πρόσωπον ἤγουν ὑπόστασις ἐστὶ κατὰ τοὺς ἁγίους πατέρας τὸ ἰδικὸν ἀπὸ τὸ κοινόν. Κοινότης γάρ ἐστὶν ἡ φύσις ἑκάστου πράγματος, ἰδιότητες δὲ εἰσὶν αἱ ὑποστάσεις. *Suid.* ἡ οὐσία καθ' ἑαυτὴν οὐχ ὑφίσταται, ἀλλὰ ἐν ταῖς ὑποστάσεσι θεωρεῖται. τὸ δὲ κοινὸν μὴ τῶν ἰδιάζοντος ἔχει ἡ ὑπόστασις καὶ τὸ καθ' ἑαυτὴν ὑπάρξαι. *Damaſc. de Orthod.*

Now when God became man, leaſt we ſhould erre in applying this to the perſon of the Father, or of the Spirit, S. Peters Confeſſion vnto Chriſt was, Thou art the [b] *Sonne* of the liuing God, and S. Iohns expoſition thereof was plaine, that it is the [c] *word* which was made fleſh. [d] *The Father and the holie Ghoſt* (ſayth Damaſcen) *haue no communion with the incarnation of the word otherwiſe then only by approbation and aſſent*. Notwithſtanding, for as much as the word and deitie are one ſubiect, we muſt beware we exclude not the nature of God from incarnation, and ſo make the Sonne of God incarnate not to be very God. For vndoubtedly euen [e] the nature of God it ſelfe in the only perſon of the Sonne is incarnate, and hath taken to it ſelfe fleſh. Wherefore incarnation may neither be graunted to any perſon but only one, nor yet denyed to that nature which is common vnto all three. Concerning the cauſe of which incomprehenſible [illegible]terie, for as much as it ſeemeth a thing vnconſonant that the world ſhould honor any other as the Sauiour but him whome it honoreth as the creator of the world, and in the wiſedome of God it hath not bene thought conuenient to admit any way of ſauing man but by man himſelfe, though nothing ſhould be ſpoken of the loue and mercie of God towards man, which this way are become ſuch a ſpectacle as neither men nor Angels can behold without a kinde of heauenly aſtoniſhment, we may hereby perceiue there is cauſe ſufficient why diuine nature ſhould aſſume humane, that ſo [f] God might be in Chriſt reconciling to himſelfe the world. And if ſome cauſe be likewiſe required why rather to this end and purpoſe the Sonne then either the Father or the holie Ghoſt ſhould be made man, could we which are borne the children of wrath be adopted the ſonnes of God through grace, any other then the naturall ſonne of God being mediator betweene God and vs? It [g] became therefore him by whome all things are to be the way of ſaluation to all, that the inſtitution and reſtitution of the world might be both wrought by one hand. The worlds ſaluation was without the incarnation of the Sonne of God a thing impoſſible, not ſimplie impoſſible, but impoſſible it being preſuppoſed that the will of God was no otherwiſe to haue it ſaued then by the death of his owne Sonne. Wherefore taking to himſelfe our fleſh, and by his incarnation making it his owne fleſh, he had now of his owne although from vs what to offer vnto God for vs. And as Chriſt tooke manhood that by it he might be capable of death whereunto he humbled himſelfe, ſo becauſe manhood

[b] *Math. 16. 16*

[c] *Ioh. 1. 14. Ignat. epiſt. ad Magneſ.* Οὗς ἔστιν αὐτῶν λόγος ἀνάρθρως ἀλλ' οὐσιώδης. Οὐ γὰρ δεῖ λαλιᾶς ἐνάρθρου φώνημα ἀλλ' ἐνεργείας θείκῆς οὐσία γέννητή.

[d] Κατ' οὐδένα λόγον κακοινώνητον ὁ πατὴρ καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τῇ σαρκώσει τοῦ λόγου, εἰ μὴ κατ' εὐδοκίαν καὶ βούλησιν. *Damaſc.*

[e] *In illo Diuinitas eſt Vnigeniti facta particeps mortalitatis noſtræ, vt & nos participes eius immortalitatis eſſemus. Aug. Epiſt. 57.*

[f] *2. Cor. 5. 19.*

[g] *Heb. 2. 10.*

hood is the proper ſubiect of compaſſion and feeling pittie, which maketh the ſcepter of Chriſts regencie euen in the kingdome of heauen amiable, he which without our nature could not on earth ſuffer for the ſinnes of the world, doth now alſo [a] by meanes thereof both make interceſſion to God for ſinners and exerciſe dominion ouer all men with a true, a naturall, and a ſenſible touch of mercie.

a *Heb.4.15.*

The miſinterpretations which hereſie hath made of the maner how God and man are vnited in one Chriſt.

52 It is not in mans abilitie either to expreſſe perfectly or conceiue the maner how this was brought to paſſe. But the ſtrength of our faith is tryed by thoſe things wherein our wits and capacities are not ſtrong. Howbeit becauſe this diuine myſterie is more true then plaine, diuers hauing framed the ſame to their owne conceipts and fancies are found in their expoſitions thereof more plaine then true. In ſo much that by the ſpace of 500. yeares after Chriſt the Church was almoſt troubled with nothing els ſauing only with care and trauaile to preſerue this article from the ſiniſter conſtruction of heretiques. Whoſe firſt miſts when the light of the [b] *Nicen* Councell had diſpeld, it was not long ere *Macedonius* tranſferred vnto Gods moſt holie Spirit the ſame blaſphemie wherewith *Arius* had alreadie diſhonoured his coeternally begotten Sonne; not long ere *Apollinarius* began to [c] paire away from Chriſts humanitie. In refutation of which impieties when the Fathers of the Church *Athanaſius*, *Baſill*, and the two *Gregories*, had by their painefull trauailes ſufficiently cleered the truth, no leſſe for the deitie of the holy Ghoſt then for the complete humanitie of Chriſt, there followed hereupon a finall concluſion, whereby thoſe controuerſies, as alſo the reſt which *Paulus Samoſatenus*, *Sabellius*, *Photinus*, *Aetius*, *Eunomius*, together with the whole ſwarme of peſtilent *Dimi-arians* had from time to time ſtirred vp ſithence the Councell of *Nice*, were both priuatly firſt at Rome in a ſmaller Synod, and then [d] at Conſtantinople in a generall famous aſſemblie brought to a peaceable and quiet end, ſeuenſcore Biſhops and ten agreeing in that Confeſſion which by them ſet downe remayneth at this preſent hower a part of our Churchliturgie, a memoriall of their fidelitie and zeale, a ſoueraigne preſeruatiue of Gods people from the venemous infection of hereſie. Thus in Chriſt the veritie of God and the complete ſubſtance of man were with full agreement eſtabliſhed throughout the world, till ſuch time as the hereſie of *Neſtorius* broched it ſelfe, [e] *diuiding Chriſt into two perſons the Sonne of God and the Sonne of man, the one a perſon begotten of God before all worlds, the other alſo a perſon borne of the virgin Mary, and in ſpeciall fauour choſen to be made intire to the Sonne of God aboue all men, ſo that whoſoeuer will honor God muſt together honor Chriſt, with whoſe perſon God hath vouchſafed to ioyne himſelfe in ſo high a degree of gratious reſpect and fauour.* But that the ſelfeſame perſon which verily is man ſhould properly be God alſo, and that, by reaſon not of two perſons linked in amitie but of two natures humane and diuine conioyned in one and the ſame perſon, the God of glorie may be ſayd as well to haue ſuffered death, as to haue rayſed the dead from their graues, the Sonne of man as well to haue made as to haue redeemed the world, *Neſtorius* in no caſe would admit. That which deceiued him was want of heed to the firſt beginning of that admirable combination of God with man. The word ſayth S. Iohn was made fleſh and dwelt [f] *in vs.* The Euangeliſt vſeth

b *An.D.325.*

c Μηδὲ γὰρ ἀνθρωπίνῃ φησὶ τῷ σάρκα ἐχούσῃ ἀνθρωπίνους νοῦς ἡγεμονευομένῃ ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτῷ ἐνδεδυκότος θεοῦ. *Suid.*

d *An.D.381.*

e Οὐκ ἔτι τῶν ἕνωσιν ὁμολογεῖ μεθ' ἡμῶν. *Cyril.ep.ad Eulog.* Οὐκ ἔλεγε γὰρ ἕνωσιν τοῦ λόγου τοῦ θεοῦ πρὸς ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλὰ δύο ὑποστάσεις ἔλεγε καὶ διαίρεσιν. Εἰ δὲ καὶ ἄνθρωπον καὶ θεὸν ἀπεκάλει τὸν χριστὸν ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔτι ὡς ἡμεῖς, ἀλλὰ τῇ ὁράσει καὶ τῇ οἰκειώσει καὶ τὸ ταὐτὸ ἀλλήλοις ἀρίσκειν διὰ τῶν ἐφολκῶν τῆς φιλίας. *Leont. de Sect.*

f *Ioh.1.14.*

vſeth the plurall number, men for manhood, *vs* for the nature whereof we conſiſt, euen as the Apoſtle denying the aſſumption of *Angelicall nature*, ſayth likewiſe in the plurall number, he tooke not [a] *Angels* but the ſeede of Abraham. It pleaſed not the word or wiſedome of God to take to it ſelfe ſome one perſon amongſt men, for then ſhould that one haue bene aduanced which was aſſumed and no more, but wiſedome to the ende ſhe might ſaue many built her houſe of that *nature* which is common vnto all, ſhe made not *this or that man* her habitation, but dwelt *in vs*. The ſeedes of herbes and plants at the firſt are not in act but in poſſibilitie that which they afterwards grow to be. If the Sonne of God had taken to himſelfe a man now made and already perfected, it would of neceſſitie follow that there are in Chriſt two perſons, the one aſſuming and the other aſſumed, whereas the Sonne of God did not aſſume a mans perſon vnto his owne, but a mans nature to his owne perſon, and therefore tooke *ſemen* the ſeede of Abraham, the very firſt originall element of our nature, [b] before it was come to haue any perſonall humaine ſubſiſtence. The fleſh and the coniunction of the fleſh with God began both at one inſtant, his making and taking to himſelfe our fleſh was but one act, ſo that in Chriſt there is no perſonall ſubſiſtence but one, and that from euerlaſting. By taking only the nature of man he ſtill continueth one perſon, and changeth but the maner of his ſubſiſting, which was before in the meere glory of the Sonne of God, and is now in the habit of our fleſh. For as much therefore as Chriſt hath no perſonall ſubſiſtence but one whereby we acknowledge him to haue bene eternally the Sonne of God, we muſt of neceſſitie apply to the *perſon* of the Sonne of God euen that which is ſpoken of Chriſt according to his humane nature. For example, according to the fleſh he was borne of the Virgin Mary, baptiſed of Iohn in the riuer Iordan, by Pilate adiudged to dye, and executed by the Iewes. We cannot ſay properly that the Virgin bore, or Iohn did baptize, or Pilate condemne, or the Iewes crucifie the nature of man, becauſe theſe all are perſonall attributes, his perſon is the ſubiect which receyueth them, his nature that which maketh his perſon capable or apt to receyue. If wee ſhould ſay that the perſon of a man in our Sauiour Chriſt was the ſubiect of theſe things, this were playnely to intrap our ſelues in the very ſnare of the Neſtorians hereſie, betweene whome and the Church of God there was no difference, ſauing onely that Neſtorius imagined in Chriſt as well a perſonall humane ſubſiſtence as a diuine, the Church acknowledging a ſubſtance both diuine and humane, but no other perſonall ſubſiſtence then diuine, becauſe the Sonne of God tooke not to himſelfe a mans perſon, but the nature only of a man. Chriſt is a perſon both diuine and humane, howbeit not therefore two perſons in one, neither both theſe in one ſenſe, but a perſon diuine, becauſe he is *perſonallie* the Sonne of God, humane, becauſe *he hath* reallie *the nature* of the children of men. In Chriſt therefore God and man *there is* (ſayth [c] Paſchaſius) *a two-folde ſubſtance, not a two-folde perſon, becauſe one perſon extinguiſheth another, whereas one nature cannot in another become extinct*. For the perſonall being which the Sonne of God alreadie had, ſuffered not the ſubſtance to bee perſonall which hee tooke, although

[a] *Heb. 2. 16.*

[b] ἡ ληφθεῖσα φύσις οὐ πρόσωπον ἦν πρὸ τῆς ἑνώσεως. *Theodo. dialo.* Ἄτρεπτος.

[c] *Paſchaſ. lib. de Spir. Sanct.*

together with the nature which he had the nature alſo which he tooke continueth. Whereupon it followeth againſt Neſtorius, that no perſon was borne of the Virgin but the Sonne of God, no perſon but the Sonne of God baptized, the Sonne of God condemned, the Sonne of God and no other perſon crucified, which one onely point of Chriſtian beliefe *the infinite worth of the Sonne of God* is the very ground of all things belieued concerning life and ſaluation by that which Chriſt either did or ſuffered as man in our behalfe. But for as much as S. Cyrill the chiefeſt of thoſe 200. Biſhops aſſembled in the [a] Councell of Epheſus where the hereſie of Neſtorius was condemned, had in his writings againſt the Arians auouched that *the word* or *wiſedome* of God hath *but one nature* which is eternall, and whereunto he aſſumed fleſh (for the Arians were of opinion that beſides Gods owne eternall wiſedome, there is a wiſedome which God created before all things, to the ende he might thereby create all things els, and that this created wiſedome was the word which tooke fleſh.) Againe, for as much as the ſame Cyrill had giuen inſtance in the body and the ſoule of man no farther then only to enforce by example againſt Neſtorius, that a viſible and an inuiſible, a mortall and an immortall ſubſtance may vnited make *one perſon*, the words of Cyrill were in proceſſe of time ſo taken as though it had bene his drift to teach that euen as in vs the body and the ſoule, ſo in Chriſt God and man make but *one nature*. Of which error, ſixe hundred and thirtie Fathers in the [b] Councell of Chalcedon condemned Eutyches. For as Neſtorius teaching rightly that God and man are diſtinct natures, did thereupon miſinferre that in Chriſt thoſe natures can by no coniunction make one perſon; ſo Eutyches of ſound beliefe as touching their true perſonall copulation became vnſound by denying the difference which ſtill continueth betweene the one and the other nature. We muſt therefore keepe warily a middle courſe, ſhunning both that diſtraction of perſons wherein Neſtorius went awry, and alſo this later confuſion of natures which deceyued Eutyches. [c] Theſe natures from the moment of their firſt combination haue bene and are for euer inſeparable. For euen when his ſoule forſooke the tabernacle of his body, his deitie forſooke neither body nor ſoule. If it had then could we not truly hold either that the perſon of Chriſt was buried, or that the perſon of Chriſt did rayſe vp it ſelfe from the dead. For the body ſeparated from the word can in no true ſenſe be termed the perſon of Chriſt; nor is it true to ſay that the Sonne of God in rayſing vp that body did rayſe vp himſelfe, if the body were not both with him and of him euen during the time it lay in the ſepulcher. The like is alſo to be ſayd of the ſoule, otherwiſe we are plainely and ineuitably Neſtorians. The very perſon of Chriſt therefore for euer one and the ſelfeſame was only touching bodily ſubſtance concluded within the graue, his ſoule only from thence ſeuered, but by perſonall vnion his deitie ſtill vnſeparably ioyned with both.

a *An. D. 431.*

b *An. D. 451.*

Α'χώρισον περσήκει τῆς σαρκὸς εἶναι τὼ θείαν φύσιν ὁμολογεῖν καὶν τῷ σαυρῷ καὶν τῷ τάφῳ. *Theodor. dialo. Ατρεπτος.*

That by the vnion of the one with the other nature in Chriſt there groweth neither gaine nor

53 The ſequell of which coniunction of natures in the perſon of Chriſt is no aboliſhment of naturall properties apperteining to either ſubſtance, no tranſition or tranſmigration thereof out of one ſubſtance into an other, finally no ſuch mutuall infuſion as really cauſeth the ſame naturall operations or properties to be made common vnto both ſubſtances, but whatſoeuer is naturall

to

to deitie the ſame remayneth in Chriſt vncommunicated vnto his manhood, and whatſoeuer naturall to manhood his deitie thereof is vncapable. The true properties and operations of his deitie are to know that which is not poſſible for *created natures* to comprehend; to be ſimply the higheſt cauſe of all things, the wellſpring of immortalitie and life; to haue neither end nor beginning of dayes; to be euery where preſent, and incloſed no where; to be ſubiect to no alteration nor paſſion; to produce of it ſelfe thoſe effects which cannot proceede but from infinite maieſtie and power. The true properties and operations of his manhood are ſuch as [a] Irenæus reckoneth vp, *If Chriſt* (ſayth he) *had not taken fleſh from the very earth he would not haue coueted thoſe earthly nouriſhments wherewith bodies which be taken from thence are fed. This was the nature which felt hunger after long faſting, was deſirous of reſt after trauaile, teſtified compaſſion and loue by teares, groned in heauines, and with extremitie of griefe euen melted away it ſelfe into bloudie ſweates.* To Chriſt we aſcribe both working of wonders and ſuffering of paines, we vſe concerning him ſpeeches as well of humilitie as of diuine glorie, but the one we apply vnto that nature which he tooke of the Virgin Mary, the other to that which was in the beginning. We may not therefore imagin that the properties of the weaker nature haue vaniſht with the preſence of the more glorious, and haue bene therein ſwallowed vp as in a gulfe. We dare not in this point giue eare to them who ouerboldly affirme, that [b] *The nature which Chriſt tooke weake and feeble from vs by being mingled with deitie, became the ſame which deitie is, that the aſſumption of our ſubſtance vnto his was like the blending of a drop of vinegar with the huge Ocean, wherein although it continue ſtill, yet not with thoſe properties which ſeuered it hath, becauſe ſithence the inſtant of their coniunction, all diſtinction and difference of the one from the other is extinct, and what ſoeuer we can now conceiue of the Sonne of God, is nothing elſe but meere deitie,* which words are ſo plaine and direct for Eutyches, that I ſtand in doubt they are not his whoſe name they carrie. Sure I am they are farre from truth, and muſt of neceſſitie giue place to the better aduiſed ſentences of other men. [c] *He which in himſelfe was appointed* (ſayth Hilarie) *a mediator to ſaue his Church, and for performance of that myſterie of mediation betweene God and man, is become God and man, doth now being but one conſiſt of both thoſe natures vnited, neither hath he through the vnion of both incurred the damage or loſſe of either, leaſt by being borne a man we ſhould thinke he hath giuen ouer to be God, or that becauſe he continueth God, therefore he cannot be man alſo, whereas the true beliefe which maketh a man happie proclaymeth iointly God and man, confeſſeth the word and fleſh together.* Cyrill more plainely, [d] *His two natures haue knit themſelues the one to the other, and are in that neereneſſe as vncapable of confuſion as of diſtraction. Their coherence hath not taken away the difference betweene them. Fleſh is not become God, but doth ſtill continue fleſh, although it be now the fleſh of God.* Yea *of each ſubſtance* (ſayth [e] Leo) *the properties are all preſerued and kept ſafe.* Theſe two natures are as cauſes and originall grounds of all things which Chriſt hath done. Wherefore ſome things he doth as God, becauſe his deitie alone is the wellſpring from which they flow; ſome things as man, becauſe they iſſue from his meere humane nature; ſome things iointly as both God and man, becauſe both natures concurre as principles thereunto. For albeit the properties of each *nature*

loſſe of eſſentiall properties to either.

[a] Τᾶυτα πάντα σύμβολα σαρκὸς τῆς ἀπὸ γῆς ἐλαμμένης. *Iren. li. 3. aduerſ. hæreſ.* Chriſt did all theſe ἀνθρωπίνου σώματος νόμῳ. *Greg. Nazian. orat. 2. de filio.* τοὺς μὲν ταπεινοὺς λόγους τοῦ ἐκ Μαρίας ἀνθρώπου, τοὺς δὲ ἀναγομένους εἰς θεοπρεπεῖς τοῦ ἐν ἀρχῇ ὄντος λόγου. *Theodor. dial. Ασύγχυτ.*

[b] *Gregor. Nyſſ. epiſt. ad Theophil. Alexandr.*

[c] *Hilar. de trin. lib. 9.*

[d] *Cyr epiſt. ad Neſt.*

[e] *Salua proprietate vtriuſque naturæ ſuſcepta eſt à maieſtate humilitas, à virtute infirmitas, ab æternitate mortalitas. Leo. Epiſt. ad Flauia.*

do cleaue only to that nature whereof they are properties, and therefore Christ cannot *naturallie be* as God the same which he *naturallie is* as man, yet both natures may very well concurre vnto *one effect*, and Christ in that respect be truly said to *worke* both as God and as man one and the selfesame thing. Let vs therefore set it downe for a rule or principle so necessarie as nothing more to the plaine deciding of all doubts and questions about the vnion of natures in Christ, that of both natures there is a *cooperation* often, an *association* alwayes, but neuer any mutuall *participation*, whereby the properties of the one are infused into the other. Which rule must serue for the better vnderstanding of that which [a] Damascene hath touching Crosse and circulatorie speeches, wherein there are attributed to God such things as belong to manhood, and to man such as properly concerne the deitie of Christ Iesus, the cause whereof is the *association* of natures in one subiect. A kinde of mutuall commutation there is whereby those concrete names *God*, and *Man*, when we speake of *Christ*, do take interchangeablie one anothers roome, so that for truth of speech it skilleth not whether we say that the Sonne of God hath created the world, and the Sonne of man by his death hath saued it, or els that the Sonne of man did create, and the Sonne of God dye to saue the world. Howbeit, as oft as we attribute to God what the manhood of Christ claymeth, or to man what his deitie hath right vnto, we vnderstand by the name of God and the name of man neither the one nor the other nature, but the whole person of Christ in whome both natures are. When the Apostle sayth of the Iewes that they crucified the Lord of glorie, and when the Sonne of man being on earth affirmeth that the Sonne of man was in heauen at the same instant, there is in these two speeches that mutuall circulation before mentioned. In the one there is attributed to God or the [b] Lord of glory death, whereof diuine nature is not capable; in the other vbiquitie vnto [c] man, which humane nature admitteth not. Therefore by the Lord of glory we must needes vnderstand the whole person of Christ, who being Lord of glorie, was indeed crucified, but not in that nature for which he is termed the Lord of glorie. In like manner by the Sonne of man the whole person of Christ must necessarily be meant, who being man vpon earth, filled heauen with his glorious presence, but not according to that nature for which the title of man is giuen him. Without this caution the fathers whose beliefe was sincere and their meaning most sound, shall seeme in their writings one to deny what another constantly doth affirme. *Theodoret* disputeth with great earnestnes that *God* cannot be sayd to suffer. But he thereby meaneth Christs *diuine nature* against [d] *Apollinarius*, which held euen deitie it selfe passible. *Cyrill* on the other side against *Nestorius* as much contendeth, that whosoeuer will denye *very God* to haue suffered death, doth forsake the faith. Which notwithstanding to hold were heresie, if the name of God in this assertion did not import as it doth the person of Christ, who being verily God suffered death, but in the flesh, and not in that substance for which the name of God is giuen him.

54 * If then both natures do remaine with their properties in Christ thus distinct as hath bene shewed, we are for our better vnderstanding what either nature receyueth from other, to note, that Christ is by three degrees a receyuer, first, in that he is the Sonne of God; secondly, in that his humane

nature

[a] Οὗτος ἐστιν ὁ τρόπος τῆς ἀντιδόσεως, ἑκατέρας φύσεως ἀνταδιδούσης τῇ ἑτέρᾳ τὰ ἴδια, διὰ τὴν τῆς ὑποστάσεως συνδρομήν, καὶ τὴν εἰς ἄλληλα αὐτῶν περιχώρησιν. *Damasc. de Orthod. fid. li. 3. ca. 4. Verum est duarum in Christo naturarum alteram suas alteri proprietates impartire, enunciando videlicet, idque non in abstracto sed in concreto solum, deitatis hominem non humanitati, humanas non deitati sed Deo tribui. Cuius hac est ratio quia cum suppositum praedicationis sit eiusmodi vt vtramque naturam in se contineat, siue ab vna siue ab altera denominetur nihil refert.*

[b] 1. Cor. 2. 8.

[c] Ioh. 3. 13.

[d] Ἀνυπόστατον τὸν ἐμοῦ κατασκευάζουσι τὸν θεόν. *Greg. Nyss. de sectator. Apollinar. epist. ad Flauia.*

* What Christ hath obteined according to the flesh, by the vnion of his flesh with deitie.

nature hath had the honor of vnion with deitie beſtowed vpon it; thirdly, in that by meanes thereof ſundry eminent graces haue flowed as effects from deitie into that nature which is coupled with it. On Chriſt therefore there is beſtowed the gift of eternall generation, the gift of vnion, and the gift of vnction. By the gift of eternall generation Chriſt hath receiued of the Father one and in number the [a] ſelfe-ſame ſubſtance which the Father hath of himſelfe vnreceiued from any other. For euery [b] *beginning is a Father* vnto that which commeth of it; and euery *off-ſpring is a Sonne* vnto that out of which it groweth. Seeing therefore the Father alone is [c] originally that deitie which Chriſt [d] originally is not (for Chriſt is God [e] by being of God, light [f] by iſſuing out of light) it followeth hereupon that what ſoeuer Chriſt hath [g] common vnto him with his heauenly Father, the ſame of neceſſitie muſt be *giuen* him, but naturally and [h] eternally giuen, not beſtowed by way of beneuolence and fauor, as the other gifts both are. And therefore [i] where the Fathers giue it out for a rule, that whatſoeuer Chriſt is ſayd in ſcripture to haue *receyued*, the ſame we ought to applie only to the manhood of Chriſt, their aſſertion is true of all things which Chriſt hath receyued *by grace*, but to that which he hath receyued of the Father by eternall natiuitie or birth it reacheth not. Touching vnion of deitie with manhood it is by grace, becauſe there can be no greater grace ſhewed towards man, then that God ſhould vouchſafe to vnite to mans nature the perſon of his only begotten Sonne. Becauſe the Father [k] loueth the Sonne as man, he hath by vniting deitie with manhood, *giuen* all things into his hands. It hath [l] *pleaſed* the Father that in him all fullneſſe ſhould dwell. The name which he hath aboue all names is [m] *giuen* him. As the Father hath life in himſelfe, the Sonne in himſelfe hath life alſo by the [n] *gift* of the Father. The gift whereby God hath made Chriſt a fountaine of life is that [o] *coniunction of the nature of God with the nature of man* in the perſon of Chriſt, [p] *which gift* (ſayth Chriſt to the woman of Samaria) if thou didſt knowe and in *that reſpect* vnderſtand *who it is* which asketh water of thee, thou wouldeſt aske of him that he might giue thee liuing water. The vnion therefore of the fleſh with deitie is to *that fleſh* a gift of principall grace and fauour. For by vertue of this grace, man is really made God, a creature is exalted aboue the dignitie of all creatures, and hath all creatures elſe vnder it. This admirable vnion of God with man can inforce in that higher nature

a *Natiuitas Dei non poteſt non eam ex qua profecta eſt tenere naturam. Neque enim aliud quàm Deus ſubſiſtit qui non aliunde quàm ex Deo Deus ſubſiſtit. Hilar. de trinit. lib. 5. Cum ſit gloria, ſempiternitate, virtute, regno, poteſtate hoc quod pater eſt, omnia tamen hac non ſine auctore ſicut pater, ſed ex patre tanquam filius ſine initio & aqualis habet. Ruſin. in Symb. Apoſt. ca. 9. Filium aliunde non deduco ſed de ſubſtantia patris omnem à patre conſecutum poteſtatem. Tertul. contra Prax.*

b *Epheſ. 1. 15.* πᾶσα πατριὰ, *quicquid alteri quouiſmodo dat eſſe.*

c *Iac. 1. 17. Pater luminum* ἱοῦ τι καὶ πνύματος ἁγιοτητ. *Pachym. in Dioniſ. de cæl. Hierar. ca. 1. Pater eſt principium totius diuinitatis quia ipſe à nullo eſt. Non enim habet de quo procedat, ſed ab eo & filius eſt genitus & Spiritus ſanctus procedit. Aug. de trin. lib. 4. ca. 20. Hinc Chriſtus deitatis loco nomen vbique patris vſurpat, quia pater nimirum eſt* πηγαῖα θεότης.

d *Pater tota ſubſtantia eſt, filius vero derivatio totius & propagatio. Tertul. contra Prax.*

e *Quod enim Deus eſt, ex Deo eſt. Hilar. de trin. lib. 3. Nihil niſi natum habet filius. Hilar. lib. 4.*

f Ἀπαύγασμα δόξης *Heb. 1. 3.* Ἐστιν ἀπόῤῥοια τῆς τοῦ παντοκράτορος δόξης εἰλικρινὴς ἀπαύγασμα φωτὸς ἀϊδίου. *Sap. 7. 25. 26.*

g *Nihil in ſe diuerſum ac diſſimile habent natus & generans. Hilar. de ſynod. aduerſ. Aria. In trinitate alius atque alius, non aliud atque aliud. Vincent. Lir. ca. 19.*

h *Vbi author æternus eſt ibi & natiuitatis æternitas eſt: quia ſicut natiuitas ab authore eſt, ita & ab æterno authore æterna natiuitas eſt. Hilar. de trin. lib. 12. Sicut naturam præſtat filio ſine initio generatio: ita Spiritui ſancto præſtat eſſentiam ſine initio proceſſio. Aug. de trin. lib. 5. cap. 15.*

i Ὅσα λέγει ἢ γραφὴ ὅτι ἔλαβεν ὁ υἱὸς καὶ ἐδοξάθη, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα αὐτοῦ λέγει, οὐ τὴν θεότητα. *Theodoret. fol. 42. & ex Greg. Nazi. orat. 2. de fil. ibid. 44.*

k *Ioh. 3.*

l *Eph. 1.*

m *Phil. 2.*

n *Ioh. 5. 26.*

o *1. Ioh. 5. 20. Hic eſt verus Deus, & vita æterna.*

p *Ioh. 4. 10.*

[a] no alteration, becauſe vnto God there is nothing more naturall then not to be ſubiect to any change. Neyther is it a thing impoſſible that the word being made fleſh ſhould be that which it was not before as touching the manner of ſubſiſtence, and yet continue in all qualities or properties of nature the ſame it was, becauſe the incarnation of the Sonne of God conſiſteth *meerely in the vnion* of natures, which vniõ doth adde perfection to the weaker, to the nobler no alteration at all. If therefore it be demaunded what the perſon of the Sonne of God hath attayned by aſſuming manhood, ſurely the whole ſumme of all is this, to be as we are truly, really, and naturally man, by meanes whereof he is made capable of meaner offices then otherwiſe his perſon could haue admitted, the only gaine he thereby purchaſed for himſelfe was to be capable of loſſe and detriment for the good of others. But may it rightly be ſayd concerning the incarnation of Ieſus Chriſt, that as our nature hath in no reſpect changed his, ſo from his to ours as little alteration hath enſued? The very cauſe of his taking vpon him our nature was to change it, to better the qualitie, and to aduance the condition thereof, although in no ſort to aboliſh the ſubſtance which he tooke, nor to infuſe into it the naturall forces and properties of his deitie. As therefore we haue ſhewed how the Sonne of God by his incarnation hath changed the maner of that perſonall ſubſiſtence which before was ſolitarie, and is now in the aſſociation of fleſh, no alteration thereby accruing to the nature of God; ſo neyther are the *properties of mans nature* in the perſon of Chriſt by force and vertue of the ſame coniunction ſo much altered, as not to ſtay within thoſe limites which our ſubſtance is bordered withall; nor the *ſtate and qualitie* of our ſubſtance ſo vnaltered, but that there are in it many glorious effects proceeding from ſo neere copulation with deitie. God from vs can receiue nothing, we by him haue obteyned much. For albeit the naturall properties of deitie be not communicable to mans nature, the ſupernaturall gifts graces and effects thereof are. The honor which our fleſh hath by being the fleſh of the Sonne of God is in many reſpects great. If we reſpect but that which is common vnto vs with him, the glorie prouided for him and his in the kingdome of heauen, his right and title thereunto euen in that he is man differeth from other mens, becauſe he is that man of whome God is himſelfe a part. We haue right to the ſame inheritance with Chriſt, but not the ſame right which he hath, his being ſuch as we cannot reach, and ours ſuch as he cannot ſtoupe vnto. Furthermore to be the way, the truth and the life; to be the wiſedome, righteouſnes, ſanctification, reſurrection; to be the peace of the whole world, the hope of the righteous, the heire of all things; to be that ſupreme head whereunto all power both in heauen and in earth is giuen; theſe are not honors common vnto Chriſt with other men, they are titles aboue the dignitie and worth of any which were but a meere man, yet true of Chriſt euen in that he is man, but man with whome deitie is perſonally ioyned, and vnto whome it hath added thoſe excellencies which make him more then worthie thereof. Finally, ſith God hath deified our nature, though not by turning it into himſelfe, yet by making it his owne inſeparable habitation, we cannot now conceiue how God ſhould without man either

[a] ὅσπερ τῶν ἀνθρώπων κοινόν ἐστι τὸ θνητόν, οὕτω τῆς ἀϊδίας τριάδος κοινὸν τὸ ἀτρεπτόν τε καὶ ἀναλλοίωτον. *Theod. dial.* Ἄτρεπτος. *Periculum ſtatus ſui Deo nullum eſt.* *Tertul. de car. Chr.* *Maieſtati filij Dei corporea natiuitas nihil contulit, nihil abſtulit.* *Leo de natiuit. ſer. 8.* Μένει ὃ ἦν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, θεὸς μένει καὶ τὸν ἡμῶν ἐν ἑαυτῷ θεραπεύζων ὑπαρξιν. *Theophil. In formam ſerui tranſiſſe non eſt naturam perdidiſſe Dei.* *Hilar. de trin. lib. 12.*

either [a] exerciſe diuine power, or receiue the glorie of diuine praiſe. For man is in [b] both an aſſociate of deitie. But to come to the grace of *vnction*, did the partes of our nature the ſoule and bodie of Chriſt receiue by the influence of deitie wherewith they were matcht no abilitie of operation, no vertue or qualitie aboue nature? Surely as the ſword which is made fierie doth not only cut by reaſon of the ſharpnes which ſimplie it hath, but alſo burne by meanes of that heate which it hath from fire; ſo there is no doubt but the deitie of Chriſt hath inabled that nature which it tooke of man to do more then man in this world hath power to comprehend, for as much as (the bare eſſentiall properties of deitie excepted) he hath imparted vnto it all things, he hath repleniſht it with all ſuch perfections as the ſame is any way apt to receiue, [c] at the leaſt according to the exigence of that œconomie or ſeruice for which it pleaſed him in loue and mercie to be made man. For as the partes degrees and offices of that myſticall adminiſtration did require which he voluntarily vndertooke, the beames of deitie did in operation alwayes accordingly either [d] reſtrayne or enlarge themſelues. From hence we may ſomewhat coniecture how the powers of that ſoule are illuminated, which being ſo inward vnto God cannot chooſe but be priuie vnto all things which God worketh, and muſt therefore of neceſſitie be indued with knowledge ſo farre-forth [e] vniuerſall, though not with infinite knowledge peculiar to deitie it ſelfe. The ſoule of Chriſt that ſaw in this life the face of God was heere through ſo viſible preſence of deitie filled with all maner [f] graces and vertues in that vnmatchable degree of perfection, for which of him we reade it written, that God with the oyle of gladnes annointed [g] him [h] aboue his [i] fellowes. And as God hath in Chriſt vnſpeakeably glorified the nobler, ſo likewiſe the meaner part of our nature, the very bodily ſubſtance of man. Where alſo that muſt againe be remembred which we noted before concerning degrees of the influence of deitie proportionable vnto his owne purpoſes intents and counſels. For in this reſpect his bodie which by naturall condition was corruptible wanted the gift of euerlaſting immunitie from death paſſion and diſſolution, till God which gaue it to be ſlaine for ſinne had for righteouſnes ſake reſtored it to life with certaintie of endleſſe continuance. Yea in this reſpect the very glorified body of Chriſt reteined in it [k] the skarres and marks of former mortalitie. But ſhall we ſay that in heauen his glorious body by vertue of the ſame cauſe hath now power to preſent it ſelfe in all places and to be euery where at once preſent? We nothing doubt but God hath many wayes aboue the reach of our capacities exalted that body which it hath pleaſed him to make his owne, that body wherewith he hath ſaued the world, that body which hath bene and is the roote of eternall life, the inſtrument wherewith deitie worketh, the ſacrifice which taketh away ſinne, the price which hath ranſomed ſoules from death, the leader of the whole armie of bodies that ſhall riſe againe. For though it had a beginning from vs, yet God hath giuen it vitall efficacie, heauen hath endowed it with celeſtiall power, that vertue it hath from aboue, in regard whereof all the Angels of heauen adore it. Notwithſtanding [l] a body ſtill it continueth, a body conſubſtantiall with our bodies, a bodie of the ſame both nature and meaſure which it had on earth.

[a] Μετέχουσι θεωρίαν τῆς θείας ἐνεργείας: *Theod.*

[b] ἢ δεξιὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ἢ ποιητικὴ τῶν ὄντων τῶν πάντων, ἢ τίς ἐστιν ὁ κύριος δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο, ἄνευ τῶν ἐνωθέντα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνθρώπου εἰς τὸ ἴδιον ἀνήγαγεν ὕψος διὰ τῆς ἑνώσεως. *Gregor. Nyſſ. apud Theod.*

[c] Ἀπὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας τῆς σῆς λαοῖς ἀπαρχὴν ἐκάθισεν ἐπάνω πάσης ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας. *Chryſ. in Pſal. 41.*

[d] μὴ συγχέοντος μὲν τὸ λόγου ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ καὶ σταυροῦσθαι καὶ ἀποθνήσκειν, συγχωρουμένου δὲ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐν τῇ νίκῃ καὶ ὑπομένειν καὶ χρησίμους καὶ ἀνίσους καὶ ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι *Theodoret. & Iren. lib. 3. ad. verſ. hæreſ.*

[e] *Matth. 27. 46.*

[f] *Col. 2. 3.*

[g] *Iſa. 11. 2.*

[h] *Iſa 61. 1. Luc. 4. 18. Act. 4. 27.*

[i] *Heb. 1. 9.*

[k] *2 Cor. 1 21. 1. Ioh. 2. 20. 27. Ioh. 20. 27.*

[l] Μετὰ τοῦτο ἀναλάσασιν ἀθάνατον μὲν ἐστὶ καὶ ἄφθαρτον καὶ τοῦ θείας δὲ ἕξεως μετέχον, σῶμα δὲ ὅμως τοῦ οἰκείου ἔχον περιγραφήν. *Theod. fol. 80.*

To gather therefore into one ſumme all that hetherto hath bene ſpoken touching this point, there are but foure things which concurre to make complete the whole ſtate of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, his deitie, his manhood, the coniunction of both, and the diſtinction of the one from the other being ioyned in one. Fower principall hereſies there are which haue in thoſe things withſtood the truth, *Arians* by bending themſelues againſt the deitie of Chriſt; *Apollinarians* by maiming and miſinterpreting that which belongeth to his humane nature; *Neſtorians* by renting Chriſt aſunder, and deuiding him into two perſons; the followers of *Eutiches* by confounding in his perſon thoſe natures which they ſhould diſtinguiſh. Againſt theſe there haue bene fower moſt famous auncient generall Councels, the Councell of *Nice* to define againſt *Arians*, againſt *Apollinarians* the Councell of *Conſtantinople*, the Councell of *Epheſus* againſt *Neſtorians*, againſt *Eutichians* the *Calcedon* Councell. In fower words, ἀληθῶς, τελέως, ἀδιαιρέτως, ἀσυγχύτως, *truly, perfectly, indiuiſibly, diſtinctly*, the firſt applyed to his being God, and the ſecond to his being man, the third to his being of both one, and the fourth to his ſtill continuing in that one both, we may fully by way of abridgement compriſe whatſoeuer antiquitie hath at large handled either in declaration of Chriſtian beliefe, or in refutation of the foreſaid hereſies. Within the compaſſe of which fower heads, I may truly affirme, that all hereſies which touch but the perſon of Ieſus Chriſt, whether they haue riſen in theſe later dayes, or in any age heretofore, may be with great facilitie brought to confine themſelues. We conclude therefore that to ſaue the world it was of neceſſitie the Sonne of God ſhould be thus incarnate, and that God ſhould ſo be in Chriſt as hath bene declared.

Of the perſonall preſence of Chriſt euery where, and in what ſenſe it may be graunted he is euery where preſent according to the fleſh.

55 Hauing thus farre proceeded in ſpeech concerning the perſon of Ieſus Chriſt, his two natures, their coniunction, that which he either is or doth in reſpect of both, and that which the one receiueth from the other; ſith God in Chriſt is generally the medicine which doth cure the world, and Chriſt in vs is that receipt of the ſame medicine, whereby we are euery one particularly cured, in as much as Chriſts incarnation and paſſion can be auaileable to no mans good which is not made partaker of Chriſt, neither can we participate him without his preſence, we are briefely to conſider how Chriſt is preſent, to the end it may thereby better appeare how we are made partakers of Chriſt both otherwiſe and in the Sacraments themſelues. All things are in ſuch ſort deuided into finite and infinite, that no one ſubſtance, nature or qualitie, can be poſſibly capable of both. The world and all things in the world are ſtinted, all effects that proceede from them, all the powers and habilities whereby they worke, whatſoeuer they do, whatſoeuer they may, and whatſoeuer they are is limited. Which limitation of each creature is both the perfection and alſo the preſeruation thereof. Meaſure is that which perfecteth all things, becauſe euery thing is for ſome ende, neither can that thing be auaileable to any ende which is not proportionable thereunto, and to proportion as well exceſſes as defects are oppoſite. Againe, for as much as nothing doth periſh but only through exceſſe or defect of that, the due proportioned meaſure whereof doth giue perfection, it followeth that meaſure is likewiſe the preſeruation of all things. Out of which premiſes we may conclude not only that nothing created

created can poſſibly be vnlimited, or can receiue any ſuch accident, qualitie or propertie, as may really make it infinite (for then ſhould it ceaſe to be a creature) but alſo that euery creatures limitation is according to his owne kinde, and therefore as oft as we note in them any thing aboue their kinde, it argueth that the ſame is not properly theirs, but groweth in them from a cauſe more powerfull then they are. Such as the ſubſtance of each thing is, ſuch is alſo the preſence thereof. Impoſſible it is that [a] God ſhould withdraw his preſence from any thing, becauſe the very ſubſtance of God is infinite. He filleth heauen and earth although he take vp no roome in either, becauſe his ſubſtance is immateriall, pure, and of vs in this world ſo incomprehenſible, that albeit [b] no part of vs be euer abſent from him who is preſent whole vnto euery particular thing, yet his preſence with vs we no way diſcerne farther then only that God is preſent, which partly by reaſon and more perfectly by faith we know to be firme and certaine. Seeing therefore that preſence euery where is the ſequele of an infinite and incomprehenſible ſubſtance (for what can be euery where but that which can no where be comprehended?) to inquire whether Chriſt be euery where is to inquire of a naturall propertie a propertie that cleaueth to the deitie of Chriſt. Which deitie being common vnto him with none but only the Father and the holy Ghoſt, it followeth that nothing of Chriſt which is limited, that nothing created, that neither the ſoule nor the body of Chriſt, and conſequently not Chriſt as man or Chriſt according to his humane nature can poſſiblie be euery where preſent, becauſe thoſe phraſes of limitation and reſtraint do either point out the principall ſubiect whereunto euery ſuch attribute adhereth, or elſe they intimate the radicall cauſe out of which it groweth. For example, when we ſay that Chriſt as man or according to his humane nature ſuffered death, we ſhew what nature was the proper ſubiect of mortalitie; when we ſay that as God or according to his deitie he conquered death, we declare his deitie to haue bene the cauſe, by force and vertue whereof he rayſed himſelfe from the graue. But neither is the manhood of Chriſt that ſubiect whereunto vniuerſall preſence agreeth, neither is it the cauſe originall by force whereof his perſon is inabled to be euery where preſent. Wherefore Chriſt is eſſentiallie preſent with all things, in that he is very God, but not preſent with all things as man, becauſe manhoode and the partes thereof can neyther be the cauſe nor the true ſubiect of ſuch preſence. Notwithſtanding, ſomewhat more playnely to ſhewe a true immediate reaſon wherefore the manhoode of Chriſt can neyther be euery where preſent, nor cauſe the perſon of Chriſt ſo to be, wee acknowledge that of S. Auguſtine concerning Chriſt moſt true, [c] *In that he is perſonallie the worde hee created all things, in that hee is naturallie man hee himſelfe is created of God*, and it doth not appeare that anye one creature hath power to bee preſent with all creatures. Whereupon, neuertheleſſe it will not followe that Chriſt cannot therefore bee thus preſent, becauſe hee is hymſelfe a creature, for as much as onely infinite preſence is that which cannot poſſiblie ſtande with the eſſence or beeing of any creature, as for preſence with all things that are, ſith the whole race, maſſe, and

[a] *Pſal. 139. 7. 8 Iere. 23. 24.*

[b] *Ideo Deus vbique eſſe dicitur quia nulli parti rerum abſens eſt; ideo totus quia non parti rerum partem ſui præſentem præbet & alteri parti alteram partē, ſed non ſolum vniuerſitati creaturæ ſed rumetiam cuilibet parti eius totus pariter adeſt. Auguſt. epiſt. 57.*

[c] *Quod ad verbum attinet, creator eſt; quod ad hominem creatura eſt. Aug. ep. 57. Deus qui ſemper eſt & ſemper erat fit creatura. Leo. de natiu. Multi timore trepidant ne Chriſtum eſſe creaturam dicere compellantur. Nos proclamamus non eſſe periculum dicere Chriſtum eſſe creaturam. Hieron. in epiſt. ad Epheſ. 2.*

and bodie of them is finite, Christ by being *a creature* is not *in that respect* excluded from possibilitie of presence with them. That which excludeth him therefore as man from so great largenesse of presence, is only his being *man*, a creature *of this particular kinde*, whereunto the God of nature hath set those boundes of restraint and limitation, beyond which to attribute vnto it any thing more then a creature *of that sort* can admit, were to giue it an other nature, to make it a creature of some other kinde then in truth it is. Furthermore if Christ in that he is man be euery where present, seeing this commeth not by the nature of manhood it selfe, there is no other way how it should grow but either by the grace of vnion with deitie, or by the grace of vnction receiued from deitie. It hath bene alreadie sufficiently proued that by force of vnion the properties of both natures are imparted *to the person only* in whome they are, and not what belongeth to the one nature really conueyed or translated into the other; it hath bene likewise proued that natures vnited in Christ continue the very same which they are where they are not vnited. And concerning the grace of vnction, wherein are conteyned the gifts and vertues which Christ as man hath aboue men, they make him really and habitually a man more excellent then we are, they take not from him the nature and substance that we haue, they cause not his soule nor bodie to be of an other kinde then ours is. Supernaturall endowments are an aduancement, they are no extinguishment of that nature whereto they are giuen. The substance of the bodie of Christ hath no presence, neither can haue but onely locall. It was not therefore euery where seene, nor did it euery where suffer death, euery where it could not be intombed, it is not euery where now being exalted into heauen. There is no proofe in the world strong to inforce that Christ had a true bodie but by the true and naturall properties of his bodie. Amongst which properties, definite or locall presence is chiefe. [a] *How is it true of Christ* (sayth Tertullian) *that he dyed, was buried, and rose agayne, if Christ had not that very flesh the nature whereof is capable of these things, flesh mingled with bloud, supported with bones, wouen with sinews, imbroidered with veines?* If his maiesticall bodie haue now any such new propertie, by force whereof it may euery where really euen *in substance* present it selfe, or may at once be in many places, then hath the maiestie of his estate extinguisht the veritie of his nature. [b] *Make thou no doubt or question of it* (sayth S.Augustine) *but that the man Christ Iesus is now in that very place from whence he shall come in the same forme and substance of flesh which he carried thither, and from which he hath not taken nature, but giuen thereunto immortalitie. According to this forme he spreadeth not out himselfe into all places. For it behoueth vs to take great heede, least while we goe about to maintaine the glorious deitie of him which is man, we leaue him not the true bodily substance of a man.* According to S.Augustines opinion therefore that maiesticall bodie which we make to be euery where present, doth thereby cease to haue the substance of a true bodie. To conclude, wee hold it in regard of the fore-alleaged proofes a most infallible truth that Christ as man is not euery where present. There are which thinke it as infalliblie true, that Christ is euery where present as man, which peraduenture in some sense may be well enough graunted.

His

a *Tertul. de car. Christ.*

b *August. Epist. 57.*

His humane ſubſtance in it ſelfe is naturally abſent from the earth, his ſoule and body not on earth but in heauen only. Yet becauſe this ſubſtance is inſeperably ioyned to that perſonall word which by his very diuine eſſence is preſent with all things, the nature which cannot haue in it ſelfe vniuerſall preſence hath it *after a ſort* by being *no where ſeuered* from that which euery where is preſent. For in as much as that infinite word is not diuiſible into parts, it could not in part but muſt needes be wholie incarnate, and conſequently whereſoeuer the word is it hath with it manhood, els ſhould the word be in part or ſomewhere God only and not man which is impoſſible. For the *perſon of Chriſt is whole*, perfect God and perfect man whereſoeuer, although the parts of his manhood being finite and his deitie infinite, we cannot ſay that the *whole of Chriſt* is ſimplie euery where, as we may ſay that his deitie is, and that his perſon is by force of deitie. For *ſomewhat of the perſon* of Chriſt is not euery where in that ſort namely his manhood, the *only coniunction* whereof with deitie is extended as farre as deitie, the actuall *poſition* reſtrained and tyed to a certaine place, yet preſence *by way of coniunction* is in ſome ſort preſence. Againe, as the manhood of Chriſt may after a ſort be euery where ſayd to be preſent, becauſe that perſon is euery where preſent, from whoſe diuine ſubſtance manhood no where is ſeuered: ſo the ſame vniuerſalitie of preſence may likewiſe ſeeme in another reſpect appliable thereunto, namely by *cooperation* with deitie, and that *in all things*. The light created of God in the beginning did firſt by it ſelfe illuminate the world, but after that the Sunne and Moone were created, the world ſithence hath *by them* alwayes enioyed the ſame. And that deitie of Chriſt which before our Lords incarnation wrought all things without man, doth now worke nothing wherein the nature which it hath aſſumed is either abſent from it or idle. Chriſt as man hath [a] all power both in heauen and earth giuen him. He hath as man not as God only [b] ſupreme dominion ouer quicke and dead, for ſo much his aſcenſion into heauen and his ſeſſion at the right hand of God do import. The Sonne of God which did firſt humble himſelfe by taking our fleſh vpon him, deſcended afterwards much lower, and became according to the fleſh obedient ſo farre as to ſuffer death euen the death of the croſſe for all men becauſe ſuch was his Fathers will. The former was an humiliation of deitie, the later an humiliation of manhood, [c] for which cauſe there followed vpon the later an exaltation of that which was humbled, for with power he created the world, but reſtored it by obedience. In which obedience as according to his manhood he had glorified God on earth, ſo God hath glorified in heauen that nature which yeelded him obedience, and hath giuen vnto Chriſt euen in that he is man ſuch fullnes of power ouer the whole world, that he which before fulfilled in the ſtate of humilitie and patience whatſoeuer God did require, doth now [d] raigne in glorie till the time that all things be reſtored. He which came downe from heauen and deſcended into the loweſt parts of the earth is aſſcended farre aboue all heauens, that ſitting at the right hand of God he might from thence fill all things with the gratious and happie fruites of his ſauing preſence. Aſcenſion into heauen is a playne locall tranſlation of Chriſt according to his manhood from the lower to the higher parts of the world. Seſſion at the right hand of God is the actuall exerciſe

a *Math. 28.*
b *Rom. 14. 9.*
c *Phil. 2. 9. Heb. 2. 9. Reuel. 5. 12.*
d *Luc. 21. 27. Act. 3. 21. Epheſ. 4. 9.*

cise of that regencie and dominion wherein the manhood of Christ is ioyned and matched with the deitie of the Sonne of God. Not that his manhood was before without the possession of the same power, but because the full vse thereof was suspended till that humilitie which had bene before as a vaile to hide and conceale maiestie were layd aside.[a] After his rising againe from the dead then did God set him at his right hand in heauenly places farre aboue all principalitie and power, and might, and domination, and euery name that is named not in this world only but also in that which is to come, and hath[b] put all things vnder his feete, and hath appointed him ouer all the head to the Church which is his body, the fulnesse of him that filleth all in all. The[c] sceptre of which spirituall regiment ouer vs in this present world is at the length to be yeelded vp into the hands of the Father which gaue it, that is to say the vse and exercise thereof shall cease, there being no longer on earth any militant Church to gouerne. This gouernment therefore he exerciseth both as God and as man, as God by essentiall presence with all things, as man by cooperation with that which essentially is present. Touching the maner how he worketh as man in all things, the principall powers of the soule of man are the will and the vnderstanding, the one of which two in Christ assenteth vnto all things, and from the other nothing which deitie doth worke is hid, so that by knowledge and assent the soule of Christ is present with all things which the deitie of Christ worketh. And euen the body of Christ it selfe, although the definite limitation thereof be most sensible, doth notwithstanding admit in some sort a kinde of infinite and vnlimited presence likewise. For his body being a part of that nature which whole nature is presently ioyned vnto deitie whersoeuer deitie is, it followeth that his bodily substance hath euery where a presence of true coniunction with deitie. And for as much as it is by vertue of that coniunction made the body of the Sonne of God, by whome also it was made a sacrifice for the sinnes of the whole world, this giueth it a *presence of force and efficacie* throughout all generations of men. Albeit therefore nothing be *actuallie* infinite *in substance* but God only in that he is God, neuertheless as euery number is infinite by possibilitie of addition, and euery line by possibilitie of extension infinite, so there is no stint which can be set to the value or merite of the sacrificed body of Christ, it hath no measured certaintie of limites, boundes of efficacie vnto life it knoweth none, but is also it selfe infinite in *possibilitie of application*. Which things indifferenly euery way considered, that gratious promise of our Lord and Sauiour Iesus Christ concerning presence with his to the very ende of the world, I see no cause but that we may well and safely interpret he doth performe both as God by essentiall presence of deitie, and as man in that order, sense and meaning which hath bene shewed.

[a] *Ephes.1.20.*

[b] *Psal.8.6. Heb.2.8.*

[c] *1.Cor.15.*

The vnion or mutuall participatiō which is betweene Christ and the Church of Christ in this present world.

56 We haue hitherto spoken of the person and of the presence of Christ. Participation is that mutuall inward hold which Christ hath of vs and we of him, in such sort that each possesseth other by way of speciall interest, propertie, and inherent copulation. For playner explication whereof we may from that which hath bene before sufficiently proued assume to our purpose these two principles, that *euery originall cause imparteth it selfe vnto those things which come*

come of it, and *whatſoeuer taketh being from any other, the ſame is after a ſort in that which giueth it being.* It followeth hereupon that the Sonne of God being light of light, muſt needes be alſo light [a] in light. The perſons of the Godhead, by reaſon of the vnitie of their ſubſtance, do as neceſſarily remaine one within another, as they are of neceſſitie to be diſtinguiſhed one from another, becauſe two are the iſſue of one, and one the offſpring of the other two, only of three one not growing out of any other. And ſith they all are but one God in number, one indiuiſible eſſence or ſubſtance, their diſtinction cannot poſſiblie admit ſeparation. For how ſhould that ſubſiſt *ſolitarilie* by it ſelfe which hath no ſubſtance but *indiuiduallie* the very ſame whereby others ſubſiſt with it, ſeeing that the multiplication of ſubſtances *in particular* is neceſſarilie required to make thoſe things ſubſiſt apart which haue the ſelfeſame generall nature, and the perſons of that Trinitie are not three particular ſubſtances to whome one *generall* nature is common, but three that ſubſiſt by one ſubſtance *which it ſelfe is particular*, yet they all three haue it, and their ſeuerall wayes of hauing it are that which maketh their perſonall diſtinction? The Father therefore is in the Sonne, and the Sonne in him, they both in the Spirit, and the Spirit in both them. So that the Fathers firſt offſpring which is the Sonne, remayneth eternallie in the Father; the Father eternallie alſo in the Sonne, no way ſeuered or diuided by reaſon of the ſole and ſingle vnitie of their ſubſtance. The Sonne in the Father as light in that light out of which it floweth without ſeparation; the Father in the Sonne as light in that light which it cauſeth and leaueth not. And becauſe in this reſpect his eternall being is of the Father, which eternall being is his life, therefore hee by the Father liueth. Againe, ſith all things do accordingly loue their offſpring as themſelues are more or leſſe conteined in it, he which is thus the only begotten, muſt needes be in this degree the onely beloued of the Father. He therefore which is in the Father by eternall deriuation of being and life from him, muſt needes be in him through an eternall affection of loue. His incarnation cauſeth him alſo as man to be now in the Father, and the Father to be in him. For in that he is man, he receiueth life from the Father as from the fountaine of that euerliuing deitie, which in the perſon of the word hath combined it ſelfe with manhood, and doth thereunto impart ſuch life as to no other creature beſides him is communicated. In which conſideration likewiſe the [b] loue of the Father towards him is more then it can be towards any other, neither can any attaine vnto that perfection of loue which he beareth towards his heauenly Father. Wherefore God is not ſo in any, nor any ſo in God as Chriſt, whether we conſider him as the perſonall word of God, or as the naturall ſonne of man. All other things that are of God haue God in them and he them in himſelfe likewiſe. Yet becauſe their ſubſtance and his wholie differeth, their coherence and communion either with him or amongſt themſelues is in no ſort like vnto that before mentioned. God hath his influence into the very eſſence of all things, without which influence of deitie ſupporting them their vtter annihilation could not chooſe but follow. Of him all things haue both receiued their firſt being and their continuance to be that which they are.

[a] In the boſome of the Father. *Ioh. 1. 18. Ecce dico alium eſſe patrem & alium filium: non diuiſione alium ſed diſtinctione. Tertul. cont. Prax. Nec in numerum pluralem defluit incorporea generatio, nec in diuiſionem cadit vbi qui naſcitur nequaquam à generante ſeparatur. Ruffin. in Symbol.*

[b] *Luc. 3. 22. Ioh. 3. 34. 35. 5. 20. 10. 17. 14. 31. 15. 10.*

All things are therefore partakers of God, they are his offſpring, his influence is in them, and the perſonall wiſedome of God is for that very cauſe
a *Sap.7.23.* ſayd to excell in nimblenes or agilitie, to [a] pearce into all intellectuall, pure, and ſubtile ſpirites, to goe through all, and to reach vnto euery thing which is. Otherwiſe, how ſhould the ſame wiſedome be that which ſupporteth,
b *Heb.1.3.* [b] beareth vp, and ſuſtaineth all? Whatſoeuer God doth worke, the hands of all three perſons are ioyntlie and equallie in it according to *the order of that connexion* whereby they each depend vpon other. And therefore albeit in that reſpect the Father be firſt, the Sonne next, the Spirit laſt, and conſequentlie neereſt vnto euerie effect which groweth from all three, neuertheleſſe, they all being of one eſſence, are likewiſe all of one efficacie. Dare any man vnleſſe he be ignorant altogether how inſeperable the perſons of the Trinitie are, perſwade himſelfe that euerie of them may haue
c *Iob.14.23.* their ſole and ſeuerall poſſeſſions, or that [c] wee being not partakers of all, can haue fellowſhip with any one? The Father as goodnes, the Sonne as wiſedome, the holie Ghoſt as power doe all concurre in euerie particular outwardlie iſſuing from that one onely glorious deitie which they all are. For that which moueth God to worke is goodnes, and that which ordereth his worke is wiſedome, and that which perfecteth his worke is power. All things which God in their times and ſeaſons hath brought forth were eternallie and before all times in God as a worke vnbegun, is in the artificer which afterward bringeth it vnto effect. Therefore whatſoeuer we do behold now in this preſent world, it was inwrapped within the bowels of diuine mercie, written in the booke of eternall wiſedome, and held in the handes of omnipotent power, the firſt foundations of the world being as yet vnlayd. So that all things which God hath made are in that reſpect the
d *Act.17.28.* *29.* [d] offſpring of God, they are *in him* as effects in their higheſt cauſe, he likewiſe actuallie is *in them*, the aſſiſtance and influence of his deitie is *their*
Iob.1.4. *1.10.* *life.* Let heereunto *ſauing efficacie* be added, and it bringeth forth a ſpe-
Iſa.40.26. ciall offſpring amongſt men, conteyning them to whome God hath him-
e *1.Iob.3.1.* ſelfe giuen the gratious and amiable name of [e] ſonnes. We are by nature the ſonnes of Adam. When God created Adam he created vs, and as many as are deſcended from Adam haue in themſelues the roote out of which they ſpring. The ſonnes of God we neither are all nor any one of vs otherwiſe then onely by grace and fauour. The ſonnes of God haue
f *1.Cor.15.47.* Gods owne naturall Sonne as a [f] ſecond Adam from heauen, whoſe race and progenie they are by ſpirituall and heauenly birth. God therefore lo-
g *Eph.1.3.4.* uing eternallie his Sonne, he muſt needes eternallie [g] in him haue loued and preferred before all others them which are ſpiritually ſithence deſcended and ſproong out of him. Theſe were in God as in their Sauiour, and not as in their creator only. It was the purpoſe of his *ſauing* goodnes, his *ſauing* wiſedome, and his *ſauing* power which inclined itſelfe towards them. They which thus were in God eternally by their intended admiſſion to life, haue by vocation or adoption God actually now in them, as the artificer is in the worke which his hand doth preſently frame. Life as all other gifts and benefites groweth
h *1.Iob.5.11.* originallie from the Father, and commeth not to vs but [h] by the Sonne,

nor

nor by the Sonne to anye of vs in particular but * through the Spirit. For this cauſe the Apoſtle wiſheth to the Church of Corinth [a] the grace of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, and the loue of God, and the fellowſhip of the holie Ghoſt. Which three S. Peter comprehendeth in one, [b] the *participation of diuine nature*. We are therefore in God through Chriſt eternally according to that intent and purpoſe whereby we were choſen to be made his in this preſent world before the world it ſelfe was made, we are in God through the knowledge which is had of vs, and the loue which is borne towards vs from euerlaſting. But in God we actuallie are no longer then only from the time of our actuall adoption into the bodie of his true Church, into the fellowſhip of his children. For his Church he knoweth and loueth, ſo that they which are in the Church are thereby knowne to be in him. Our being in Chriſt by eternall foreknowledge ſaueth vs not without our actuall and reall adoption into the fellowſhip of his Saincts in this preſent world. For in him wee actuallie are by our actuall [c] incorporation into that ſocietie which hath him for their head, and doth make together with him one bodie (he and they in that reſpect hauing [d] one name) for which cauſe by vertue of this myſticall coniunction, wee are of him and in him euen [e] as though our very fleſh and bones ſhould be made continuate with his. We are in Chriſt becauſe he [f] knoweth and loueth vs euen as parts of himſelfe. No man actuallie is in him but they [g] in whome he actuallie is. For he which hath not the Sonne of God hath not life. [h] I am the Vine and you are the branches: He which abideth in me and I in him the ſame bringeth forth much fruite, but the branch ſeuered from the vine withereth. We are therefore adopted ſonnes of God to eternall life by participation of the onely begotten Sonne of God, whoſe life is the [i] wellſpring and cauſe of ours. It is too colde an interpretation, whereby ſome men expound our being in Chriſt to import nothing elſe, but onely that the ſelfeſame nature which maketh vs to be men, is in him, and maketh him man as we are. For what man in the world is there which hath not ſo farre-forth communion with Ieſus Chriſt? It is not this that can ſuſtaine the waight of ſuch ſentences as ſpeake of the myſterie of our [k] coherence with Ieſus Chriſt. The Church is in Chriſt as Eue was in Adam. Yea by grace wee are euery of vs in Chriſt and in his Church, as by nature we are in thoſe our firſt parents. God made Eue of the rib of Adam. And his Church he frameth out of the very fleſh, the very wounded and bleeding ſide of the Sonne of man. His bodie crucified and his bloud ſhed for the life of the world, are the true elements of that heauenly being, which maketh vs [l] ſuch as himſelfe is of whome we come. For which cauſe the words of Adam may be fitlie the words of Chriſt concerning his Church, *Fleſh of my fleſh, and bone of my bones*, a true natiue extract out of mine owne bodie. So that in him euen according to his manhood we according to our heauenly beeing are as branches in that roote out of which they growe. To [m] all things hee is life, and to men light *as the Sonne of God*; to the Church both life and light [n] eternall by being made the ſonne of man for vs, and by being in vs a Sauiour, whether wee reſpect him as God, or as man.

* *Rom. 8. 10.*
a *2. Cor. 13. 13.*
b *2. Pet. 1. 4.*
c *Col. 2. 10.*
d *1. Cor. 12. 12.*
e *Eph. 5. 30.*
f *Ioh. 15. 9.*
g *1. Ioh. 5. 12.*
h *Ioh. 15. 5. 6.*
i *Ioh. 14. 19. Eph. 5. 23.*
k *Ioh. 14. 20. Ioh. 15. 4.*
l *1. Cor. 15 48.*
m *Ioh. 1.*
n *Ioh. 6. 57.*

Adam is in vs as an originall cauſe of our nature, and of that corruption of
a Heb.5.9. nature which cauſeth death, Chriſt as the [a] cauſe originall of reſtauration to life; the perſon of Adam is not in vs but his nature, and the corruption of his nature deriued into all men by propagation, Chriſt hauing Adams nature as we haue, but incorrupt, deriueth not nature but incorruption and that immediatlie from his owne perſon into all that belong vnto him. As therefore we are reallie partakers of the bodie of ſinne and death receiued from Adam, ſo except we be trulie partakers of Chriſt, and as reallie poſſeſſed of
b 1.Cor.15.45. 22. his Spirit, all we ſpeake of eternall life is but a dreame. That which [b] quickneth vs is the Spirit of the ſecond Adam, and his fleſh that wherewith he quickneth. That which in him made our nature vncorrupt, was the vnion of his deitie with our nature. And in that reſpect the ſentence of death and condemnation which only taketh hold vpon ſinfull fleſh, could no way poſſiblie extend vnto him. This cauſed his voluntarie death for others to preuaile with God, and to haue the force of an expiatorie ſacrifice. The bloud of Chriſt as the Apoſtle witneſſeth doth therefore take away ſinne, becauſe
c Heb.9.14. [c] *through the eternall ſpirit hee offered himſelfe vnto God without ſpot*. That which ſanctified our nature in Chriſt, that which made it a ſacrifice auaileable to take away ſinne, is the ſame which quickneth it, rayſed it out of the graue after death, and exalted it vnto glorie. Seeing therefore that Chriſt is in vs, as a quickning Spirit, the firſt degree of communion with Chriſt muſt needes conſiſt in the participation of his ſpirit, which Cyprian in that reſpect
d Cypr. de cana Dom. cap. 6. well termeth [d] *germaniſſimam ſocietatem*, the higheſt and trueſt ſocietie that can be betweene man and him which is both God and man in one. Theſe
e Cyril. in Ioh. lib. 10. cap. 13. things [e] S. Cyrill dulie conſidering, reproueth their ſpeeches which taught that only the deitie of Chriſt is the vine whereupon we by faith do depend as branches, and that neither his fleſh nor our bodies are compriſed in this reſemblance. For doth any man doubt but that euen from the fleſh of Chriſt our very bodies do receiue that life which ſhall make them glorious at the later day, and for which they are alreadie accompted partes of his bleſſed bodie? Our corruptible bodies could neuer liue the life they ſhall liue, were it not that heere they are ioyned with his bodie which is incorruptible, and that his is in ours as a cauſe of immortalitie, a cauſe by remouing through the death and merit of his owne fleſh that which hindered the life of ours. Chriſt is therefore both as God and as man that true Vine whereof we both ſpiritually and corporally are branches. The mixture of his bodily ſubſtance with ours is a thing which the auncient Fathers [f] diſclaime. Yet the mixture of his fleſh with ours they [g] ſpeake of, to ſignifie what our very bodies through myſticall coniunction receiue from that vitall efficacie which we know to be in his, and frō bodily mixtures they borrow diuers [h] ſimilitudes rather to declare the truth, thē the maner of cohereāce betwene his ſacred & the ſanctified bodies of ſaints.

Thus

f *Noſtra quippe & ipſius coniunctio nec miſcet perſonas nec vnit ſubſtantias, ſed affectum conſociat & confaderat voluntates.* Cypria. de can. Dom.

g *Quomodo dicunt carnem in corruptionem deuenire & non percipere vitam, qua à corpore Domini & ſanguine alitur? Ira. li. 4. aduerſ. hareſ. cap. 34.*

h *Vnde conſiderandum eſt non ſolum ὁμοιότητα, ſeu conformitate affectionum Chriſtum in nobis eſſe, verumetiam participatione naturali [id eſt reali & vera] quemadmodum ſi quis igne liquefactam ceram alij cerę ſimiliter liquefactę ita miſcuerit vt vnum quid ex vtriſque factum videatur, ſic communicatione corporis & ſanguinis Chriſti ipſe in nobis eſt & nos in ipſo.* Cyrill in Ioh. lib. 10. cap. 13.

Thus much no Chriſtian man will denye, that when Chriſt ſanctified his owne fleſh, giuing as God and taking as man the holy Ghoſt, he did not this for himſelfe only but for our ſakes, that the grace of ſanctification and life which was firſt receiued in him might paſſe from him to his whole race as malediction came from Adam vnto all mankinde. Howbeit, becauſe the worke of his Spirit to thoſe effects is in vs preuented by ſinne and death poſſeſſing vs before, it is of neceſſitie that as well our preſent ſanctification vnto newnes of life, as the future reſtauration of our bodies ſhould preſuppoſe a participation of the grace, efficacie, merit or vertue of his bodie and bloud, without which foundation firſt layd there is no place for thoſe other operations of the Spirit of Chriſt to enſue. So that Chriſt imparteth plainely himſelfe by degrees. It pleaſeth him in mercie to accompt himſelfe incomplete and maimed [a] without vs. But moſt aſſured we are that we all receiue of his fulneſſe, becauſe he is in vs as a mouing and working cauſe, from which many bleſſed effects are reallie found to enſue, and that in ſundrie both kindes and degrees, all tending to eternall happines. It muſt be confeſt that of Chriſt, working as a Creator, and a gouernor of the world by prouidence, all are partakers; not all partakers of that grace whereby he inhabiteth whome he ſaueth. Againe, as he dwelleth not by grace in all, ſo neither doth he equally worke in all them in whome he dwelleth. [b] *Whence is it* (ſayth S. Auguſtine) *that ſome be holier then others are, but becauſe God doth dwell in ſome more plentifullie then in others?* And becauſe the diuine ſubſtance of Chriſt is equally in all, his humane ſubſtance equallie diſtant from all, it appeareth that the participation of Chriſt wherein there are many degrees and differences, muſt needes conſiſt in ſuch effects as being deriued from both natures of Chriſt reallie into vs, are made our owne, and we by hauing them in vs are truly ſayd to haue him from whome they come, Chriſt alſo more or leſſe to inhabit and impart himſelfe as the graces are fewer or moe, greater or ſmaller, which reallie flowe into vs from Chriſt. Chriſt is whole with the whole Church, and whole with euery part of the Church, as touching his perſon which can no way deuide it ſelfe, or be poſſeſt by degrees and portions. But the participation of Chriſt importeth, beſides the preſence of Chriſts perſon, and beſides the myſticall copulation thereof with the partes and members of his whole Church, a true actuall influence of grace whereby the [c] life which we liue according to godlines is his, and from him we receiue thoſe perfections wherein our eternall happines conſiſteth. Thus we participate Chriſt partly by imputation, as when [d] thoſe things which he did and ſuffered for vs are imputed vnto vs for righteouſnes; partly by habituall and reall infuſion, as when grace is inwardly beſtowed while we are on earth and afterwards more fully both our ſoules and bodies made like vnto his in glorie. The firſt thing of his ſo infuſed into our harts in this life is the [e] Spirit of Chriſt, whereupon becauſe the reſt of what kinde ſo euer do all both neceſſarilie depende and infalliblie alſo enſue, therefore the Apoſtles terme it ſometime [f] the ſeede of God, ſometime the [g] pledge of our heauenly inheritance, ſometime the [h] hanſell or earneſt of that which is to come. From hence it is that they which belong to the myſticall body of our Sauiour Chriſt,

[a] *Eph. 1. 23. Eccleſia complementum eius qui implet omnia in omnibus: τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ πάντα ἐν πᾶσι πληρουμένου.*

[b] *Auguſt. epiſt. 57.*

[c] *Gal. 2. 20.*

[d] *Eſa. 53. 5. Eph. 1. 7.*

[e] *Rom. 8. 9. Gal. 4. 6.*

[f] *1. Ioh. 3. 9.*

[g] *Eph. 1. 14.*

[h] *Rom. 8. 23.*

and be in number as the ſtarres of heauen, deuided ſucceſſiuely by reaſon of their mortall condition into many generations, are notwithſtanding coupled
a 1.Cor.12.27. Epheſ.4.15. b Rom.12.5. Epheſ.4.25. a euery one to Chriſt their head, and b all vnto euery particular perſon amongſt themſelues, in as much as the ſame Spirit, which annointed the bleſſed ſoule of our Sauiour Chriſt, doth ſo formalize, vnite and actuate his whole race, as if both he and they were ſo many limmes compacted into one body, by being quickned all with one and the ſame ſoule. That wherein we are partakers of Ieſus Chriſt by imputation, agreeth equallie vnto all that haue it. For it conſiſteth in ſuch actes and deedes of his as could not haue longer continuance then while they were in doing, nor at that very time belong vnto any other but to him from whome they came, and therefore how men either then or before or ſithence ſhould be made partakers of them, there can be no way imagined but only by imputation. Againe, a deede muſt either not be imputed to any, but reſt altogether in him whoſe it is, or if at all it be imputed, they which haue it by imputation muſt haue it ſuch as it is whole. So that degrees being neither in the perſonall preſence of Chriſt, nor in the participation of thoſe effects which are ours by imputation only, it reſteth that we wholie applie them to the participation of Chriſts infuſed grace, although euen in this kinde alſo the firſt beginning of life, the ſeede of God, the firſt fruites of Chriſts Spirit be without latitude. For we haue hereby only the being of the Sonnes of God, in which number how farre ſoeuer one may ſeeme to excell an other, yet touching this that all are ſonnes, they are all equals, ſome happily better ſonnes then the reſt are, but none any more a ſonne then another. Thus therefore we ſee how the Father is in the Sonne, and the Sonne in the Father, how they both are in all things, and all things in them, what communion Chriſt hath with his Church, how his Church and euery member thereof is in him by originall deriuation, and he perſonally in them by way of myſticall aſſociation wrought through the gift of the holie Ghoſt, which they that are his receyue from him, and together with the ſame what benefit ſoeuer the vitall force of his bodie and bloud may yeeld, yea by ſteps and degrees they receiue the complete meaſure of all ſuch diuine grace, as doth ſanctifie and ſaue throughout, till the day of their finall exaltation to a ſtate of fellowſhip in glorie, with him whoſe pertakers they are now in thoſe things that tend to glorie. As for any mixture of the ſubſtance of his fleſh with ours, the participation which we haue of Chriſt includeth no ſuch kinde of groſſe ſurmiſe.

The neceſſitie of Sacraments vnto the participation of Chriſt.

57 It greatly offendeth, that ſome, when they labour to ſhew the vſe of the holie Sacraments, aſſigne vnto them no ende but only *to teach* the minde, by other ſenſes, that which the word doth teach by hearing. Whereupon, how eaſily neglect and careleſſe regard of ſo heauenly myſteries may follow, we ſee in part by ſome experience had of thoſe men with whome that opinion is moſt ſtrong. For where the word of God may be heard, which teacheth with much more expedition and more full explication any thing we haue to learne, if all the benefit we reape by Sacraments be inſtruction, they which at all times haue opportunitie of vſing the better meane to that purpoſe, will ſurely hold the worſe in leſſe eſtimation. And vnto infants which are not capable of inſtruction, who would not thinke it a meere ſuperfluitie that any

Sacrament

Sacrament is adminiſtred, if to adminiſter the Sacraments be but to teach receiuers what God doth for them? There is of Sacraments therefore vndoubtedly ſome other more excellent and heauenly vſe. Sacraments, by reaſon of their mixt nature, are more diuerſly interpreted and diſputed of then any other part of religion beſides, for that in ſo great ſtore of properties belonging to the ſelfeſame thing, as euery mans wit hath taken hold of ſome eſpeciall conſideration aboue the reſt, ſo they haue accordingly ſeemed one to croſſe another as touching their ſeuerall opinions about the neceſſitie of Sacraments, whereas in truth their diſagreement is not great. For let reſpect be had to the dutie which euery communicant doth vndertake, and we may well determine concerning the vſe of Sacraments, that they ſerue as bonds of obedience to God, ſtrict obligations to the mutuall exerciſe of chriſtian charitie, prouocations to godlines, preſeruations from ſinne, memorials of the principall benefits of Chriſt; reſpect the time of their inſtitution, and it thereby appeareth that God hath annexed them for euer vnto the new Teſtament, as other rites were before with the old; regard the weakenes which is in vs, and they are warrants for the more ſecuritie of our beliefe; compare the receiuers of them with ſuch as receiue them not, and Sacraments are markes of diſtinction to ſeparate Gods owne from ſtrangers, ſo that in all theſe reſpects they are found to be moſt neceſſarie. But their chiefeſt force and virtue conſiſteth not herein ſo much as in that they are heauenly Ceremonies, which God hath ſanctified and ordeined to be adminiſtred in his Church, firſt, as marks whereby to know when God doth impart the vitall or ſauing grace of Chriſt vnto all that are capable thereof, and ſecondly as meanes conditionall which God requireth in them vnto whome he imparteth grace. For ſith God in himſelfe is inuiſible, and cannot by vs be diſcerned working, therefore when it ſeemeth good in the eyes of his heauenly wiſedome, that men for ſome ſpeciall intent and purpoſe ſhould take notize of his glorious preſence, he giueth them ſome plaine and ſenſible token whereby to know what they cannot ſee. For Moſes to ſee God and liue was impoſſible, yet [a] Moſes by fire knew where the glorie of God extraordinarily was preſent. The [b] Angell, by whome God indued the waters of the poole called *Betheſda* with ſupernaturall vertue to heale, was not ſeene of any, yet the time of the Angels preſence knowne by the troubled motions of the waters themſelues. The Apoſtles [c] by fierie toongs which they ſaw, were admoniſhed when the ſpirit, which they could not behold, was vpon them. In like manner it is with vs. Chriſt and his holie Spirit with all their bleſſed effects, though entering into the ſoule of man we are not able to apprehend or expreſſe how, do notwithſtanding giue notize of the times when they vſe to make their acceſſe, becauſe it pleaſeth Almightie God to communicate by ſenſible meanes thoſe bleſſings which are incomprehenſible. Seeing therefore that grace is a conſequent of Sacraments, a thing which accompanieth them as their end, a benefit which he that hath receiueth from God himſelfe the author of Sacraments, and not from any other naturall or ſupernaturall qualitie in them, it may be hereby both vnderſtood that Sacraments are neceſſarie, and that the manner of their neceſſitie to life ſupernaturall is not in all reſpects as foode vnto naturall life, becauſe they conteine *in themſelues*

[a] *Exod. 3. 2.*
[b] *Ioh. 5. 4.*
[c] *Act. 2. 3.*

themſelues no vitall force or efficacie, they are not phyſicall but *morall inſtruments* of ſaluation, duties of ſeruice and worſhip, which vnleſſe we performe as the author of grace requireth, they are vnprofitable. For all receiue not the grace of God which receiue the ſacraments of his grace. Neither is it *ordinarily* his will to beſtow the grace of ſacraments on any, but by the Sacraments; which grace alſo they that receiue by ſacraments or with ſacraments, receiue it from him and not from them. For of Sacraments the very ſame is true which Salomons wiſdome obſerueth in the braſen Serpent, [a] *He that turned towards it was not healed by the thing he ſawe, but by thee ô Sauiour of all.* This is therefore the neceſſitie of ſacraments. That ſauing grace which Chriſt originally is or hath for the generall good of his whole Church, by ſacraments he ſeuerally deriueth into euery member thereof. Sacraments ſerue as the inſtruments of God to that end and purpoſe, morall inſtruments the vſe whereof is in our hands the effect in his; for the vſe we haue his expreſſe commandement, for the effect his conditionall promiſe; ſo that without our obedience to the one, there is of the other no apparent aſſurance, as contrarywiſe where the ſignes and ſacraments of his grace are not either through contempt vnreceiued, or receiued with contempt, we are not to doubt but that they really giue what they promiſe, and are what they ſignifie. For we take not Baptiſme nor the Euchariſt for bare *reſemblances* or memorials of things abſent, neither for *naked ſignes* and teſtimonies aſſuring vs of grace receiued before, but (as they are in deed and in veritie) for meanes effectuall whereby God when we take the ſacraments deliuereth into our hands that grace auailable vnto eternall life, which grace the ſacraments [b] repreſent or ſignifie. There haue growne in the doctrine concerning ſacraments many difficulties for want of diſtinct explication what kinde or degree of grace doth belong vnto each ſacrament. For by this it hath come to paſſe, that the true immediate cauſe why Baptiſme, and why the Supper of our Lord is neceſſarie, few do rightly and diſtinctly conſider. It cannot be denyed but ſundrie the ſame effects and benefits which grow vnto men by the one ſacrament may rightly be attributed vnto the other. Yet then doth baptiſme chalenge to it ſelfe but the inchoation of thoſe graces, the conſummation whereof dependeth on myſteries enſuing. We receiue Chriſt Ieſus in baptiſme once as the firſt beginner, in the Euchariſt often as being by continuall degrees the finiſher of our life. By baptiſme therefore we receiue Chriſt Ieſus, and from him that ſauing grace which is proper vnto baptiſme. By the other ſacrament we receiue him alſo, imparting therein himſelfe and that grace which the Euchariſt properly beſtoweth. So that each ſacrament hauing both that which is generall or common, and that alſo which is peculiar vnto it ſelfe, we may hereby gather that the participation of Chriſt which properly belongeth to any one ſacrament, is not otherwiſe to be obteined but by the ſacrament whereunto it is proper.

a *Wiſd.16.17. Spiritus Sancti munus eſt gratiam implere myſterij. Ambr. in Luc.ca.3. Sanctificatis elementis effectum, non propria ipſorum natura prabet, ſed virtus diuina potentius operatur. Cypr. de Chriſm.*

b *Dum homini bonum inuiſibile redditur, foris ei einſdem ſignificatio per ſpecies viſibiles adhibetur, vt foris excitetur & intus repa retur. In ipſa vaſis ſpecie virtus exprimitur medicina. Hugo de Sacram. lib.1.ca.3. Si ergo vaſa ſunt ſpiritualis gratia ſacramẽta, non ex ſuo ſa- nant, quia vaſa agrotum non curant ſed medicina. Idem lib.1.ca.4.*

The ſubſtance of Baptiſme; the rites or ſolemnities thereunto belonging; and that the ſubſtance

58 Now euen as the ſoule doth organize the bodie, and giue vnto euery member thereof that ſubſtance, quantitie and ſhape which nature ſeeth moſt expedient, ſo the inward grace of ſacraments may teach what ſerueth beſt for their outward forme, a thing in no part of Chriſtian religion, much leſſe here to be neglected. Grace intended by ſacraments was a cauſe of the choice, and

is

is a reaſon of the fitnes of the elements themſelues. Furthermore, ſeeing that the grace which here we receiue doth no way depend vpon the naturall force of that which we preſently behold, it was of neceſſitie that words of expreſſe declaration taken from the very mouth of our Lord himſelfe ſhould be added vnto viſible elements, that the one might infalliblie teach what the other do moſt aſſuredly bring to paſſe. In writing and ſpeaking of the bleſſed Sacraments we [a] vſe for the moſt part vnder the name of their *ſubſtance* not only to compriſe that whereof they outwardly and ſenſibly conſiſt, but alſo the ſecret grace which they ſignifie and exhibit. This is the reaſon wherefore commonly in [b] definitions, whether they be framed larger to augment, or ſtricter to abridge the number of ſacraments, we finde grace expreſly mentioned as their true eſſentiall forme; elements as the matter whereunto that forme doth adioyne it ſelfe. But if that be ſeperated which is ſecret, and that conſidered alone which is ſeene, as of neceſſitie it muſt in all thoſe ſpeeches that make diſtinction of ſacraments from ſacramentall grace, the name of a ſacrament in ſuch ſpeeches can implie no more then what the *outward ſubſtance* thereof doth comprehend. And to make complete the outward ſubſtance of a ſacrament, there is required an outward forme, which forme ſacramentall elements receiue from ſacramentall words. Hereupon it groweth that many [c] times there are 3. things ſayd to make vp the ſubſtance of a ſacrament, namely, the grace which is thereby offered, the element which ſhadoweth or ſignifieth grace, and the word which expreſſeth what is done by the element. So that whether we conſider the outward by it ſelfe alone, or both the outward and inward ſubſtance of any ſacrament; there are in the one reſpect but two eſſentiall parts, and in the other but three that concurre to giue ſacraments their full being. Furthermore, becauſe definitions are to expreſſe but the moſt immediat and neereſt parts of nature, whereas other principles farther off although not ſpecified in defining, are notwithſtanding in nature implyed and preſuppoſed, we muſt note that in as much as ſacraments are actions religious and myſticall, which nature they haue not vnleſſe they proceede from a ſerious meaning, and what euery mans priuat minde is, as we cannot know, ſo neither are we bound to examine, therefore alwayes in theſe caſes the knowne intent of the Church generally doth ſuffice, and where the contrary is not [d] manifeſt, we may preſume that he which outwardly doth the worke, hath inwardly the purpoſe of the Church of God. Concerning all other orders, rites, prayers, leſſons, ſermons, actions, and their circumſtances whatſoeuer they are to the outward ſubſtance of baptiſme but things acceſſorie, which the wiſedome of the Church of Chriſt is to order according to the exigence of that which is principall. Againe, conſidering that ſuch ordinances haue bene made to adorne the ſacrament, [e] not the ſacrament to depend on them; ſeeing alſo that they are not of the ſubſtance of baptiſme, and that baptiſme is farre more neceſſarie then any ſuch incident rite

thereof being kept, other things in baptiſme may giue place to neceſſitie.

a *Euchariſtia duobus ex rebus conſtat terrena & cæleſti. Irenæ. aduerſ. hæreſ. li. 4. ca. 34. Arcanarum rerum ſymbola nō nudis ſignis, ſed ſignis ſimul & rebus conſtant. Helvet. confeſ. prior. art. 2.*

b *Sacramentum eſt cum res geſta viſibilis longe aliud inuiſibile intus operatur. Iſidor. Etymol. lib. 1. Sacramentum eſt per quod ſub tegumento rerum viſibilium diuina virtus ſalutem ſecretius operatur. Gregor. Mag. Sacramentum eſt ſignum ſignificans efficaciter effectum Dei gratuitum. Occa. ſent. lib. 4. d. 1. Sacramentum proprie non eſt ſignum cuiuſlibet rei ſacræ ſed tantum res ſacra ſanctificantis homines. Th. 12. q. 101. 4. & q. 102. 5. Sacramentum eſt ſignum paſſionis Chriſti, gratiæ & gloriæ. Ideo eſt commemoratio præteriti, demonſtratio præſentis, & prognoſticon futuri. Th. 3. q. 60. 3. Sacramenta ſunt ſigna & ſymbola viſibilia rerum internarum & inuiſibilium per quæ ſeu per media Deus virtute ſpiritus ſancti in nobis agit. Conf. Belg. art. 33. Item Boem. confeſſ. ca. 11.*

c *Sacramenta conſtant verbo, ſignis, & rebus ſignificatis. confeſ. Helvet. poſt. ca. 19.*

d *Si aliud miniſtri agere intendant, puta ſacris illudere myſterijs, vel aliud quod Eccleſiæ non conſentiat nihil agitur. Sine fide enim ſpiritualis poteſtas exerceri quidē poteſt, ſine Eccleſiæ intentione non poteſt. Lancel. inſt. iur. canon. li. 2. tit. 2. 5. hoc tamen.*

e *Acceſſorium non regulat principale ſed ab eo regulatur 42. de regul. iur. in Sext. l. 3. ff. quod iuſſu.*

rite or ſolemnitie ordeined for the better adminiſtration thereof, [a] if the caſe be ſuch as permitteth not baptiſme to haue the decent complements of baptiſme, better it were to inioy the body without his furniture, then to wait for this till the opportunitie of that for which we deſire it be loſt. Which premiſſes ſtanding, it ſeemeth to haue bene no abſurd collection, that in caſes of neceſſitie which will not ſuffer delay till baptiſme be adminiſtred with vſuall ſolemnities (to ſpeake the leaſt) it may be tollerably giuen without them, rather then any man without it ſhould be ſuffered to depart this life.

a *Etſi nihil facile mutandum eſt ex ſolennibus, tamen vbi æquitas euidēs poſcit ſubueniendum eſt. lib. 183. de reg. iur.*

The ground in ſcripture, whereupon a neceſſitie of outward baptiſme hath bene built.

59 They which denye that any ſuch caſe of neceſſitie can fall, in regard whereof the Church ſhould tolerate baptiſme, without the decent rites and ſolemnities thereunto belonging, pretend that ſuch tolerations haue riſen from a falſe interpretation which *certaine men* haue made of the ſcripture, grounding a neceſſitie of externall baptiſme vpon the words of our Sauiour Chriſt, *Vnleſſe a man be borne againe of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdome of heauen.* For by *water and the Spirit* we are in that place to vnderſtand (as they imagin) no more then if the Spirit alone had bin mentioned and water not ſpoken of. Which they thinke is plaine, becauſe elſewhere it is not improbable that *the holie Ghoſt and fier* do but ſignifie the holie Ghoſt in operation reſembling fier. Whereupon they conclude, that ſeeing fire in one place may be, therefore water in an other place is but a metaphor, Spirit the interpretation thereof, and ſo the words do only meane, that vnleſſe a man be borne againe of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdome of heauen. I hold it for a moſt infallible rule in expoſitions of ſacred ſcripture, that where a litterall conſtruction will ſtand, the fartheſt from the letter is commonly the worſt. There is nothing more dangerous then this licentious and deluding arte, which changeth the meaning of words, as Alchymie doth or would do the ſubſtance of metals, maketh of any thing what it liſteth, and bringeth in the end all truth to nothing. Or howſoeuer ſuch voluntarie exerciſe of wit might be borne with otherwiſe, yet in places which vſually ſerue, as this doth concerning regeneration by water and the holie Ghoſt, to be alleaged for grounds and principles, leſſe is permitted. To hide the generall conſent of antiquitie agreeing in the literall interpretation, they cunningly affirme that *certaine* haue taken thoſe words as meant of materiall water, when they know that of all the ancient there is not one to be named that euer did otherwiſe either expound or alleadge the place then as implying externall baptiſme. Shall that which hath alwayes [b] receiued this and no other conſtruction be now diſguiſed with a toy of noueltie? Muſt we needes at the only ſhew of a criticall conceipt without any more deliberation, vtterly condemne them of error, which will not admit that fier in the words of Iohn is quenched with the name of the holie Ghoſt, or with the name of the Spirit, water dryed vp in the words of Chriſt? When the letter of the law hath two things plainely and expreſſely ſpecified water,

T.C. lib. 1. pag. 145. Priuate baptiſme firſt roſe vpon a falſe interpretation of the place of S. Iohn. 3. 5. *Vnleſſe a man be borne againe of water and of the Spirit*: and where certaine do interpret the word *water* for the materiall and elementall water, when as our Sauiour Chriſt taketh water there by a borrowed ſpeech for the Spirit of God, the effect whereof it ſhadoweth out. For euen as in another place *Matth. 3. 11.* by fier and the Spirit, he meaneth nothing but the Spirit of God, which purgeth and purifieth as the fier doth: So in this place by water and the Spirit, he meaneth nothing els but the Spirit of God, which clenſeth the filth of ſinne, and cooleth the broyling heate of an vnquiet conſcience, as water waſheth the thing which is foule, and quencheth the heate of the fire.

b *Minime ſunt mutanda qua interpretationem certam ſemper habuerunt. D. lib. 1. tit. 2. lib. 33.*

water, and the *Spirit*; water as a dutie required on our partes, the Spirit as a gift which God beſtoweth; there is danger in preſuming ſo to interpret it, as if the clauſe which concerneth our ſelues were more then needeth. We may by ſuch rare expoſitions attaine perhaps in the end to be thought wittie, but with ill aduiſe. Finally if at [a] the time, when that baptiſme which was meant by Iohn, came to be reallie and truly performed by Chriſt himſelfe, we finde the Apoſtles that had bene, as we are, before baptiſed, new baptized with the holie Ghoſt, and in this their later baptiſme as well a [b] viſible deſcent of fier, as a ſecret miraculous infuſion of the Spirit; if on vs he accompliſh likewiſe the heauenly worke of our new birth not with the Spirit alone but with water thereunto adioyned, ſith the faithfulleſt expounders of his words are his owne deedes, let that which his hand hath manifeſtly wrought declare what his ſpeech did doubtfully vtter.

a *Act.1.3.* Iohn baptized with water, but you ſhall within few dayes be baptized with the holie Ghoſt.
b *Act.2.3.*

59 To this they adde, that as we erre by following a wrong conſtruction of the place before alleaged, ſo our ſecond ouerſight is, that we thereupon inferre a neceſſitie ouer rigorous and extreame. The true neceſſitie of baptiſme a fewe propoſitions conſidered will ſoone decide. All things which either are knowne [c] *cauſes* or ſet *meanes*, whereby any great good is vſually procured, or men deliuered from grieuous euill, the ſame we muſt needes confeſſe neceſſarie. And if *regeneration* were not in this very ſenſe a thing neceſſarie to eternall life, would Chriſt himſelfe haue taught Nichodemus that to ſee the kingdome of God is [d] impoſſible, ſauing only for thoſe men which are borne from aboue? His words following in the next ſentence are a proofe ſufficient that to our regeneration *his Spirit* is no leſſe [e] neceſſarie then regeneration itſelfe neceſſarie vnto life. Thirdly, vnleſſe as the Spirit is a neceſſarie inward cauſe, ſo *water* were a neceſſarie outward meane to our regeneration, what conſtruction ſhould we giue vnto thoſe words wherein we are ſaid to be new borne, and that ἐξ ὕδατος, euen of *water*? Why are we taught that [f] with water God doth purifie and clenſe his Church? Wherefore do the Apoſtles of Chriſt terme baptiſme [g] a bath of regeneration? What purpoſe had they in giuing men aduiſe to receiue outward baptiſme, and in perſwading them it did auaile [h] to remiſſion of ſinnes? If outward baptiſme were a cauſe in it ſelfe poſſeſſed of that power either naturall or ſupernaturall, without the preſent operation whereof no ſuch effect could poſſiblie grow, it muſt then follow, that ſeeing effects do neuer preuent the neceſſarie cauſes out of which they ſpring, no man could euer receiue grace before baptiſme: which being apparently both knowne and alſo confeſt to be otherwiſe in many particulars, although in the reſt we make not baptiſme a cauſe of grace, yet the grace which is giuen them with their

What kinde of neceſſitie in outward baptiſme hath bene gathered by the words of our Sauiour Chriſt, and what the true neceſſitie thereof indeede is. T.C.lib.1.pa.143. Secondly this error [of priuat baptiſme] came by a falſe and vnneceſſary concluſion drawne of that place. For although the ſcripture ſhould ſay that none can be ſaued but thoſe which haue the Spirit of God, and are baptized with materiall and elementall water, yet ought it to be vnderſtanded of thoſe which can conueniently and orderly be brought to baptiſme, as the ſcripture ſaying that who ſo doth not belieue the Goſpell is condemned alreadie, *Iohn 3.18.* meaneth this ſentence of thoſe which can heare the Goſpell and haue diſcretion to vnderſtand it when they heare it, and cannot heere ſhut vnder this condemnation either thoſe that be borne deafe, and ſo remaine, or little infants, or naturall fooles that haue no wit to conceiue what is preached.

c Ἀναγκαῖον λέγεται οὗ ἄνευ οὐκ ἐνδέχεται ζῆν ὡς συναίτιον· καὶ ὧν ἄνευ τὸ ἀγαθὸν μὴ ἐνδέχεται εἶναι ἢ γίνεσθαι, ἢ τι κακὸν ἀποβαλεῖν, ἢ περιθλῖψαι. *Neceſſarium id dicitur ſine quo vt concauſa fieri non poteſt vt viuatur: & ea ſine quibus fieri nequit vt bonum aut ſit aut fiat; vel malum aliquod amoueatur, aut non adſit. Ariſt. Metaph. 5.ca.5.*
d *Ioh.3.3.*
e *5.*
f *Eph.5.26.*
g *Tit.3.5.*
h *Act.2.38.*

a baptiſme doth ſo farre-forth depend on the very outward ſacrament, that God will haue it imbraced not only as a ſigne or token what we receiue, but alſo as an inſtrument or meane whereby we receiue grace, becauſe baptiſme is a ſacrament which God hath inſtituted in his Church, to the end that they which receiue the ſame might thereby be b incorporated into Chriſt, and ſo through his moſt pretious merit obteine as well that ſauing grace of imputation which taketh away c all former giltines, as alſo that d infuſed diuine vertue of the holie Ghoſt, which giueth to the powers of the ſoule their firſt diſpoſition towards future newnes of life. There are that eleuate too much the ordinarie and immediate meanes of life, relying wholie vpon the bare conceipt of that eternall election, which notwithſtanding includeth a ſubordination of meanes without which wee are not actuallie brought to inioy what God ſecretly did intend, and therefore to build vpon Gods election if we keepe not our ſelues to the waies which he hath appointed for men to walke in, is but a ſelfe-deceiuing vanitie. When the Apoſtle ſaw men called to the participation of Ieſus Chriſt, after the Goſpell of God embraced and the ſacrament of life receiued, he feareth not e then to put them in the number of elect Saincts, he f then accompteth them deliuered from death, and cleane purged from all ſinne. Till then notwithſtanding their preordination vnto life which none could know of ſauing God, what were they in the Apoſtles owne g accompt but children of wrath as well as others, plaine aliens altogether without hope, ſtrangers vtterly without God in this preſent world? So that by Sacraments and other ſenſible tokens of grace we may boldly gather that he, whoſe mercie vouchſafeth now to beſtow the meanes, hath alſo long ſithence intended vs that whereunto they leade. But let vs neuer thinke it ſafe to preſume of our owne laſt end by bare coniecturall collections of his firſt intent and purpoſe, the meanes failing that ſhould come betweene. Predeſtination bringeth not to life, without the grace of externall h vocation, wherein our baptiſme is implied. For as we are not naturallie men without birth, ſo neither are we Chriſtian men in the eye of the Church of God but by new birth, nor according to the manifeſt ordinarie courſe of diuine diſpenſation new borne, but by that baptiſme which both declareth and maketh vs Chriſtians. In which reſpect we iuſtly hold it to be the dore of our actuall enterance into Gods houſe, the firſt apparent i beginning of life, a ſeale perhaps to the k grace of *election* before receiued, but to our ſanctification heere a ſtep that hath not any before it. There were of the old Valentinian heretiques ſome, which had knowledge in ſuch admiration, that to it they aſcribed all, and ſo deſpiſed the ſacraments of Chriſt, pretending

a *Fideles ſalutem ex iſtis elemẽtis non quærunt, etiamſi ex iſtis quærunt. Non enim iſta tribuunt quod per iſta tribuitur. Hugo de Sacram. l. 1. c. 3*

b *Suſceptus à Chriſto Chriſtumque ſuſcipiens non idem fit poſt lauacrum qui ante baptiſmum fuit, ſed corpus regenerati fit caro crucifixi. Leo ſerm. 4. de paſ. Dom.*

c *Caro abluitur vt anima emaculetur. Tertul. de carn. reſur. Homo per aquam baptiſmi licet aforis idem eſſe videatur intus tamen alter efficitur, cum peccato natus ſine peccato renaſcitur, prioribus perit, ſuccedentibus proficit, deterioribus exuitur, in meliora innouatur, perſona tingitur & natura mutatur. Euſeb. Emiſ. de Epiph. homil. 3.* Τρισσὼν γόνησιν ἡμῖν οἶδεν ὁ λόγος, τὸν ἐκ σώματος, τὸν ἐκ βαπτίσματος, τὸν ἐξ ἀναστάσεως. Αὕτη μὲν ἡ τοῦ βαπτίσματος χάρις καὶ δύναμις οὐ κόσμου κατακλυσμὸν ὡς πάλαι, τῆς δὲ τοῦ καθ' ἕκαστον ἁμαρτίας κάθαρσιν ἔχουσα. *Gregor. homil. de ſanc. bapt.*

d *Vnda genitalis auxilio ſuperioris aui labe deterſa in expiatum pectus ac purum deſuper ſe lumen infundit. Cypr. epiſt. ad Donat.* Οὐ μόνον τῶν παλαιῶν ἁμαρτημάτων δωρεῖται τὸν ἄφεσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ἐλπίδα τῶν ἐπαγγελμένων ἐντίθησιν ἀγαθῶν, καὶ τοῦ δεσποτικοῦ θανάτου καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως καθίσησι κοινωνούς, καὶ τῆς τοῦ πνεύματος δωρεᾶς τὸν μετουσίαν χαρίζεται. *Theodoret. Epito. diuin. dogmat. Baptiſari eſt purgari à ſordibus peccatorum, & donari varia Dei gratia ad vitam nouam & innocentem. Confeſſ. Heluet. cap. 20.*

e *Eph. 1. 1.*

f *5. 8.*

g *2. 3. 12.*

h *Rom. 8. 30.*

i Ἀρχὴ μοι ζωῆς τὸ βάπτισμα. *Baſil. de Sp. S. ca. 10.*

k T. C. lib. 3. page 134. He which is not a Chriſtian be-

pretending that as ignorance had made vs ſubiect to all miſerie, ſo the full redemption of the inward man, and the worke of our reſtauration, muſt needes belong vnto [a] *knowledge only*. They draw very neere vnto this error, who fixing wholie their mindes on the knowne neceſſitie of faith [b] imagin that nothing but faith is neceſſarie for the attainement of all grace. Yet is it a branch of beliefe that ſacraments are in their place no leſſe required then beliefe it ſelfe. For when our Lord and Sauiour promiſeth eternall life, is it any otherwiſe then as he promiſed reſtitution of health vnto Naaman the Syrian, namely with this condition [c] *Waſh and be cleane?* or as to them which were ſtoong of Serpents, health by [d] beholding the braſen Serpent? If Chriſt himſelfe which giueth ſaluation doe [e] require baptiſme, it is not for vs that looke for ſaluation to ſound and examine him whether vnbaptiſed men may be ſaued, but ſeriouſly to [f] doe that which is required, and religiouſly to feare the danger which may growe by the want thereof. Had Chriſt only declared his will to haue all men baptiſed and not acquainted vs with any cauſe why baptiſme is neceſſarie, our ignorance in the reaſon of that he inioyneth might perhaps haue hindered ſomewhat the forwardnes of our obedience thereunto: whereas now being taught that baptiſme is neceſſarie to take away ſinne, how haue wee the feare of God in our hearts if care of deliuering mens ſoules from ſinne do not moue vs to vſe all meanes for their baptiſme? [g] Pelagius which denyed vtterly the guilt of originall ſinne, and *in that reſpect* the neceſſitie of baptiſme, did notwithſtanding both baptiſe infants, and acknowledge their baptiſme neceſſarie for *entrance into the kingdome of God*. Now the lawe of Chriſt which in theſe conſiderations maketh baptiſme neceſſarie, muſt be conſtred and vnderſtood according to rules of [h] naturall equitie. Which rules if they themſelues did not follow in expounding the lawe of God, would they euer be able to proue that [i] the ſcripture in ſaying *Whoſo beleeueth not the Goſpell of Chriſt is condemned alreadie, meaneth this ſentence of thoſe which can heare the Goſpell, and haue diſcretion when they heare to vnderſtand it, neither ought it to be applyed vnto infants, deafe men and fooles?* That which teacheth them thus to interpret the lawe of Chriſt is naturall equitie. And (becauſe equitie ſo teacheth) it is on all parts gladly confeſt that *there may be in diuers caſes* life by vertue of inward baptiſme euen where outward is not found. So that if any queſtion be made, it is but about the boundes and limits of this poſſibilitie. For example, to thinke that a man, whoſe baptiſme the crowne of martyrdome preuenteth, doth looſe, in that caſe, the happines which ſo many thouſands enioy, that only haue had the grace to belieue, and not the honor to ſeale the teſtimonie thereof with death, were almoſt barbarous. Againe, [k] when ſome certaine opinatiue men in S. Barnards time began priuatly to hold that, becauſe our Lord hath ſayd, *Vnleſſe a man be borne againe of water*, therefore life, without either actuall baptiſme *or martyrdome* in ſtead of baptiſme, cannot *poſſiblie* be obteined at the hands of God: Bernard conſidering that the ſame equitie which had moued them to thinke ~~that~~ the neceſ-

fore he come to receiue baptiſme, cannot be made a Chriſtian by baptiſme, which is only the ſeale of the grace of God before receiued.

a *Irena. contra hæreſ. lib. 1. ca. 18.*

b *Hic ſceleſtiſſimus illis pronuntiat quæſtionem. Adeo dicunt baptiſmum non eſſe neceſſarium quibus fides ſatis eſt. Tertul. de baptiſ.*

Huic nulla proderit fides qui cum poſſit non percepit ſacramentum. Bernard. epiſt. 70. ad Hugon.

c *2. Reg. 5. 14.*

d *Num. 21. 8.*

e *Marc. 16. 16.*

f *Inſtitutio ſacramentorum quantum ad Deum authorem diſpenſationis eſt, quantũ vero ad hominẽ obedientem neceſſitatis. Quoniam in poteſtate Dei eſt præter iſta hominem ſaluare, ſed in poteſtate hominis non eſt ſine iſtis ad ſalutem peruenire. Hug. de ſacra. lib. 1. ca. 5.*

g *Pelagius aſſerere arreptа impietate præſumit non propter vitam ſed propter regnum cælorum baptiſmum paruulis conferendum. Euſeb. Emiſ. hom. 5. de Paſch.*

h *Benignius leges interpretanda ſunt, quo voluntas earum conſeruetur. l. Benign. D. de legib. & Senatuſc.*

i T. C. lib. 1, page 143.

k *Bernard. epiſt. 70. ad Hugon.*

ſitie

ſitie of Baptiſme no barre againſt the happie eſtate of vnbaptiſed Martyrs is as forcible for the warrant of their ſaluation, in whome, although there be not the ſufferings of holie Martyrs, there are the vertues which ſanctified thoſe ſufferings and made them pretious in Gods ſight, profeſſed himſelfe an enimie to that ſeueritie and ſtrictnes which admitteth no exception but of Martyrs only. For, ſayth he, if a man deſirous of baptiſme be ſuddainely cut off by death, in whome there wanted neither ſound faith, deuout hope, nor ſincere charitie (God be mercifull vnto me and pardon me if I erre) but verely of ſuch a ones ſaluation in whome there is no other defect beſides his faltles lacke of baptiſme, deſpaire I cannot, nor induce my minde to thinke his faith voide, his hope confounded, and his charitie fallen to nothing, only becauſe he hath not that which not contempt but impoſſibilitie withholdeth. *Tell me I beſeech you* (ſayth Ambroſe) *what there is in any of vs more then to will, and to ſeeke for our owne good. Thy ſeruant Valentinian O Lord did both.* (For Valentinian the Emperour dyed before his purpoſe to receiue baptiſme could take effect.) *And is it poſſible that he which had purpoſely thy Spirit giuen him to deſire grace, ſhould not receiue thy grace which that ſpirit did deſire? Doth it moue you that the outward accuſtomed ſolemnities were not done? As though conuerts that ſuffer martyrdome before baptiſme did thereby forfeit their right to the crowne of eternall glorie in the kingdome of heauen. If the bloud of Martyrs in that caſe be their baptiſme, ſurely his religious deſire of baptiſme ſtandeth him in the ſame ſtead.* It hath bene therefore conſtantly held as well touching other belieuers as martyrs, that baptiſme taken away by neceſſitie, is ſupplyed by deſire of baptiſme, becauſe with [a] equitie this opinion doth beſt ſtand. Touching infants which dye vnbaptiſed, ſith they neither haue the ſacrament it ſelfe, nor any ſenſe or conceipt thereof, the iudgement of many hath gone hard againſt them. But yet ſeeing grace is not abſolutely tyed vnto ſacraments, and beſides ſuch is the lenitie of God that vnto things altogether impoſſible he bindeth no man, but where wee cannot doe what is inioyned vs accepteth our will to doe in ſtead of the deede it ſelfe; Againe, for as much as there is in their Chriſtian parents and in the Church of God a preſumed deſire that the ſacrament of baptiſme might be giuen them yea a purpoſe alſo that it ſhall be giuen, remorſe of equitie hath moued diuers of the [b] ſchoole diuines in theſe conſiderations ingenuouſlie to graunt, that God almercifull to ſuch as are not in themſelues able to deſire baptiſme imputeth the ſecret deſire that others haue in their behalfe, and accepteth the ſame as theirs rather then caſteth away their ſoules for that which no man is able to help. And of the will of God to impart his grace vnto infants without baptiſme, in that caſe the very circumſtance of their naturall birth may ſerue as a iuſt argument, whereupon it is not to be miſliked that men in charitable preſumption do gather a great likelihood of their ſaluation, to whome the benefit of Chriſtian parentage being giuen, the reſt that ſhould follow is preuented by ſome ſuch caſualtie as man hath himſelfe no power to auoid. For we are plainely taught of God, [c] that the ſeede of faithfull parentage is holie from the very birth. Which albeit we may not ſo vnderſtand, as if the children of belieuing parents were without ſinne, or grace from baptiſed parents deriued by propagation,

[a] *Qui ad tolerãdam omnem pro Dei gloria iniuriam ſemel dicauit animũ ſi martyrium mihi videtur impleſſe. Summi ergo meriti eſt ſemel fixiſſe ſententiam, atque ideo vt dixi ratio principatum obtinet paſſionis, & ſi ſors perpetiendi deneget facultatem, pertulit tamen cuncta qua voluit pati. Ioſeph. lib. de imper. ration.*

[b] *Gerſ. ſerm. in natiuit. Beatæ Mar. Caietan. in 3. Tho. q. 68. art. 1. & 2. Biel. in 4. Senten. d. 4. q. 2. Telman. Segeberg. de ſacr. c. 1. Eliſius Neapol. in clyp. aduerſ. hæreſ. ca. de baptiſ.*

[c] *1. Cor. 7. 12.*

or

or God by couenant and promiſe tyed to ſaue any in meere regard of their parents beliefe: yet ſeeing that to all profeſſors of the name of Chriſt this preheminence aboue infidels is freely giuen, the fruite of their bodies bringeth into the world with it a preſent intereſt and right to thoſe meanes wherewith the ordinance of Chriſt is that his Church ſhall be ſanctified, it is not to be thought that he which as it were from heauen hath nominated and deſigned them vnto holines by ſpeciall priuiledge of their very birth, will himſelfe depriue them of regeneration and inward grace, only becauſe neceſſitie depriueth them of outward ſacraments. In which caſe it were the part of charitie to hope, and to make men rather partiall then cruell iudges, if we had not thoſe faire apparencies which heere we haue. Wherefore a neceſſitie there is of receiuing, and a neceſſitie of adminiſtring the ſacrament of baptiſme; the one peraduenture not ſo abſolute as ſome haue thought, but out of all peraduenture the other more ſtreight and narrowe, then that the Church which is by office a mother vnto ſuch as craue at her hands the ſacred myſterie of their new birth, ſhould repell them and ſee them dye vnſatiſfied of theſe their ghoſtlie deſires, rather then giue them their ſoules rites with omiſſion of thoſe things that ſerue [a] but onlie for the more conuenient and orderly adminiſtration thereof. For as on the one ſide we graunt that thoſe ſentences of holie ſcripture which make Sacraments moſt neceſſarie to eternall life, are no preiudice to their ſaluation that want them by ſome ineuitable neceſſitie, and without any fault of their owne; ſo it ought in reaſon to be likewiſe acknowledged, that for as much as our Lord himſelfe maketh baptiſme neceſſarie, neceſſarie whether we reſpect the good receiued by baptiſme or the teſtimonie thereby yeelded vnto God of that humilitie and meeke obedience, which repoſing wholie itſelfe on the abſolute authoritie of his commandement, and on the truth of his heauenly promiſe, doubteth not but from creatures deſpicable in their owne condition and ſubſtance to obteine grace of ineſtimable value, or rather not from them but from him, yet by them as by his appointed meanes, howſoeuer he by the ſecret wayes of his owne incomprehenſible mercie may be thought to ſaue without baptiſme, this cleereth not the Church from giltines of bloud, if through her ſuperfluous ſcrupuloſitie lets and impediments of leſſe regard ſhould cauſe a grace of ſo great moment to be withheld, wherein our mercileſſe ſtrictnes may be our owne harme, although not theirs towards whome we ſhew it; and we for the hardnes of our harts may periſh, albeit they through Gods vnſpeakeable mercie do liue. God which did not afflict that innocent, whoſe Circumciſion Moſes had ouer-long differred, tooke reuenge vpon [b] Moſes himſelfe for the iniurie which was done through ſo great neglect, giuing vs thereby to vnderſtand that they whome Gods owne mercie ſaueth without vs are on our partes notwithſtanding and as much as in vs lyeth euen deſtroyed, when vnder vnſufficient pretenſes wee defraude them of ſuch ordinarie outward helps as wee ſhould exhibit. Wee haue for Baptiſme no day ſet as the Iewes had for Circumciſion, neither haue wee by the law of God but onely by the Churches diſcretion a place thereunto appointed. Baptiſme therefore euen in the meaning of the lawe of Chriſt

[a] T.C. lib. 3. pa. 218. It is in queſtion whether there be any ſuch neceſſitie of baptiſme as that for the miniſtring thereof the common decent orders ſhould be broken.

[b] *Exod. 4. 24.*

belongeth vnto infants capable thereof from the [a] very inſtant of their birth. Which if they haue not howſoeuer, rather then looſe it by being put off becauſe the time, the place, or ſome ſuch like circumſtance doth not ſollemnely enough concurre, the Church as much as in her lieth, wilfully caſteth away their ſoules.

[a] *In omnibus obligationibus in quibus dies nõ ponitur, præſens dies debetur. lib. 14 D. de reg. iur.*

What things in baptiſme haue bene diſpenſed with by the Fathers reſpecting neceſsitie.

61 The auncient it may be were too ſeuere, and made the neceſſitie of baptiſme more abſolute then reaſon would, as touching infants. But will [b] any man ſay that they, notwithſtanding their too much rigor herein, did not in that reſpect ſuſtaine and tolerate defects of locall or of perſonall ſolemnities belonging to the ſacrament of baptiſme? The Apoſtles themſelues did neither vſe nor appoint for baptiſme any certaine time. The Church for generall baptiſme heretofore made choice of two chiefe dayes in the yeare, the feaſt of Eaſter, and the feaſt of Pentecoſt. Which cuſtome, when certaine Churches in Cicilie began to violate without cauſe, they were by [c] Leo Biſhop of Rome aduiſed rather to conforme themſelues to the reſt of the world in things ſo reaſonable, then to offend mens mindes through needleſſe ſingularitie: howbeit alwayes prouiding that neuertheleſſe in apparent perill of death, danger of ſiege, ſtreights of perſecution, feare of ſhipwrack and the like exigents, no reſpect of times ſhould cauſe this ſingular defenſe of true ſafetie to be denyed vnto any. This of Leo did but confirme that ſentence which [d] Victor had many yeares before giuen, extending the ſame exception as well vnto *places* as times. That which S. Auguſtine ſpeaketh of women haſting to bring their childrẽ to the Church when they ſaw danger, is a weake proofe that *when neceſsitie did not leaue them ſo much time*, it was not then permitted them neither to make a Church of their own home. Which anſwere diſchargeth likewiſe their example of a ſicke Iew carried in bed to the place of baptiſme, and not baptiſed at home in priuate. The cauſe why ſuch kinde of baptiſme barred men afterwards from entring into holie orders, the reaſon wherefore it was obiected againſt Nouatian, in what reſpect and how farre forth it did diſable, may be gathered by the twelfth Canon ſet downe in the Councill of Neocæſarea after this manner. *A man which hath beene baptized in ſicknes, is not after to be ordeined Prieſt.* For it may be thought, *that ſuch do rather at that time, becauſe they ſee no other remedie, then of a voluntarie minde lay hold on the Chriſtian faith, vnleſſe their true and ſincere meaning be made afterwards the more manifeſt, or elſe the ſcarcitie of others inforce the Church to admit them.* They bring in Iuſtinians imperiall Conſtitution, but to what purpoſe, ſeeing it only forbiddeth men to haue the myſteries of God adminiſtred in their priuat Chappels, leaſt vnder that pretenſe heretiques ſhould do ſecretly thoſe things which were vnlawfull? In which conſideration he therefore commandeth that if they would vſe thoſe priuat oratories otherwiſe then only for

[b] T. C. lib. 1. pa. 146. The authors themſelues of that error that they cannot be ſaued which are not baptiſed, did neuer ſeke no remedie of the miſchiefe in womens or priuate baptiſme. T. C. lib. 3. pa. 219. What playner teſtimonie can there be then that of Auguſtine which noteth the vſe of the Church to haue bene to come to the Church with their childrẽ in danger of death, and that when ſome had opinion that their children could not be ſaued if they were not baptized. *Contr. lit. Parm. li. 2. ca. 13.* I would alſo know of him what he will anſwere to that which is noted of a chriſtian Iew deſperatly ſicke of the palſey, that was with his bed caried to the place of baptiſme. *Socr. li. 7. ca. 4.* What will he anſwere to this that thoſe which were baptized in their beds were thereby made vnapt to haue any place amongſt the clergie [as they call them] doth it not leaue a note of infamie in thoſe which had procured that baptiſme ſhould be miniſtred in priuat houſes? *Euſeb. lib. 6 ca. 43.* What vnto the Emperours decree which vpon authoritie of the auncient lawes, and of the Apoſtles, forbiddeth that the holie things ſhould be adminiſtred in any mans priuat houſe? *Iuſt. Nouel. 57.* [c] *Leo epiſt. 4. ad Epiſ. Sicil.* [d] *Vict. epiſt. ad Theoph. Alexand. in Pontif. Damaſ.*

for their priuat prayers, the Biſhop ſhould appoint them a Clarke whome they might entertaine for that purpoſe. This is plaine by later Conſtitutions made in the time of Leo: [a] *It was thought good* (ſayth the Emperour) *in their iudgement which haue gone before, that in priuat Chappels none ſhould celebrate the holie Communion but Prieſts belonging vnto greater Churches. Which order they tooke as it ſeemeth for the cuſtodie of religion, leaſt men ſhould ſecretly receiue from heretiques, inſtead of the foode the bane of their ſoules, pollution in place of expiation.* [b] Againe, *Whereas a ſacred Canon of the ſixt reuerend Synod requireth baptiſme as others haue likewiſe the holie ſacrifices and myſteries to be celebrated only in temples hallowed for publique vſe and not in priuate oratories; which ſtrict decrees appeare to haue bene made heretofore in regard of heretiques, which entered cloſely into ſuch mens houſes as fauoured their opinions, whome vnder colour of performing with them ſuch religious offices they drew from the ſoundnes of true religion: now that peruerſe opinions through the grace of Almightie God are extinct and gone, the cauſe of former reſtraints being taken away, we ſee no reaſon but that priuat Oratories may hence forward inioy that libertie which to haue graunted them heretofore had not bin ſafe.* In ſumme, all theſe things alleaged are nothing, nor will it euer be proued while the world doth continue, but that the practiſe of the Church in caſes of extreme neceſſitie hath made for priuate baptiſme alwayes more then againſt it. Yea, *Baptiſme by any man in caſe of neceſſitie*, was the [c] voyce of the whole world heretofore. Neither is Tertullian, Epiphanius, Auguſtine, or any other of the auncient againſt it. The boldneſſe of ſuch as pretending *Teclaes* example, tooke openlie vpon them both Baptiſme, and all other publique functions of Prieſthood, Tertullian ſeuerely controlleth, ſaying: [d] *To giue Baptiſme is in truth the Biſhops right. After him it belongeth vnto Prieſts and Deacons, but not to them without authoritie from him receyued. For ſo the honor of the Church requireth, which being kept, preſerueth peace. Were it not in this reſpect the laitie might do the ſame, all ſorts might giue euen as all ſorts receiue.* But becauſe emulation is the mother of ſchiſmes, *let it content thee* (which art of the order of lay men) *to do it in neceſſitie when the ſtate of time or place or perſon thereunto compelleth. For then is their boldneſſe priuiledged that helpe when the circumſtance of other mens dangers craueth it.* What he graunteth generally to lay perſons of the houſe of God, the ſame we cannot ſuppoſe he denieth to any ſort or ſexe conteyned vnder that name, vnleſſe himſelfe did reſtraine the limites of his owne ſpeech, eſpeciallie ſeeing that Tertullians rule of interpretation is [e] elſewhere, *Specialties are ſignified vnder that which is generall, becauſe they are therein comprehended.* All which Tertullian doth [f] denie is that women may be called to beare, or publiquely take vpon them to execute offices of eccleſiaſticall order, whereof none but men are capable. As for Epiphanius he ſtriketh on the very ſelfeſame anuile with Tertullian. And in neceſſitie if S. Auguſtine allow as much vnto lay men as Tertullian doth, his *not mentioning* of women is but a ſlender proofe that his meaning was to exclude women. Finally, the Councill of Carthage likewiſe, although it make no expreſſe ſubmiſſion, may be very well preſumed willing to ſtoupe as other poſitiue ordinances doe to the countermaunds of neceſſitie. Iudge therefore what the auncient would haue thought if in their dayes it had bene heard which is publiſhed in ours,

a *Leo conſt. 4.*
b *Idē Conſt. 15.*
c T. C. lib. 1. pag. 145. To allow of womens baptiſing is not only contrarie to the learned writers now, but alſo contrarie to all learned antiquitie, and contrary to the practiſe of the Church whileſt there was any tolerable eſtate. *Tertull. de Virgin. Velland. & lib de baptiſ. Epipha. lib. 1. & lib. 2. cont. hareſ.* S. Auguſtine although he ſeme to allow of a lay mans baptiſme in time of neceſſitie *cont. epiſt. Parmen lib. 2. ca. 13.* yet there he mentioneth not womens baptiſme: and in the fourth Councill of Carthage ca. 100. it is ſimply without exception decreed that a womā ought not to baptiſe.
d *Tertul. de baptiſ.*
e *Subiectum eſt generali ſpeciale. In ipſo ſignificatur quia in ipſo continetur. Tertul. de Velland Virg. Poſito genere ſupponitur ſpecies. Azo. in lib. 2. C. de tranſact.*
f *Non permittitur mulieri in eccleſia loqui, ſed nec docere, nec tingere, nec*

ours, [a] that becauſe, *The ſubſtance of the Sacrament doth chiefly depend on the inſtitution of God, which is the forme and as it were the life of the Sacrament*, therefore firſt, *if the whole inſtitution be not kept, it is no Sacrament*; and ſecondly, if baptiſme be priuate his inſtitution is broken, in as much as *according to the orders which he hath ſet for baptiſme it ſhould be done in the congregation*, from whoſe ordinance in this point *wee ought not to ſwarue, although we knowe that infants ſhould be aſſuredly damned without baptiſme*. O ſir, you that would ſpurne thus at ſuch as in caſe of ſo dreadfull extremitie ſhould lye proſtrate before your feete, you that would turne away your face from them at the houre of their moſt neede, you that would damme vp your eares and harden your heart as iron againſt the vnreſiſtable cryes of ſupplicants calling vpon you for mercye with termes of ſuch inuocation as that moſt dreadfull perplexitie might miniſter if God by miracle did open the mouthes of infants to expreſſe their ſuppoſed neceſſitie, ſhould firſt imagin your ſelfe in their caſe and them in yours. This done, let their ſupplications proceede out of your mouth, and your anſwere out of theirs. Would you then contentedly heare, *My ſonne the rites and ſolemnities of baptiſme muſt be kept, we may not* [b] *do ill that good may come of it, neither are ſoules to be deliuered from eternall death and condemnation by breaking orders which Chriſt hath ſet*, would you in their caſe your ſelfe be ſhaken off with theſe anſwers, and not rather imbrace incloſed with both your armes a ſentence which now is no Goſpell vnto you, [c] *I will haue mercy and not ſacrifice?* To acknowledge Chriſts inſtitution the ground of both ſacraments, I ſuppoſe no Chriſtian man will refuſe: for it giueth them their very nature, it appointeth the matter whereof they conſiſt, the forme of their adminiſtration it teacheth, and it bleſſeth them with that grace whereby to vs they are both pledges and inſtruments of life. Neuertheles ſeeing Chriſts inſtitution conteineth, beſides that which maketh complete the eſſence or nature, other things that only are parts as it were of the furniture of ſacraments, the difference betweene theſe two muſt vnfold that which the generall termes of indefinite ſpeech would confound. If the place appointed for baptiſme be a part of Chriſts inſtitution, it is but his inſtitution as *ſacrifice*, baptiſme his inſtitution as *mercie*, in this caſe. He which requireth both mercie and ſacrifice reiecteth his owne inſtitution of ſacrifice, where the offering of ſacrifice would hinder mercie from being ſhewed. Externall circumſtances euen in the holieſt and higheſt actions are but the [d] *leſſer things of the lawe*, whereunto thoſe actions themſelues being compared are *the greater*; and therefore as the greater are of ſuch importance that they *muſt be done*, ſo in that extremitie before ſuppoſed if our accompt of the leſſer which are *not to be omitted*, ſhould cauſe omiſſion of that which is more to be accompted of, were not this our ſtrict obedience to Chriſts inſtitution touching *Mint and Commin*, a diſobedience to his inſtitution concerning loue? But ſith no inſtitution of Chriſt hath ſo ſtrictly tyed baptiſme to publique aſſemblies as it hath done all men vnto baptiſme, away with theſe mercileſſe and bloudie ſentences, let them neuer be found ſtanding in the bookes and writings of a Chriſtian man, they ſauour not of Chriſt nor of his moſt gratious

and

offerre, nec vllius ſeruilis muneris nedum ſacerdotalis officij ſortem ſibi vendicare. Tertul. de Velād. Virgi.

[a] T.C. lib. 1. pa. 144. The ſubſtance of the ſacrament dependeth chiefly of the inſtitution and word of God, which is the forme and as it were the life of the ſacrament. T.C. lib. 1. pag. 144. Although part of the inſtitution be obſerued, yet if ỹ whole inſtitution be not it is no ſacrament. T.C. lib. 1. pag. 146. The orders which God hath ſet are, that it ſhould bee done in the congregation and by the Miniſter. T.C. lib. 1. pag. 146. And I will further ſay, that although that the infants which dye without baptiſme ſhould be aſſuredly damned, (which is moſt falſe) yet ought not the orders which God hath ſet in his Church be broken after this ſort.

[b] *Noſtro peccato alterius ſalutis conſulere non debemus. Aug. lib. cōt. mendā. cap. 17.*

[c] *Math. 9. 13.*

[d] *Math. 23. 23.*

and meeke ſpirit, but vnder colour of exact obedience they nouriſh crueltie and hardnes of hart.

62 To leaue priuate baptiſme therefore and to come vnto baptiſme by women, which [a] they ſay is no more a ſacrament, then any other ordinarie waſhing or bathing of mans bodie; the reaſon whereupon they ground their opinion herein is ſuch, as making baptiſme by women voyde, becauſe women are no Miniſters in the Church of God, muſt needes generallie annihilate the baptiſme of all vnto whome their conceipt ſhall applie this exception, whether it be in regard of ſexe, of qualitie, of inſufficiencie, or what ſoeuer. For if want of calling do fruſtrate baptiſme, they that baptiſe without calling doe nothing bee they women or men. To make women teachers in the houſe of God were a groſſe abſurditie, ſeeing [b] the Apoſtle hath ſayde, *I permit not a woman to teach*; And againe, [c] *Let your women in Churches bee ſilent*. Thoſe extraordinarie gifts of ſpeaking with toongs and prophecying, which God at that time did not onely beſtowe vpon men, but on women alſo, made it the harder to holde them confined with priuate boundes. Whereupon the Apoſtles ordinance was neceſſarie againſt womens publique admiſſion to teach. And becauſe when lawe hath begun ſome one thing or other well, it giueth good occaſion either to drawe by iudicious expoſition out of the very lawe it ſelfe, or to annexe to the law by authoritie and iuriſdiction things of like conueniencie, therefore [d] Clement extendeth this Apoſtolique Conſtitution to baptiſme. For (ſayth he) *if wee haue denyed them leaue to teach, how ſhould any man diſpenſe with nature and make them miniſters of holie things, ſeeing this vnskilfulnes is a part of the Græcians impietie, which for the ſeruice of women Goddeſſes haue women Prieſts?* I ſomewhat maruell that men which would not willinglie be thought to ſpeake or write but with good conſcience, dare hereupon openly auouch Clement for a [e] witneſſe, that *as when the Church began not onely to decline but to fall away from the ſinceritie of religion it borrowed a number of other prophanations of the Heathens, ſo it borrowed this, and would needes haue women Prieſts as the Heathens had, and that this was one occaſion of bringing baptiſme by women into the Church of God*. Is it not playne in theyr owne eyes that firſt by an euidence which forbiddeth women to be miniſters of Baptiſme, they endeuour to ſhewe how women were admitted vnto that function in the waine and declination of Chriſtian pietie; Secondly, that by an euidence reiecting the Heathens, and condemning them of impietie, they woulde prooue ſuch affection towardes Heathens as ordereth the affaires of the Church by the paterne of their example; and thirdly, that out of an euidence which nameth the Heathens as beeing in ſome part a reaſon why the Church had no women Prieſts, they gather the Heathens to haue beene one of the firſte occaſions why it had? So that throughout euery branch of this teſtimonie their iſſue is *yea*, and their euidence

Whether baptiſme by women be true baptiſme, good and effectuall to them that receiue it.

[a] T.C. lib. 1. page 144. On this point whether he be a Miniſter or no, dependeth not only the dignitie but alſo the being of the ſacrament. So that I take the baptiſme of women to be no more the holie ſacrament of baptiſme then any other dayly or ordinarie waſhing of the childe.

[b] *1. Tim. 2. 12.*

[c] *1. Tim. 14. 34*

[d] *Clem. Conſt. Apoſtol. lib. 3. ca. 9.*

[e] T.C. lib. 1. page 144.

euidence directlie *no*. But to womens baptiſme in priuat by occaſion of vrgent neceſſitie, the reaſons that only concerne ordinarie baptiſme in publike are no iuſt preiudice, neither can we by force thereof diſproue the practiſe of thoſe Churches which (neceſſitie requiring) allow Baptiſme in priuate to be adminiſtred by women. We may not from lawes that prohibit any thing with reſtraint conclude abſolute and vnlimited prohibitions. Although we denie not but they which vtterly forbid ſuch baptiſme may haue perhaps wherewith to iuſtifie their orders againſt it. For euen things lawfull are [a] well prohibited, when there is feare leaſt they make the way to vnlawfull more eaſie. And it may be the libertie of baptiſme by women at ſuch times doth ſometimes embolden the raſher ſort to do it where no ſuch neceſſitie is. But whether of permiſſion beſides law, or in preſumption againſt law they do it, is it thereby alltogether fruſtrate, voyd, and as though it were neuer giuen? They which haue not at the firſt their right baptiſme muſt of neceſſitie be rebaptiſed, becauſe the law of Chriſt tieth all men to receiue baptiſme. Iteration of baptiſme once giuen hath bene alwayes thought a manifeſt contempt of that auncient Apoſtolique Aphoriſme, [b] *One Lord, one faith, one baptiſme*, baptiſme not only one in as much as it hath euery where the ſame ſubſtance and offereth vnto all men the ſame grace, but one alſo for that it ought not to be receiued by any one man aboue once. We ſerue that Lord which is but one, becauſe no other can be ioyned with him: we embrace that faith which is but one, becauſe it admitteth no innouation: that baptiſme we receiue which is but one, becauſe it cannot be receiued often. For how ſhould we practiſe iteration of baptiſme, and yet teach that we are by baptiſme borne anew, that by baptiſme wee are admitted into the heauenly ſocietie of ſaincts, that thoſe things be reallie and effectuallie done by baptiſme which are no more poſſible to be often done [c] then a man can naturallie be often borne, or ciuillie be often adopted into any ones ſtocke and familie? This alſo is the cauſe why they that preſent vs vnto baptiſme are intitled for euer after our Parents in God, and the reaſon why there we receiue new names in token that by baptiſme we are made new creatures. As Chriſt hath therefore died and riſen from the dead but once, ſo the Sacrament which both extinguiſheth in him our former ſinne and beginneth in vs a new condition of life, is by one only actuall adminiſtration for euer auaileable, according to that in the Nicene Creede, *I beleeue one baptiſme for remiſſion of ſinnes*. And becauſe ſecond baptiſme was euer [d] abhord in the Church of God as a kind of inceſtuous birth, they that iterate baptiſme are driuen vnder ſome pretenſe or other to make the former baptiſme voyde. [e] Tertullian the firſt that propoſed to the Church, [f] Agrippinus the firſt in the Church that accepted, and againſt the vſe of the Church Nouatian the firſt that publiquely began to practiſe rebaptization, did it therefore vpon theſe two grounds, a true perſwaſion that baptiſme is neceſſarie, and a falſe that the baptiſme which others adminiſtred was no baptiſme. Nouatianus his conceipt was that none can adminiſter true baptiſme but the true Church of Ieſus Chriſt, that he and his followers alone were the Church, and for the reſt he accompted them wicked and prophane perſons, ſuch as by baptiſme could clenſe no man, vnleſſe they firſt did purifie themſelues, and reforme the faults wherewith

a *Licita prohibentur, ne ſi permitterentur eorum occaſione perueniatur ad illicita. l. neque tamen. Iuſt. de aſſeth. tut. l. Officium. D. de rei. vind.*

b *Epheſ. 4. 5.*

c *Vna eſt nativitas de terra, alia de cœlo; vna de carne, alia de Spiritu; vna de æternitate, alia de mortalitate; vna de maſculo & fœmina, alia de Deo & eccleſia. Sed ipſa dua ſingulares ſunt. Quomodo enim vterus nõ poteſt repeti, ſic nec baptiſmus iterari. Proſp. Senten 331. Eia fratres lacteum geniталis fontis ad laticem conuolate, vt ſemper vobis aqua ſufficiat, hoc ante omnia ſcientes quia hanc nec effundere licet nec vrſus haurire. Zeno Iuuit. ad font.*

d *Auguſt. de baptiſ. cont. Don. li. 2. c. 14.*

e *Tertul. de baptiſm.*

f *Cypr. epiſt. 71.*

wherewith he charged them. At which time [a] S.Cyprian with the greateſt part of African Biſhops, becauſe they likewiſe thought that none but only the true Church of God can baptiſe, and were of nothing more certainely perſwaded then that heretiques are as rotten branches cut off from the life and bodie of the true Church, gathered hereby that the Church of God both may with good conſideration and ought to reuerſe that baptiſme which is giuen by heretiques. Theſe held and practiſed their owne opinion, yet with great proteſtations often made that they neither loued awhit the leſſe, nor thought in any reſpect the worſe of them that were of a contrarie minde. In requitall of which ingenious moderation the reſt that withſtood them did it in peaceable ſort with very good regard had of them as of men in error but not in hereſie. The Biſhop of Rome againſt their nouelties vpheld as beſeemed him the auncient and true Apoſtolique Cuſtomes, till they which vnaduiſedly before had erred became in a manner all [b] reconciled friēds vnto truth, and ſaw that hereſie in the miniſters of baptiſme could no way euacuate the force thereof; [c] ſuch hereſie alone excepted, as by reaſon of vnſoundnes in the higheſt articles of Chriſtian faith, preſumed to change, and by changing to maime the ſubſtance, the forme of baptiſme. In which reſpect the Church did neither ſimplie diſanull, nor abſolutely ratifie baptiſme by heretiques. For the baptiſme which Nouatianiſts gaue ſtoode firme, where as they whome [d] Samoſatenians had baptiſed were rebaptiſed. It was likewiſe ordered in the [e] Councell of Arles, that if any Arian did reconcile himſelfe to the Church they ſhould admit him without new baptiſme, vnleſſe by examination they found him not baptiſed in the name of the Trinitie. Dionyſius Biſhop of Alexandria [f] maketh report how there liued vnder him a man of good reputation and of very auncient continuance in that Church, who being preſent at the rites of baptiſme, and obſeruing with better conſideration then euer before what was there done, came and with weeping ſubmiſſion craued of his Biſhop not to denye him baptiſme, the due of all which profeſſe Chriſt, ſeeing it had bene ſo long ſithence his euill hap to be deceiued by the fraude of heretiques, and at their hands (which till now he neuer throughlie and dulie waighed) to take a baptiſme full fraught with blaſphemous impieties, a baptiſme in nothing like vnto that which the true Church of Chriſt vſeth. The Biſhop greatly moued thereat, yet durſt not aduenture to rebaptiſe, but did the beſt he could to put him in good comfort vſing much perſwaſion with him not to trouble himſelfe with things which were paſt and gone, nor after ſo long continuance in the fellowſhip of Gods people to call now in queſtion his firſt entrance. The poore man that ſaw himſelfe in this ſort anſwered but not ſatiſfied, ſpent afterwards his life in continuall perplexitie, whereof the Biſhop remained fearefull to giue releaſe: perhaps too fearefull, if the baptiſme were ſuch as his owne declaration importeth. For that the ſubſtance whereof was rotten at the very firſt,

[a] *Euſeb. lib 7. ca 1.2.3. Cypr. epiſt 70. 71.72.73.74. 75.76.*

[b] *Illi ipſi Epiſcopi qui rebaptizandos hæreticos cum Cypriano ſtatuerant ad antiquam conſuetudinem reuoluti nouum emiſere decretum. Hieron. con. Luciſer. Vide & Auguſt. cont. Creſcon. lib. 3. ca. 2. 3. & epiſt. 48.*

[c] *Dixiſſe fieri non poſſe vt in falſo baptiſmate inquinatus abluat, immundus emundet, ſupplantator erigat, perditus liberet, reus veniam tribuat, damnatus abſoluat. Bene hæc omnia poterunt ad ſolos hæreticos pertinere, qui falſ auerunt ſymbolum, dum alter dixerit duos Deos cum Deus vnus ſit, alter patrem vult in perſona filij cognoſci, alter carnem ſubducens filio Dei per quam Deo reconciliatus eſt mundus: & cæteri huiuſmodi, qui à ſacramentis Catholicis alieni noſcuntur. Optat. lib. 1.*

[d] *Synod. Nicæ. ca 19.*

[e] *Synod. 1. Arelat. ca. 8.*

[f] *Euſeb. Eccleſ. hiſt. lib 7. ca. 8.*

firſt, is neuer by tract of time able to recouer ſoundnes. And where true baptiſme was not before giuen, the caſe of rebaptiſation is cleare. But by this it appeareth that Baptiſme is not voide in regard of hereſie, and therefore much leſſe through any *other morall* defect in the miniſter thereof. Vnder which ſecond pretenſe Donatiſts notwithſtanding tooke vpon them to make fruſtrate the Churches Baptiſme, and themſelues to rebaptiſe their owne free. For whereas ſome fortie yeares after the martyrdome of bleſſed Cyprian the Emperour Diocletian began to [a] perſecute the Church of Chriſt, and for the ſpeedier aboliſhment of their religion to burne vp their ſacred bookes, there were in the Church it ſelfe *Traditors* content to deliuer vp the bookes of God by compoſition, to the end their owne liues might be ſpared. Which men growing thereby odious to the reſt whoſe conſtancie was greater, it fortuned that after, when one Cæcilian was ordeined Biſhop in the Church of Carthage, whome others endeuoured in vaine to defeate by excepting againſt him as a *Traditor*, they whoſe accuſations could not preuaile, deſperately ioyned themſelues in one, and made a Biſhop of their owne crue, accompting from that day forward their faction the only true and ſincere Church. The firſt Biſhop on that part was Maiorinus, whoſe ſucceſſor Donatus being the firſt that wrote in defenſe of their ſchiſme, the birds that were hatched before by others haue their names from him. Arians and Donatiſts began both about one time. Which hereſies according to the different ſtrength of their owne ſinewes, wrought as hope of ſucceſſe led them, the one with the choiceſt wits, the other with the multitude ſo farre, that after long and troubleſome experience the perfecteſt view men could take of both was hardly able to induce any certaine determinate reſolution, whether error may do more by the curious ſubtletie of ſharp diſcourſe, or elſe by the meere appearance of zeale and deuout affection, the later of which two aides gaue Donatiſts beyond all mens expectation as great a ſway as euer any ſchiſme or hereſie had within that reach of the Chriſtian world where it bred and grew: the rather perhaps becauſe the Church which neither greatly feared them, and beſides had neceſſarie cauſe to bend itſelfe againſt others that aymed directlie at a farre higher marke the deitie of Chriſt, was contented to let Donatiſts haue their foorth by the ſpace of threeſcore yeares and aboue, euen from tenne yeares before Conſtantine till the time that [b] Optatus Biſhop of Mileuis publiſhed his bookes againſt Parmenian. During which terme and the ſpace of that ſchiſmes continuance afterwards, they had, beſides many other ſecular and worldly meanes to help them forward, theſe ſpeciall aduantages. Firſt, the very occaſion of their breach with the Church of God a iuſt hatred and diſlike of *Traditors* ſeemed plauſible, they eaſily perſwaded their hearers that ſuch men could not be holie as held communion and fellowſhip with them that betray religion. Againe, when to daſle the eyes of the ſimple, and to proue that it can be no Church which is not holie, they had in ſhow and ſound of words the glorious pretenſe of the Creed Apoſtolique, *I beliene the Holie Catholique Church*, wee neede not thinke it any ſtrange thing that with the multitude they gained credit. And auouching that ſuch as are not of the true Church can adminiſter no true Baptiſme, they had for this point whole volumes of S. Cyprians owne writing,

[a] *Circa an. 300*

[b] *Circa an. 370*

writing together with the iudgement of diuers Affrican Synods whoſe ſentence was the ſame with his. Whereupon the Fathers were likewiſe in defenſe of their iuſt cauſe very greatly preiudiced, both for that they could not enforce the dutie of mens communion with a Church confeſt to be in many things blameworthie, vnleſſe they ſhould oftentimes ſeeme to ſpeake as halfe defendors of the faults themſelues, or at the leaſt not ſo vehement accuſers thereof as their aduerſaries; and to withſtand iteration of baptiſme, the other branch of the Donatiſts hereſie was impoſſible without manifeſt and profeſt reiection of Cyprian whome the world vniuerſallie did in his life time admire as the greateſt amongſt prelates, and now honor as not the loweſt in the kingdome of heauen. So true we finde it by experience of all ages in the Church of God, that the teachers error is the peoples tryall, harder and heauier by ſo much to beare, as he is in worth and regard greater that miſperſwadeth them. Although there was ods betweene Cyprians cauſe and theirs, he differing from others of ſounder vnderſtanding in that point, but not diuiding himſelfe from the bodie of the Church by ſchiſme as did the Donatiſts. For which cauſe, [a] ſaith Vincentius, *Of one and the ſame opinion we iudge (which may ſeeme ſtrange) the authors catholique, and the followers hereticall; we acquit the maiſters, and condemne the ſchollers; they are heires of heauen which haue written thoſe bookes, the defendors whereof are troden downe to the pit of hell.* The inuectiues of Catholique writers therefore againſt them are ſharpe; the words of [b] imperiall edicts by Honorius and Theodoſius made to bridle them very bitter, the puniſhments ſeuere in reuenge of their follie. Howbeit for feare (as we may coniecture) leaſt much ſhould be derogated from the baptiſme of the Church, and baptiſme by Donatiſts be more eſteemed of then was meete, if on the one ſide that which heretiques had done ill ſhould ſtand as good, on the other ſide that be reuerſed which the Catholique Church had well and religiouſly done, diuers better minded then aduiſed men thought it fitteſt to meete with this inconuenience by rebaptiſing Donatiſts as well as they rebaptiſed Catholiques. For ſtay whereof the [c] ſame Emperors ſaw it meete to giue their law a double edge, whereby it might equallie on both ſides cut off not only heretiques which rebaptiſed whome they could peruert, but alſo Catholique and Chriſtian Prieſts which did the like vnto ſuch as before had taken baptiſme at the hands of heretiques, and were afterwards reconciled to the Church of God. Donatiſts were therefore in proceſſe of time, though with much adoe, wearied and at the length worne out by the conſtancie of that truth which teacheth, that euill miniſters of good things are as torches, a light to others, a waſt to none but themſelues only, and that the foulenes of their hands can neither any whit impaire the virtue nor ſtaine the glorie of the myſteries of Chriſt. Now that which was done amiſſe by vertuous and good men, as Cyprian caried aſide with hatred againſt hereſie, and was ſecondly followed by Donatiſts, whome enuie and rancor couered with ſhow of godlines, made obſtinate to cancell whatſoeuer the Church did in the ſacrament of Baptiſme, hath of later dayes in another reſpect farre different from both the former, bene brought freſhly againe into practiſe. For the Anabaptiſt rebaptiſeth, becauſe in his eſtimation the baptiſme of the Church is fruſtrate, for that we giue it

[a] *Vincent. Lirin. aduerſ. hæreſ. ca. 11.*

[b] *Vide C. Theod. lib. 16. tit. 6. l. Aduerſarios & l. Nullus. circa an. 405.*

[c] *Signis C. Ne ſanct. baptiſ. circa an. 413.*

it vnto infants which haue not faith, whereas according vnto Christs institution, as they conceiue it, true baptisme should alwayes presuppose actuall beliefe in receiuers, and is otherwise no baptisme. Of these three errors there is not any but hath bene able at the least to alleage in defense of it selfe many faire probabilities. Notwithstanding, sith the Church of God hath hitherto alwayes constantly maintained, that to rebaptise them which are knowne to haue receiued true baptisme is vnlawfull; that if baptisme seriouslie be administred in the same element and with the same forme of words which Christs institution teacheth, there is no other defect in the world that can make it frustrate, or depriue it of the nature of a true sacrament; and lastly, that baptisme is only then to be readministred, when the first deliuerie thereof is void in regard of the forealleaged imperfections and no other; shall we now in the case of baptisme, which hauing both for matter and forme the substance of Christs institution, is by a fourth sort of men voided for the only defect of ecclesiasticall authoritie in the Minister, thinke it enough that they blow away the force thereof with the bare strength of their very breath by saying, *Wee take such baptisme to be no more the sacrament of baptisme, then any other ordinarie bathing to be a sacrament?* [a] It behoueth generallie all sorts of men to keepe themselues within the limits of their owne vocation. And seeing God from whome mens seuerall degrees and preheminences do proceede, hath appointed them in his Church, at whose hands his pleasure is that we should receiue both baptisme and all other publique medicinable helps of soule, perhaps thereby the more to settle our harts in the loue of our ghostly superiors, they haue small cause to hope that with him their voluntarie seruices will be accepted who thrust themselues into functions either aboue their capacitie or besides their place, and ouerboldly intermeddle with duties whereof no charge was euer giuen them. They that in any thing exceede the compasse of their owne order do as much as in them lyeth to dissolue that order which is the harmonie of Gods Church. Suppose therefore that in these and the like considerations the law did vtterly prohibit baptisme to be administred by any other then persons thereunto solemnely consecrated, what necessitie soeuer happen. Are not [b] many things firme being done, although in part done otherwise then positiue rigor and strictnes did require? Nature as much as is possible inclineth vnto validities and preseruations. Dissolutions and nullities of things done are not only not fauoured, but hated when either vrged without cause, or extended beyond their reach. If therefore at any time it come to passe, that in teaching publiquely, or priuatly in deliuering this blessed sacrament of regeneration, some vnsanctified hand contrarie to Christs supposed ordinance do intrude itselfe, to execute that whereunto the lawes of God and his Church haue deputed others, which of these two opinions seemeth more agreeable with equitie, ours that disallow what is done amisse, yet make not the force of the word and sacraments, much lesse their nature and very substance to depend on the Ministers authoritie and calling, or else [c] theirs which defeate, disanull, and annihilate both, in respect of that one onely personall defect, there being not any law of God which saith that if the Minister be incompetent his word shall be no word, his baptisme no baptisme? He which

teacheth

a *Num.16.10. Leuit.10.1. 2.Sam.13.11. 2.Sam.6.6. 2.Chro.26.16. Heb.5.4.*

b *9.q.3.c.Lugdunensis.c.ex literis decretal. de matrim. contrac. Damas. Burchard. reg.109. Prohibita fieri si fiant nō tenent. In prohibitionibus autem circa res fauorabiles contrariū obtinet.*

c T.C.lib.1. page 144. As S.Paule saith, that a man cannot preach which is not sent *Rom.10.15.* no not al-

teacheth and is not ſent looſeth the reward, but yet retaineth the name of a teacher; his vſurped actions haue in him the ſame nature which they haue in others, although they yeeld him not the ſame comfort. And if theſe two caſes be peeres, the caſe of doctrine and the caſe of baptiſme both alike, ſith no defect in their vocation that teach the truth is able to take away the benefit thereof from him which heareth, wherefore ſhould the want of a lawfull calling in them that baptiſe make baptiſme to me vaine? They [a] graunt that the matter and the forme in ſacraments are the only parts of ſubſtance, and that if theſe two be reteined, albeit other things beſides be vſed which are inconuenient, the ſacrament notwithſtanding is adminiſtred but not ſincerely. Why perſiſt they not in this opinion? when by theſe faire ſpeeches they haue put vs in hope of agreement, wherefore ſup they vp their words againe, interlacing ſuch friuolous interpretations and gloſes as diſgrace their ſentence? What ſhould moue them, hauing named the *matter* and the *forme* of the ſacrament, to giue vs preſently warning, that they meane by *the forme* of the ſacrament *the inſtitution*, which expoſition darkneth whatſoeuer was before plaine? For whereas in common vnderſtanding that *forme*, which added to the element doth make a ſacrament, and is of the outward ſubſtance thereof, conteineth only the words of vſuall application, they ſet it downe (leaſt common Dictionaries ſhould deceiue vs) that *the forme* doth ſignifie in their language *the inſtitution*, which inſtitution in truth comprehendeth both forme and matter. Such are their fumbling ſhifts to incloſe the miniſters vocation within the compaſſe of ſome eſſentiall part of the ſacrament. A thing that can neuer ſtand with ſound and ſincere conſtruction. For what if the [b] miniſter be *no circumſtance but a ſubordinate efficient cauſe in the* worke of baptiſme? What if the miniſters vocation be a matter [c] *of perpetuall neceſſitie and not a ceremonie variable as times and occaſions require? What if his calling be a principall part of the inſtitution of Chriſt?* Doth it therefore follow that the miniſters authoritie is [d] *of the ſubſtance of the ſacrament*, and as incident into the nature thereof as the matter and the forme it ſelfe, yea more incident? For whereas in caſe of neceſſitie the greateſt amongſt them profeſſeth the change of the element of water lawfull, and others which like not ſo well this opinion could be better content that voluntarilie the *words* of Chriſts inſtitution were altered, and men baptiſed in *the name of Chriſt* without either mention made of the Father or of the holie Ghoſt, neuertheleſſe in denying that baptiſme adminiſtred by priuat perſons ought to be reckoned of as a ſacrament they both agree. It may therefore pleaſe them both to conſider that baptiſme is an action in part morall, in part eccleſiaſticall, and in part myſticall: morall, as being a dutie which men performe towards God; eccleſiaſticall, in that it belongeth vnto Gods Church as a publique dutie; finallie myſticall, if we reſpect what God doth thereby intend to worke. The greateſt morall perfection of baptiſme conſiſteth

though he ſpeake the words of the ſcripture and interpret them: So I cannot ſee how a man can baptize vnleſſe he be ſent to that end although he powre water and rehearſe the words which are to be rehearſed in the miniſterie of baptiſme.

[a] T.C. lib.1, pag.165. If either the matter of the ſacrament, or the forme of it, which is the inſtitution [which things are onely ſubſtantiall parts] were wanting, there ſhould then haue bin no ſacrament at all miniſtred. But they being reteined and yet other things vſed which are not conuenient, the ſacrament is miniſtred, but not ſincerely.

[b] T.C. lib.3. pag.117.

[c] T.C. lib.3. pag.121.

[d] T.C. lib.3. pag.135. The miniſter is of the ſubſtance of the ſacrament, conſidering that it is a principall part of Chriſts inſtitution. *Bez. epiſt.2. Deſit aqua & tamen baptiſmus alicuius differri cum ædificatione non poſſit nec debeat, ego certe quouis alio liquore non minus rite quam aqua baptizarim.* T.C. lib.3. pag.138. Shew me why the breach of the inſtitution in the forme ſhould make the ſacrament vnauaileable and not the breach of this part [which concerneth the miniſter.] T.C. *ibid.* Howſoeuer ſome learned and godly giue ſome libertie in the change of the elements of the holy Sacrament, yet I doe not ſee how that can ſtand. *Idem.* pag.137. I would rather iudge him baptiſed which is baptiſed into the name of Chriſt without adding the Father and the holy Ghoſt when the element of water is added, then when the other words being duly kept, ſome other liquor is vſed.

ſiſteth in mens deuout obedience to the lawe of God, which lawe requireth both the outward act or thing done, and alſo that religious affection which God doth ſo much regard, that without it whatſoeuer wee doe is hatefull in his ſight, who therefore is ſayde to reſpect *aduerbs* more then *verbes*, becauſe the ende of his lawe in appoynting what wee ſhall doe is our owne perfection, which perfection conſiſteth chiefely in the vertuous diſpoſition of the minde, and approueth it ſelfe to him not by *doing*, but by doing *well*. Wherein appeareth alſo the difference betweene humane and diuine lawes, the one of which two are content with *opus operatum*, the other require *opus operantis*, the one doe but clayme the deede, the other eſpeciallie the minde. So that according to lawes which principallie reſpect the heart of men, workes of religion being not religiouſlie perfourmed, cannot morallie be perfect. Baptiſme as an eccleſiaſticall worke is for the manner of performance ordered by diuers eccleſiaſticall lawes prouiding that as the ſacrament it ſelfe is a gift of no meane woorth, ſo the miniſterie thereof might in all circumſtances appeare to bee a function of no ſmall regard. All that belongeth to the myſticall perfection of baptiſme outwardlie, is the element, the word, and the ſerious application of both vnto him which receyueth both; whereunto if wee adde that ſecret reference which this action hath to life and remiſſion of ſinnes by vertue of Chriſts owne compact ſolemnely made with his Church, to accompliſh fullie the ſacrament of Baptiſme, there is not any thing more required. Now put the queſtion whether baptiſme adminiſtred to infants without anye ſpirituall calling bee vnto them both a true ſacrament and an effectuall inſtrument of grace, or elſe an acte of no more accompt then the ordinarye waſhings are. The ſumme of all that can bee ſayde to defeate ſuch baptiſme is, that thoſe things which haue no beeing can worke nothing, and that Baptiſme without the power of ordination is as iudgement without ſufficient iuriſdiction, voyde, fruſtrate, and of no effect. But to this wee anſwere, that the fruite of Baptiſme dependeth onely vppon the Couenant which God hath made; that God by Couenant requireth in the elder ſort Faith and Baptiſme, in Children the ſacrament of Baptiſme alone, whereunto hee hath alſo giuen them right by ſpeciall priuiledge of birth within the boſome of the holie Church; that infants therefore, which haue receiued Baptiſme complete as touching the myſticall perfection thereof, are by vertue of his owne couenant and promiſe cleanſed from all ſinne, for as much as all other lawes concerning that which in baptiſme is either morall or eccleſiaſticall doe binde the Church which giueth baptiſme, and not the infant which receyueth it of the Church. So that if any thing bee therein amiſſe, the harme which groweth by violation of holie ordinances muſt altogether reſt where the bondes of ſuch ordinances holde. For that in actions of this nature it fareth not as in iuriſdictions may ſomewhat appeare by

the

the very opinion which men haue of them. The nullitie of that which a iudge doth by way of authoritie without authoritie, is knowne to all men, and agreed vpon with full consent of the whole world; euery man receyueth it as a generall edict of nature, whereas the nullitie of baptisme in regard of the like defect is onely a fewe mens new vngrounded and as yet vnapproued imagination. Which difference of generalitie in mens perswasions on the one side, and their paucitie whose conceipt leadeth them the other way hath risen from a difference easie to obserue in the things themselues. The exercise of vnauthorised iurisdiction is a grieuance vnto them that are vnder it, whereas they that without authoritie presume to baptise, offer nothing but that which to all men is good and acceptable. Sacraments are foode, and the ministers thereof as parents or as nurces at whose hands when there is necessitie but no possibilitie of receiuing it, if that which they are not present to doe in right of their office be of pitie and compassion done by others, shall this be thought to turne cælestiall bread into grauell, or the medicine of soules into poison? Iurisdiction is a yoke which lawe hath imposed on the necks of men in such sort that they must indure it for the good of others, how contrarie soeuer it be to their owne particular appetites and inclinations, iurisdiction bridleth men against their wills, that which a iudge doth preuaileth by vertue of his very power, and therefore not without great reason, except the law haue giuen him authoritie, what soeuer he doth vanisheth. Baptisme on the other side being a fauour which it pleaseth God to bestowe, a benefit of soule to vs that receiue it, and a grace which they that deliuer are but as meere vessels either appointed by others or offered of their owne accord to this seruice; of which two if they be the one it is but their owne honor, their owne offence to be the other; can it possiblie stand with [a] equitie and right, that the faultines of their presumption in giuing baptisme should be able to preiudice vs, who by taking baptisme haue no way offended? I knowe there are many sentences found in the bookes and writings of the auncient Fathers to proue both ecclesiasticall and also morall defects in the minister of baptisme, a barre to the heauenly benefite thereof. Which sentences we alwayes so vnderstand, as [b] Augustine vnderstoode in a case of like nature the words of Cyprian. When infants baptised were after their parents reuolt carried by them in armes to the stewes of Idols, those wretched creatures as S. Cyprian thought were not only their owne ruine but their childrens also; *Their children*, whome this their apostasie profaned, *did loose what christian baptisme had giuen them being newly borne.* They lost (sayth S. Augustine) the grace of baptisme, *if we consider to what their parents impietie did tend*, although the mercie of God preserued them, and will also in that dreadfull day of accompt giue them fauourable audience pleading in their owne behalfe, *The harme of other mens perfidiousnes it lay not in vs to auoyde.* After the same manner whatsoeuer we reade written if it sound to the preiudice of baptisme through any either morall or ecclesiasticall defect therein, wee conster it, as equitie and reason teacheth, with restraint to the offendor only, which doth, as farre as concerneth himselfe and them which wittingly concurre with him, make the sacrament

[a] *Factum alterius alij nocere non debet. Vlp. l. de pupillo. §. si plurimum. Item Alphen. l. Paterfamilias. De hæred. instit. Maleficia tenent authores suos non alios. l. Sancimus 22. C. de pœn.*

[b] *August. epist. 23.*

of God fruitleſſe. [a] S. Auguſtines *doubtfulnes* whether baptiſme by a lay man may ſtand or ought to be readminiſtred, ſhould not be mentioned by them which preſume to define peremptorily of that wherein he was contented to profeſſe himſelfe vnreſolued. Albeit in very truth his opinion is plaine enough, but the manner of deliuering his iudgement being modeſt, they make of a vertue an imbecilitie, and impute his calmenes of ſpeech to an irreſolution of minde. His diſputation in that place is againſt Parmenian, which held, that a Biſhop or a Prieſt if they fall into any hereſie doe thereby looſe the power which they had before to baptiſe, and that therefore baptiſme by heretiques is meerely voyde. For anſwere whereof he firſt denyeth that hereſie can more depriue men of power to baptiſe others then it is of force to take from them their owne baptiſme; and in the ſecond place he farther addeth that if heretiques did looſe the power which before was giuen them by ordination, and did therefore vnlawfully vſurpe as oft as they tooke vpon them to giue the ſacrament of baptiſme, it followeth not that baptiſme by them adminiſtred without authoritie is no baptiſme. For then what ſhould we thinke of baptiſme by lay men to whome authoritie was neuer giuen? I doubt (ſaith S. Auguſtine) whether any man which carrieth a vertuous and godly minde will affirme that the baptiſme which lay men do in caſe of neceſſitie adminiſter ſhould be iterated. *For to doe it vnneceſſaryly is to execute another mans office; neceſſitie vrging, to doe it is then either no fault at all* (much leſſe ſo grieuous a crime that it ſhould deſerue to be termed by the name of [b] ſacrilege) *or if any, a very pardonable fault. But ſuppoſe it euen of very purpoſe vſurped and giuen vnto any man by euery man that liſteth, yet that which is giuen cannot poſſiblie be denyed to haue bene giuen, how truly ſoeuer we may ſay it hath not bene giuen lawfullie. Vnlawfull vſurpation a penitent affection muſt redreſſe. If not, the thing that was giuen ſhall remaine to the hurt and detriment of him which vnlawfully either adminiſtred or receyued the ſame, yet ſo that in this reſpect it ought not to be reputed, as if it had not at all bene giuen.* Whereby we may plainely perceiue that S. Auguſtine was not himſelfe vncertaine what to thinke, but doubtfull whether any well minded man in the whole world could thinke otherwiſe then he did. Their [c] argument taken from a ſtolen ſeale may returne to the place out of which they had it, for it helpeth their cauſe nothing. That which men giue or graunt to others muſt appeare to haue proceeded of their owne accord. This being manifeſt, their gifts and graunts are thert by made effectuall both to barre themſelues from reuocation, and to aſſecure the right they haue giuen. Wherein for further preuention of miſchiefes that otherwiſe might grow by the malice, trecherie, and fraude of men, it is both equall and meete that the ſtrength of mens deedes and the inſtruments which declare the ſame ſhould ſtrictlie depend vpon diuers ſolemnities, whereof there cannot be the like reaſon in things that paſſe betweene God and vs, becauſe ſith wee neede not doubt leaſt the treaſures of his heauenlie grace ſhould without his conſent be paſt by forged conueyances, nor leaſt hee ſhould denye at any time his owne acts and ſeeke to reuoke what hath beene conſented vnto before, as there is no ſuch feare of daunger through deceipt and falſehoode in this caſe, ſo

[a] T.C. lib.3. pag.136. Auguſtine ſtandeth in doubt whether baptiſme by a lay man be auaileable or no. *Cont. lit. Parmen. li.2. ca.13.* where by all likelihood he was out of doubt that that which was miniſtred by a woman whoſe vnaptnes herein is double to that of a lay man, was of no effect.

[b] T.C. lib.3. pag.116. The ſacrilege of priuate perſons, women eſpecially in adminiſtring the holy Sacrament of Baptiſme.

[c] T.C. lib.3. pag.139. As by the ſeale which the Prince hath ſet apart to ſeale his graunts with, when it is ſtolen and ſet to by him that hath no authoritie, there groweth no aſſuraãce to the partie that hath it: So if it were poſſible to be the ſeale of God which a womã ſhould ſet to, yet for that ſhe hath ſtollen it and put it to not only without but contrary to the commandemẽt of God, I ſee not how any can take any aſſurance by reaſon thereof.

ſo neither hath the circumſtance of mens perſons that waight in baptiſme which for good and iuſt conſiderations in the cuſtodie of ſeales of office it ought to haue. The grace of Baptiſme commeth by donation from God alone. That God hath committed the miniſterie of baptiſme vnto ſpeciall men, it is for orders ſake in his Church, and not to the end that their authoritie might giue being, or adde force to the ſacrament it ſelfe. That infants haue right to the ſacrament of baptiſme wee all acknowledge. Charge them wee cannot as guilefull and wrongfull poſſeſſors of that whereunto they haue right by the manifeſt will of the donor, and are not parties vnto any defect or diſorder in the manner of receiuing the ſame. And if any ſuch diſorder be, we haue ſufficiently before declared that *delictum cum capite ſemper ambulat*, mens owne faults are their owne harmes. Wherefore to counteruaile this and the like miſchoſen reſemblances with that which more truly and plainely agreeth, the ordinance of God concerning their vocation that miniſter baptiſme wherein the myſterie of our regeneration is wrought, hath thereunto the ſame analogie which lawes of wedlocke haue to our firſt natiuitie and birth. So that if nature do effect procreation notwithſtanding the wicked violation and breach euen of natures law made that the entrance of all mankinde into this preſent world might be without blemiſh, may we not iuſtly preſume that grace doth accompliſh the other, although there be faltines in them that tranſgreſſe the order which our Lord Ieſus Chriſt hath eſtabliſhed in his Church? Some light may be borrowed from Circumciſion for explication what is true in this queſtion of baptiſme. Seeing then that euen they which [a] condemne Sephora the wife of Moſes for taking vpon her to circumciſe her ſonne, a thing neceſſarie at that time for her to do, and as I thinke very hard to reproue in her, conſidering how Moſes, becauſe himſelfe had not done it ſooner, was therefore ſtricken by the hand of God, neither could in that extremitie performe the office; whereupon, for the ſtay of Gods indignation, there was no choice, but the action muſt needs fall into hir hands; whoſe fact therein whether we interpret as ſome haue done, that being a Midianite, and as yet not ſo throughly acquainted with the exerciſe of Ieuiſh rites, it much diſcontented her, to ſee her ſelfe through her husbands ouerſight, in a matter of his owne religion, brought vnto theſe perplexities and ſtreights, that either ſhe muſt now indure him periſhing before her eyes, or elſe wound the fleſh of her owne childe, which ſhe could not do but with ſome indignation ſhewed, in that ſhe fumingly both threw downe the foreskin at his feete, and vpbraided him with the crueltie of his religion: or if we better like to follow their more iudicious expoſition which are not inclinable to thinke that Moſes was matcht like Socrates, nor that Circumciſion could now in Eleazer be ſtrange vnto her, hauing had Gerſom her elder ſonne before Circumciſed, nor that any occaſion of coller could riſe from a ſpectacle of ſuch miſerie as doth [b] naturally moue compaſſion

[a] *Exod. 4. 24.* T.C. lib. 1. pag. 144. I ſay that the vnlawfulnes of that fact doth appeare ſufficiently, in that ſhe did it before her husband Moſes, which was a prophet of the Lord, to whome that office of circumciſion did apperteine. Beſides that ſhe did cut off the foreskin of the infant not of minde to obey the commandement of God, or for the ſaluation of the childe, but in a choler only, to the end that her husband might be eaſed and haue releaſe: which minde appeareth in her both by her words, and by caſting away in anger the foreskin which ſhe had cut off. And if it be ſaid that the euent declared that the act pleaſed God, becauſe that Moſes forthwith waxed better, and was recouered of his ſicknes, I haue ſhewed before that if we meaſure things by the euent, we ſhall oftentimes iuſtifie the wicked, and take the righteouſnes of the righteous from them.

[b] *Mala paſſa non iraſcimur ſed compatimur. Boet. de conſol.*

compassion and not wrath, nor that Sephora was so impious as in the visible presence of Gods deserued anger to storme at the ordinance and law of God, nor that the words of the historie it selfe can enforce any such affection, but do only declare how after the act performed she *touched* the feete of Moses saying, [a] *Sponsus tu mihi es sanguinum, Thou art vnto me an husband of bloud,* which might be very well the one done and the other spoken euen out of the flowing aboundance of commiseration and loue, to signifie with hands layd vnder his feete that her tender affection towards him had caused her thus to forget womanhood, to lay all motherly affection aside, and to redeeme her husband out of the hands of death with effusion of bloud; the sequele thereof, take it which way you will, is a plaine argument, that God was satisfied with that she did, as may appeare by his owne testimonie declaring how there followed in the person of Moses present release of his grieuous punishment vpon her speedie discharge of that dutie which by him neglected had offended God, [b] euen as after execution of iustice by the hands of Phinees the plague was immediatly taken away, which former impunitie of sinne had caused; in which so manifest and plaine cases not to make that a reason of the euent which God himselfe hath set downe as a reason, were falsely to accuse whome he doth iustifie, and without any cause to traduce what we should allow, yet seeing they which will haue it a breach of the law of God for her to circumcise in that necessitie, are not able to denie but Circumcision being in that very manner performed was to the innocent child which receiued it true Circumcision, why should that defect whereby Circumcision was so little weakened be to baptisme a deadly wound? These premisses therfore remaining as hitherto they haue bene layd, because the commandement of our Sauiour Christ which committeth [c] ioyntly to publique Ministers both doctrine and baptisme doth no more by linking them together import that the nature of the sacrament dependeth on the Ministers authoritie and power to preach the word then the force and vertue of the word doth on licence to giue the sacrament; and considering that the worke of externall ministerie in baptisme is only a preeminence of honor which they that take to themselues and are not thereunto called as Aaron was do but themselues in their owne persons by meanes of such vsurpation incurre the iust blame of disobedience to the law of God; farther also in as much as it standeth with no reason that errors grounded on a wrong interpretation of other mens deeds should make frustrate whatsoeuer is misconceiued, and that baptisme by women should cease to be baptisme as oft as any man will thereby gather that children which dye vnbaptised are damned, which opinion if the act of baptisme administred in such manner did enforce, it might be sufficient cause of disliking the same, but none of defeating or making it altogether voyde; last of all whereas generall and full consent of the godlie learned in all ages doth make for validitie of baptisme, yea albeit administred in priuat and euen by women, which kinde of baptisme in case of necessitie diuers

reformed

[a] Where the vsuall translation hath *Exod. 4. 25.* She cut away the foreskin of her sonne, and cast it at his feete, and said, Thou art indeed a bloudie husband vnto me. So he departed from him. Then she sayd, O bloudie husband because of the circumcision: the words as they lye in the originall are rather to be thus interpreted, And she cut off the foreskin of her sonne. Which being done, she touched his feete [the feet of Moses] and said, thou art to me an husband of bloud [in the plurall number thereby signifying effusion of bloud.] And the Lorde withdrew frō him at the very time when she said, A husband of bloud in regard of circumcision.

[b] *Psal. 106. 30.*

[c] T.C. lib. 3. page 142. Seeing they only are bidden in the scripture to administer the sacraments which are bidden to preach the word, and that the publique Ministers haue only this charge of the word; and seeing that the administration of both these are so linked together that the deniall of licence to do one is a deniall to do the other, as of the contrarie part licence to one is licence to the other; considering also that to minister the sacraments is an honor in the Church which none can take vnto him but he which is called vnto it as was Aaron: and further, for as much as the baptising by priuat persons and by women especially confirmeth the dangerous error of the condemnation of young children which

reformed Churches do both allow and defend, ſome others which do not defend tolerate, few in compariſon and they without any iuſt cauſe do vtterly diſanull and annihilate, ſurely howſoeuer through defects on either ſide the ſacrament may be without fruite, as well in ſome caſes to him which receiueth as to him which giueth it, yet no diſabilitie of either part can ſo farre make it fruſtrate and without effect as to depriue it of the very nature of true baptiſme, hauing all things els which the ordinance of Chriſt requireth. Whereupon we may conſequently inferre that the adminiſtration of this ſacrament by priuat perſons, be it lawfull or vnlawfull, appeareth not as yet to be meerely voyde.

dye without baptiſme; laſt of all ſeeing we haue the conſent of the godly learned of all times againſt the baptiſme by women, and of the reformed Churches now againſt the baptiſme by priuat men, we conclude that the adminiſtration of this ſacrament by priuat perſons and eſpecially by women is meerely both vnlawfull and voyde.

63 All that are of the race of Chriſt, the ſcripture nameth them *children of the promiſe* which God hath made. The promiſe of eternall life is the ſeede of the Church of God. And becauſe there is no attainement of life but through the only begotten Sonne of God, nor by him otherwiſe then being ſuch as the Creede Apoſtolique deſcribeth, it followeth that the articles thereof are principles neceſſarie for all men to ſubſcribe vnto whome by baptiſme the Church receiueth into Chriſts ſchoole. All points of Chriſtian doctrine are either demonſtrable concluſions or demonſtratiue principles. Concluſions haue ſtrong and inuincible proofes as well in the ſchoole of Ieſus Chriſt as elſewhere. And principles be grounds which require no proofe in any kinde of ſcience, becauſe it ſufficeth if either their certaintie be euident in it ſelfe, or euident by the light of ſome higher knowledge, and in it ſelfe ſuch as no mans knowledge is euer able to ouerthrow. Now the principles whereupon we do build our ſoules haue their euidence where they had their originall, and as receiued from thence we adore them, we hold them in reuerend admiration, we neither argue nor diſpute about them, we giue vnto them that aſſent which the oracles of God require. We are not therefore aſhamed of the Goſpell of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt becauſe miſcreants in skorne haue vpbraided vs, that the higheſt point of our wiſedome is [a] *Believe.* That which is true and neither can be diſcerned by ſenſe, nor concluded by meere naturall principles, muſt haue principles of reuealed truth whereupon to build it ſelfe, and an habit of faith in vs wherewith principles of that kinde are apprehended. [b] The myſteries of our religion are aboue the reach of our vnderſtanding, aboue diſcourſe of mans reaſon, aboue all that any creature can comprehend. Therefore the firſt thing required of him which ſtandeth for admiſſion into Chriſts familie is beliefe. Which beliefe conſiſteth not ſo much in knowledge as in acknowledgement of all things that heauenly wiſedome reuealeth; the affection of faith is aboue hir reach, hir loue to Godward aboue the comprehenſion which ſhe hath of God. And becauſe only for belieuers all things may be done, he which is goodnes it ſelfe loueth them aboue all. Deſerue we then the loue of God, becauſe we believe in the Sonne of God? What more oppoſite then faith & pride? Whē God had created all things, he looked vpō them and loued them, becauſe they were all as himſelf had made thē. So the true reaſon wherfore Chriſt doth loue belieuers is becauſe their belief is [c] the gift of God; a gift then which fleſh and bloud in this world cānot poſſibly receiue a greater.

Interrogatories in baptiſme touching faith, and the purpoſe of a Chriſtian life.

[a] *Apoſtata maledictum.*

[b] ὑπὲρ νοῦν, ὑπὲρ λόγον, ὑπὲρ κατάληψιν πίστεως τὰ ῥήματα. *Iuſt. Mart. Expoſ. fid.*

[c] *Math. 16. 17. Iob. 1. 12.*

And

And as to loue them of whome we receiue good things is dutie, becauſe they ſatiſfie our deſires in that which elſe we ſhould want, ſo to loue them on whome we beſtow is nature, becauſe in them we behold the effects of our owne vertue. Seeing therefore no religion enioyeth ſacraments the ſignes of Gods loue, vnleſſe it haue alſo that faith whereupon the ſacraments are built, could there be any thing more conuenient then that our firſt admittance to the actuall receipt of his grace in the ſacrament of baptiſme ſhould be [a] conſecrated with profeſſion of beliefe, which is to the kingdome of God as a key, the want whereof excludeth infidels both from that and from all other ſauing grace? We finde by experience that although faith be an intellectuall habit of the minde, and haue her ſeate in the vnderſtanding, yet an euill morall diſpoſition obſtinately wedded to the loue of darknes dampeth the very light of heauenly illumination and permitteth not the minde to ſee what doth ſhine before it. Men are louers of pleaſure more then louers of God. Their aſſent to his ſauing truth is many times withheld from it, not that the truth is too weake to perſwade, but becauſe the ſtreame of corrupt affection carrieth them a cleane contrarie way. That the minde therefore may abide in the light of faith, there muſt abide in the will as conſtant a reſolution to haue no fellowſhip at all with the vanities and works of darkenes. Two couenants there are which Chriſtian men (ſaith [b] Iſidore) doe make in baptiſme, the one concerning relinquiſhment of Satan, the other touching obedience to the faith of Chriſt. In like ſort [c] S. Ambroſe, *He which is baptiſed* forſaketh the intellectuall Pharao the Prince of this world ſaying, *Abrenuncio, Thee ô Satan and thy Angels, thy works and thy mandats I forſake vtterly.* [d] Tertullian hauing ſpeech of wicked Spirits, *Theſe* (ſayth he) *are the Angels which we in baptiſme renounce.* The declaration of [e] Iuſtine the Martyr concerning baptiſme ſheweth, how ſuch as the Church in thoſe dayes did baptiſe made profeſſion of Chriſtian beliefe, and vndertooke to liue accordingly. Neither do I thinke it a matter eaſie for any man to proue that euer baptiſme did vſe to be adminiſtred without interrogatories of theſe two kindes. Whereunto [f] S. Peter (as it may be thought) alluding, hath ſayd, that the baptiſme *which ſaueth* vs is not (as legall purifications were) a clenſing of the fleſh from outward impuritie, but ἐπερώτημα, *an interrogatiue triall of a good conſcience towards God.*

a *Spiritus Sanctus habitator eius templi non efficitur quod Antichriſtum non habet Geram fidem. Hieron. aduerſ. Lucifer. ca. 4.*

b *Iſid. de Offic. eccle. lib. 2. c. 24.*

c *Ambroſ. Hexam. lib. 1. ca. 4.*

d *Tertul. de ſpectac.*

e Ὅσοι ἂν πεισθῶσι καὶ πιστεύσωσιν ἀληθῆ ταῦτα τὰ ὑφ' ἡμῶν διδασκόμενα καὶ λεγόμενα εἶναι, καὶ ζῆσαι οὕτως δύνασθαι ὑπισχνῶνται, εὔχεσθαί τε καὶ αἰτεῖν νηστεύοντες παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν προημαρτημένων ἄφεσιν διδάσκονται, ἔπειτα ἄγονται ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἔνθα ὕδωρ ἐστὶ καὶ τρόπον ἀναγεννήσεως ὃν καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ ἀνεγεννήθημεν ἀναγεννῶνται. *Iuſtin. Apol.*

f *1. Pet. 3. 21.*

64 Now the fault which they finde with vs concerning interrogatories is our mouing of theſe queſtions vnto infants which cannot anſwere them, and the anſwering of them by others as in their names. The Anabaptiſt hath many pretenſes to ſcorne at the baptiſme of Children, firſt becauſe the ſcriptures he ſaith do no where giue commandement to baptiſe infants; ſecondly, for that as there is no commandement ſo neither any manifeſt example ſhewing it to haue bene done either by Chriſt or his Apoſtles; thirdly, in as much as the word preached and the ſacraments muſt goe together, they which are not capable of the one are no fit receiuers of the other; laſt of all ſith the order of baptiſme continued from the firſt beginning hath in it thoſe things which are vnfit

Interrogatories propoſed vnto infants in baptiſme, and anſwered as in their names by godfathers.

They profane holie baptiſme in toying fooliſhly, for that they aske queſtions of an in-

vnfit to be applied vnto ſucking children, it followeth in their conceipt that the baptiſme of ſuch is no baptiſme but plaine mockerie. They with whome we contend are no enimies to the baptiſme of infants; it is not their deſire that the Church ſhould hazard ſo many ſoules by letting them runne on till they come to ripenes of vnderſtanding that ſo they may be conuerted and then baptiſed as infidels heretofore haue bene; they beare not towards God ſo vnthankefull mindes as not to acknowledge it euen amongſt the greateſt of his endleſſe mercies, that by making vs his owne poſſeſſion ſo ſoone, many aduantages which Satan otherwiſe might take are preuented, and (which ſhould be eſteemed a part of no ſmall happines) the firſt thing whereof we haue occaſion to take notize is, how much hath bene done alreadie to our great good, though altogether without our knowledge; the baptiſme of infants they eſteeme as an ordinance which Chriſt hath inſtituted euen in ſpeciall loue and fauour to his owne people; they denye not the practiſe thereof accordingly to haue bene kept as deriued from the hands and continued from the dayes of the Apoſtles themſelues vnto this preſent. Only it pleaſeth them not that to infants there ſhould be interrogatories propoſed in baptiſme. This they condemne as fooliſh, toyiſh, and prophane mockerie. But are they able to ſhew that euer the Church of Chriſt had any publique forme of baptiſme without interrogatories; or that the Church did euer vſe at the ſolemne baptiſme of infants to omit thoſe queſtions as needleſſe in this caſe? [a] Boniface a Biſhop in S. Auguſtines time knowing that the Church did vniuerſallie vſe this cuſtome of baptiſing infants with interrogatories, was deſirous to learne from S. Auguſtine the true cauſe and reaſon thereof. *If* (ſayth he) *I ſhould ſet before thee a young infant and ſhould aske of thee whether that infant when he commeth vnto riper age will be honeſt and iuſt or no, thou wouldeſt anſwere (I know) that to tell in theſe things what ſhall come to paſſe is not in the power of a mortall man. If I ſhould aske what good or euill ſuch an infant thinketh, thine anſwere hereunto muſt needes be againe with the like vncertaintie. If thou neither canſt promiſe for the time to come nor for the preſent pronounce any thing in this caſe, how is it that when ſuch are brought vnto baptiſme, their parents there vndertake what the childe ſhall afterwards doe, yea they are not doubtfull to ſay it doth that which is impoſſible to be done by infants? at the leaſt there is no man preciſely able to affirme it done. Vouchſafe me hereunto ſome ſhort anſwere, ſuch as not only may preſſe me with the bare authoritie of cuſtome but alſo inſtruct me in the cauſe thereof.* Touching which difficultie, whether it may truly be ſayd for infants at the time of their baptiſme that they do belieue, the effect of S. Auguſtines anſwere is yea, but with this diſtinction, [b] a preſent *actuall habit of faith there is not* in them, there is deliuered vnto them that ſacrament a part of the due celebration whereof conſiſteth in anſwering to the articles of faith, *becauſe* the habit of faith which afterwards doth come with yeares, is but *a farther* building vp of the ſame edifice, the *firſt foundation whereof was layd by the ſacrament* of baptiſme. For that which there we profeſſed without any vnderſtanding, when we afterwards come to acknowledge, do we any thing elſe but only bring vnto ripenes the very ſeed that was ſowne before? We are *then beleuers* becauſe *then we begin to be* that which proceſſe of time doth make perfect. And till we come to actuall beliefe, the very ſacrament of faith is a ſhield

ſant which cannot anſwer and ſpeake vnto them as was wont to be ſpoken vnto men, and vnto ſuch as being conuerted anſwered for themſelues and were baptiſed. Which is but a mockerie of God, and therefore againſt the holie Scriptures. *Gal. 6. 7.* Admon. to the Parlia. The ſame defended in T. C. lib. 1. page 169.

a *Auguſt. epiſt. 23.*

b *Sicut crederet reſpondetur, ſic & etiam fidelis vocatur, non rem ipſa menta annuendo, ſed ipſius rei ſacramentum percipiendo. Auguſt.*

as ſtrong as after this the faith of the ſacrament againſt all contrarie infernall powers. Which whoſoeuer doth thinke impoſſible, is vndoubtedly farther off from Chriſtian beliefe though he be baptiſed then are theſe innocents which at their baptiſme albeit they haue no conceipt or cogitation of faith, are notwithſtanding pure and free from all oppoſite cogitations, whereas the other is not free. If therefore without any feare or ſcruple we may accompt them and terme them belieuers only for their outward profeſſions ſake, which inwardly are farther from faith then infants, why not infants much more at the time of their ſolemne initiation by baptiſme the ſacrament of faith, whereunto they not only conceyue nothing oppoſite, but haue alſo that [a] grace giuen them which is the firſt and moſt effectuall cauſe out of which our beliefe groweth? In ſumme, the whole Church is a multitude of belieuers, all honored with that title, euen hypocrites for their profeſſions ſake as well as Saincts becauſe of their inward ſincere perſwaſion, and *infants as being in the firſt degree of their ghoſtly motion towards the actuall habit of faith*; the firſt ſort are faithfull in the eye of the world, the ſecond faithfull in the ſight of God; the laſt in the readie direct way to become both if all things after be ſuteable to theſe their preſent beginnings. *This* (ſayth S. Auguſtine) *would not happilie content ſuch perſons as are vncapable or vnquiet, but to them which hauing knowledge are not troubleſome it may ſuffice. Wherein I haue not for eaſe of my ſelfe obiected againſt you that cuſtome only then which nothing is more firme, but of a cuſtome moſt profitable I haue done that little which I could to yeeld you a reaſonable cauſe.* Were S. Auguſtine now liuing there are which would tell him for his better inſtruction that [b] to ſay of a child *it is elect* and to ſay it doth belieue are all one, for which cauſe ſith no man is able preciſely to affirme the one of any infant in particular, it followeth that *preciſely* and *abſolutely* we ought not to ſay the other. Which *preciſe* and *abſolute* termes are needles in this caſe. We ſpeake of infants *as the rule of pietie* alloweth both to ſpeake and thinke. They that can take to themſelues in ordinarie talke a charitable kinde of libertie to name men of their owne ſort *Gods deare children* (notwithſtanding the large raigne of hypocriſie) ſhould not me thinks be ſo ſtrict and rigorous againſt the Church for preſuming as it doth of a Chriſtian innocent. For when we know how Chriſt in generall hath ſayd that *of ſuch* is the kingdome of heauen, which kingdome is the inheritance of Gods elect, and do withall behold how his prouidence hath called them vnto the firſt beginnings of eternall life and preſented them at the welſpring of new birth wherein originall ſinne is purged, beſides which ſinne there is no hinderance of their ſaluation knowne to vs, as themſelues will graunt, hard it were that hauing ſo many faire inducements whereupon to ground, we ſhould not be thought to vtter at the leaſt a truth as probable and allowable in terming any ſuch particular infant an elect babe, as in preſuming [c] the like of others, whoſe ſafetie neuertheles we are not *abſolutely* able to warrant. If any troubled with theſe ſcruples be only for inſtructions ſake deſirous to know yet ſome farther reaſon why interrogatories ſhould be miniſtred to infants in baptiſme, and be anſwered vnto by others as in their names, they may conſider that baptiſme implyeth a couenant or league betweene God and man, wherein as God doth beſtowe preſently remiſſion of ſinnes and the holy Ghoſt, binding alſo himſelfe

a *Multum mirabilis res eſt quemadmodum quorundam nondum cognoſcentium Deum ſit inhabitator Deus & quorundam cognoſcentium non ſit. Nec illi enim ad templum Dei pertinent qui cognoſcētes Deum non ſicut Deum glorificauerūt: & ad templum Dei pertinent paruuli ſanctificati ſacramēto Chriſti regenerati ſpiritu Sancto qui per ætatem nondū poſſunt cognoſcere Deum. Vnde quem potuerunt illis noſſe nec habere iſti potuerunt habere antequā noſſe. Auguſt. epiſt. 57.*

b T.C. lib. 1. pag. 169. If children could haue faith, yet they that preſent the childe cannot preciſely tell whether that particular child hath faith or no; we are to thinke charitablie and to hope it is one of the Church, but it can be no more preciſely ſayd that it hath faith, then it may be ſaid preciſely elected.

c 2. Iohn. 1.

himſelfe to adde in proceſſe of time what grace ſoeuer ſhall be farther neceſſarie for the attainement of euerlaſting life; ſo euery baptiſed ſoule receyuing the ſame grace at the hands of God tyeth likewiſe it ſelfe for euer to the obſeruation of his lawe no leſſe then the Iewes [a] by Circumciſion bound themſelues to the lawe of Moſes. The law of Chriſt requiring therefore faith and newnes of life in all men by vertue of the couenant which they make in baptiſme, is it toyiſh that the Church in baptiſme exacteth at euery mans hands an expreſſe profeſſion of faith and an irreuocable promiſe of obedience by way of [b] ſolemne ſtipulation? That infants may contract and couenant with God, [c] the law is plaine. Neither is the reaſon of the law obſcure. For ſith it tendeth we cannot ſufficiently expreſſe how much to their owne good, and doth no way hurt or endaunger them to begin the race of their liues herewith, they are as equitie requireth admitted hereunto, and in fauour of their tender yeares ſuch formall complements of ſtipulation as being requiſite are impoſſible by themſelues in their owne perſons to be performed leaue is giuen that they may [d] ſufficiently diſcharge by others. Albeit therefore neither deafe nor dumb men, neither furious perſons nor children can receiue any ciuill ſtipulation, yet this kinde of ghoſtlie ſtipulation they may through his indulgence who reſpecting the ſingular benefit thereof accepteth children brought vnto him for that ende, entreth into articles of couenant with them and in tender commiſeration graunteth that other mens profeſſions and promiſes in baptiſme made for them ſhall auaile no leſſe then if they had bene themſelues able to haue made their owne. None more fit to vndertake this office in their behalfe then ſuch as preſent them vnto baptiſme. A wrong conceipt that none may receiue the ſacrament of baptiſme but they whoſe parents at the leaſt the one of them are by the ſoundnes of their religion and by their vertuous demeanor knowne to be men of God, hath cauſed [e] ſome to repell children who ſoeuer bring them if their parents be miſperſwaded in religion, or for other miſdeſerts excommunicated; ſome likewiſe for that cauſe to withhold baptiſme, vnleſſe the father, albeit no ſuch exception can iuſtly be taken againſt him, do notwithſtanding make profeſſion of his faith, and auouch the child to be his owne. Thus whereas God hath appointed them miniſters of holie things, they make themſelues inquiſitors of mens perſons a great deale farther then neede is. They ſhould conſider that God hath ordeined baptiſme in fauor of mankind. To reſtraine fauors is an odious thing, to enlarge them acceptable both to God and man. Whereas therefore the Ciuill lawe gaue diuers immunities to them which were fathers of three children and had them liuing, thoſe immunities they held although their children were all dead if warre had conſumed them, becauſe it ſeemed in that caſe not againſt reaſon to repute them by a courteous conſtruction of law as [f] liuemen in that the honor of their ſeruice done to the common wealth would remaine alwayes. Can it hurt vs in exhibiting the graces which God doth beſtow on men, or can it preiudice his glorie if the ſelfeſame equitie guide and direct our hands? When God made his couenant with ſuch as had Abraham to their father, was onlie Abrahams immediate iſſue, or onlie his lineall poſteritie

[a] *Gal. 5 3.*

[b] *Stipulatio eſt verborum conceptio, quibus is qui interrogatur daturum facturumue ſe quod interrogatus eſt reſpondet. l. 5. §. 1. ff. de oblig. & act.* *In hac re olim talia verba tradita fuerunt. Spondes? Spondeo. Promittis? promitto. Fide promittis? Fide promitto. Fide iubes? Fide iubeo. Dabis? Dabo. Facies? Faciam. Inſtit. de verb. oblig. li. 3. tit. 15.*

[c] *Gen. 17. 14.*

[d] *Accommodat illis mater eccleſia aliorum pedes vt veniant, aliorum cor vt credant, aliorum linguã vt fateantur; vt quoniam quod agri ſunt alio peccante pragrauantur, ſic cum ſani fiant alio pro eis confitente ſaluentur. Aug. ſerm. 16. de verb. Apoſt.*

[e] *T. C. lib. 1. pag. 172.*

[f] *His enim qui pro rep. ceciderunt in perpetuum per gloriam viuere intelliguntur. Inſtit. lib. 2. tit. 25. §. 1.*

according

according to the flesh included in that couenant? Were not Proselites as well as Iewes alwayes taken for the sonnes of Abraham? Yea because the very heads of families are fathers in some sort as touching prouidence and care for the meanest that belong vnto them, the seruants which Abraham had bought with monie were as capable of Circumcision being newly borne as any naturall child that Abraham himselfe begat. Be it then that baptisme belongeth to none but such as either believe presently, or else being infants are the children of *believing parents*. In case the Church do bring children to the holie font whose naturall parents are either vnknowne or knowne to be such as the Church accurseth but yet forgetteth not in that seueritie to take compassion vpon their offspring (for [a] it is the Church which doth offer them to baptisme by the ministerie of prefentors) were it not against both equitie and dutie to refuse the mother of believers hir selfe, and not to take hir in this case for a faithfull parent? It is not the vertue of our fathers nor the faith of any other that can giue vs the true holines which we haue by vertue of our new birth. Yet euen through the common faith and spirit of Gods Church (a thing which no qualitie of parents can preiudice) I say through the faith of the Church of God vndertaking the motherly care of our soules, so farre forth we may be and are in our infancie sanctified as to be thereby made sufficiently capable of baptisme, and to be interessed in the rites of our new birth for their pieties sake that offer vs thereunto. *It commeth sometime to passe* (sayth S. Augustine) *that the children of bondslaues are brought to baptisme by their Lord; sometime the parents being dead, the friends aliue vndertake that office; sometime strangers or virgins consecrated vnto God which neither haue nor can haue children of their owne take vp infants in the open streets and so offer them vnto baptisme, whome the crueltie of vnnaturall parents casteth out and leaueth to the aduenture of vncertaine pitie.* As therefore he which did the part of a neighbour was a neighbour to that wounded man whome the parable of the Gospell describeth: so they are fathers although strangers that bring infants to him which maketh them the sonnes of God. In the phrase of some kinde of men they vse to be termed *witnesses*, as if they came but to see and testifie what is done. It sauoureth more of pietie to giue them their old accustomed name of fathers and mothers in God, whereby they are well put in minde what affection they ought to beare towards those innocents, for whose religious education the Church accepteth them as pledges. This therefore is their owne dutie. But because the answere which they make to the vsuall demaunds of stipulation proposed in baptisme is not their owne, the Church doth best to receiue it of them in that forme which best sheweth whose the act is. That which a Gardian doth in the name of his Guard or pupill standeth by naturall equitie forcible for his benefit though it be done without his knowledge. And shall we iudge it a thing vnreasonable or in any respect vnfit that infants by words which others vtter should though vnwittingly yet truly and forcibly binde themselues to that whereby their estate is so assuredly bettered? Herewith [b] Nestorius the Heretique was charged as hauing fallen from his first profession and broken the promise which he made to God in the armes of others. Of such as prophaned themselues being Christians with irreligious delight in the ensignes of idolatrie,

[a] *Offeruntur quippe paruuli ad percipiendã spiritualem gratiam non tam ab eis quorum gestantur manibus, quãuis & ab ipsis si & ipsi boni fideles sint, quã ab vniuersa societate sanctorum atque fidelium.* Augustin. epist. 23.

Ἀξιοῦντας δὲ τὸν διὰ τὸ βαπτίσματος ἀγαθὸν τὰ ὑπὲρ τῶν προσφερόντων αὐτὰ τῷ βαπτίσματι. Instit. resp. ad Orthod.

[b] *Si Arriana aut Sabelliana haereseos adsertor esses & non tuo ipsius symbolo tecum ꝙ. terer, communicerem te tamen testimoniorum*

idolatrie, heatheniſh ſpectacles, ſhowes, and ſtage playes, * Tertullian to ſtrike them the more deepe claymeth the promiſe which they made in Baptiſme. Why were they dumb being thus chalenged? Wherefore ſtood they not vp to anſwere in their owne defence, that ſuch profeſſions and promiſes made in their names were friuolous, that all which others vndertooke for thē was but mockerie and profanation? That which no heretique, no wicked liuer, no impious deſpiſer of God, no miſcreant or malefactor, which had himſelfe bene baptiſed was euer ſo deſperate as to diſgorge in contempt of ſo fruitfullie receiued cuſtomes, is now their voyce that reſtore as they ſay the auncient puritie of religion.

ſacrorum auctoritate, quid tandem ſi ſic apud te agerem, quid diceres? quid reſponderes? nonne obſecro illud, in eo te baptizatum, in eo te renatum eſſe? Et vere in negotio quamuis improbo non importuna defenſio, & qua non abſurde cauſam erroris diceres ſi pertinatiam non ſociares errori. Nunc autem cum in Catholica vrbe natus, catholica fide inſtitutus, catholico baptiſmate regeneratus ſis, nunquid agere tecum quaſi cum Arriano aut Sabelliano poſſum? quod vtinam fuiſſes. Minus dolerem in malis editum quam de bonis lapſum, minus fidem non habitam quam amiſſam. Non iniquum autem, haretice, non iniquum aut graue aliquid poſtulo. Hoc fac in catholica fide editus quod fueras pro peruerſitate facturus. Caſſia. de incarn. lib. 6. ca. 5.

* Tertull. l. de ſpectac.

65 In Baptiſme many things of very auncient continuance are now quite and cleane aboliſht, for that the vertue and grace of this ſacrament had bene therewith ouerſhadowed as fruit with too great aboundance of leaues. Notwithſtanding to them which thinke it alwayes imperfect reformation that doth but ſheere and not flea, our reteining certaine of thoſe former rites, eſpeciallie the *dangerous* ſigne of the Croſſe hath ſeemed almoſt an impardonable ouerſight. *The Croſſe* (they ſay) *ſith it is but a meere inuention of man, ſhould not therefore at all haue bene added to the ſacrament of baptiſme. To ſigne childrens foreheads with a Croſſe, in token that hereafter they ſhall not be aſhamed to make profeſſion of the faith of Chriſt, is to bring into the Church a new word, whereas there ought to be no Doctor heard in the Church but our Sauiour Chriſt. That reaſon which moued the Fathers to vſe ſhould moue vs not to vſe the ſigne of the Croſſe. They lined with Heathens which had the Croſſe of Chriſt in contempt, we with ſuch as adore the Croſſe, and therefore we ought to abandon it euen as in like conſideration Ezechias did of old the braſen Serpent.* Theſe are the cauſes of diſpleaſure conceyued againſt the Croſſe, a Ceremonie the vſe whereof hath bene profitable although we obſerue it not as the ordinance of God but of man. For, ſayth [a] Tertullian, *If of this and the like cuſtomes thou ſhouldeſt require ſome commandement to be ſhewed thee out of ſcriptures, there is none found.* What reaſon there is to iuſtifie tradition, vſe or cuſtome in this behalfe, *either thou mayſt of thy ſelfe perceiue, or elſe learne of ſome other that doth.* Leaſt therefore the name of tradition ſhould be offenſiue to any, conſidering how farre by ſome it hath bene and is abuſed, we meane by [b] traditions ordinances made in the prime of Chriſtian religion, eſtabliſhed with that authoritie which Chriſt hath left to his Church for matters indifferent, and in that conſideration requiſite to be obſerued, till like authoritie ſee iuſt and reaſonable cauſe to alter them. So that traditiōs Eccleſiaſticall are not rudely and in groſſe to be ſhaken off, becauſe the inuentors of them were men. Such as ſay they allow no [c] inuention of man to be mingled with the outward adminiſtration of ſacraments, and vnder that pretenſe condemne our vſing the ſigne of the Croſſe, haue belike ſome ſpeciall diſpenſation themſelues to violate their owne

Of the Croſſe in Baptiſme.

[a] Tertul. de coro militis.

[b] *Traditiones non ſcriptas ſi doctrinam reſpiciant cum doctrina ſcripta conuenire debere dicimus. Quod ad rituales & Eccleſiaſticas attinet, ordinis & edificationis Eccleſiarum in his ſemper habenda ratio eſt; inutiles autem & noxias, nempe ineptas & ſuperſtitioſas patronis ſuis relinquamus.* Goulart. Genoueſ. annot. in epiſt. Cypr. 74.

[c] T. C. lib. 1. pag 171. They ſhould not haue bene ſo bould as to

haue brought it into the holy ſacrament of baptiſme, and ſo mingle the ceremonies and inuentions of men with the ſacraments and inſtitutions of God.

owne rules. For neither can they indeed decently nor do they euer baptiſe any without manifeſt breach of this their profound axiome, that *Mens inuentions ſhould not be mingled with ſacraments and inſtitutions of God.* They ſeeme to like very well in baptiſme the cuſtome of Godfathers, [a] *becauſe ſo generally all Churches haue receyued it.* Which cuſtome being of God no more inſtituted then the other (howſoeuer they pretend the other hurtfull and this profitable) it followeth that euen in their owne opinion, if their words do ſhew their mindes, there is no neceſſitie of ſtripping ſacraments out of all ſuch attire of Ceremonies as mans wiſedome hath at any time clothed them withall, and conſequently that either they muſt reforme their ſpeech as ouergenerall, or els condemne their owne practiſe as vnlawfull. Ceremonies haue more in waight then in ſight, they worke by commonnes of vſe much, although in the ſeuerall acts of their vſage we ſcarcely diſcerne any good they do. And becauſe the vſe which they haue for the moſt part is not perfectly vnderſtood, ſuperſtition is apt to impute vnto them greater vertue then indeede they haue. For preuention whereof when we vſe this Ceremonie we alwayes plainely expreſſe the end whereunto it ſerueth, namely, for a ſigne of rememberance to put vs in minde of our dutie. But by this meane they ſay we make it a great deale [b] worſe. For why? Seeing God hath no where commaunded to draw two lines in token of the dutie which we owe to Chriſt, our practiſe with this expoſition publiſheth a new *Goſpell*, and cauſeth an other *Word* to haue place in the Church of Chriſt where no voyce ought to be heard but his. By which good reaſon the authors of thoſe graue admonitions to the Parliament are well holpen vp, which held that *ſitting* at Communions *betokeneth reſt and full accompliſhment of legall Ceremonies in our Sauiour Chriſt.* For although it be the word of God that ſuch Ceremonies are expired, yet ſeeing it is not the word of God that men to ſignifie ſo much ſhould ſit at the Table of our Lord, theſe haue their doome as well as others, *Guiltie of a new deuiſed Goſpell in the Church of Chriſt.* Which ſtrange imagination is begotten of a ſpeciall diſlike they haue to heare that Ceremonies now in vſe ſhould be thought ſignificant, whereas in truth ſuch as are not ſignificant muſt needes be vaine. Ceremonies deſtitute of ſignification are no better then the idle geſtures of men, whoſe broken wits are not maſters of that they do. For if we looke but into ſecular and ciuill complements, what other cauſe can there poſſiblie be giuen why to omit them where of courſe they are looked for, or where they are not ſo due to vſe them bringeth mens ſecret intents oftentimes into great iealouſie, I would know I ſay what reaſon we are able to yeeld why things ſo light in their owne nature ſhould waigh in the opinions of men ſo much, ſauing only in regard of that which they vſe to ſignifie or betoken? Doth not our Lord Ieſus Chriſt [c] himſelfe impute the omiſſion of ſome courteous Ceremonies euen in domeſticall intertainement to a colder degree of louing affection, and take the contrarie in better part, not ſo much reſpecting what was leſſe done as what was ſignified leſſe by the one then by the other? For to that very end he referreth in part thoſe gratious expoſtulations, *Simon, ſeeſt thou this woman? ſince I entred into thine houſe thou gaueſt me no water for my feete, but ſhe hath waſhed my feete with teares, and wiped them with the heares*

of

[a] T.C. lib. 1. pag. 170.

[b] T.C. lib. 1. pag. 170. The profitable ſignification of the croſſe maketh the thing a great deale worſe, and bringeth in a new word into the Church, whereas there ought to be no Doctor heard in the Church but only our Sauiour Chriſt. For although it be the word of God that we ſhould not be aſhamed of the croſſe of Chriſt, yet is it not the word of God that we ſhould be kept in remembrance of that by two lines drawne acroſſe one ouer another in the childs forehead.

[c] *Luc. 7. 44.*

of her head; thou gaueſt me no kiſſe, but this woman ſince the time I came in hath not ceaſed to kiſſe my feete; mine head with oyle thou didſt not anoint, but this woman hath annointed my feete with ointment. Wherefore as the vſuall dumb Ceremonies of common life are in requeſt or diſlike according to that they import, euen ſo religion hauing likewiſe her ſilent rites, the chiefeſt rule whereby to iudge of their qualitie is that which they meane or betoken. For if they ſignifie good things (as ſomewhat they muſt of neceſſitie ſignifie becauſe it is of their very nature to be ſignes of intimation preſenting both themſelues vnto outward ſenſe and beſides themſelues ſome other thing to the vnderſtanding of beholders) vnleſſe they be either greatly miſchoſen to ſignifie the ſame, or els applied where that which they ſignifie agreeth not, there is no cauſe of exception againſt them as againſt euill and vnlawfull Ceremonies, much leſſe of excepting againſt them only in that they are not without ſenſe. And if euery religious Ceremonie which hath bene inuented of men to ſignifie any thing that God himſelfe alloweth were the publication of an other Goſpell in the Church of Chriſt, ſeeing that no Chriſtian Church in the world is or can be without continuall vſe of ſome Ceremonies which men haue inſtituted and that to ſignifie good things (vnleſſe they be vaine and friuolous Ceremonies) it would follow that the world hath no Chriſtian Church which doth not dayly proclaime new Goſpels, a ſequele the manifeſt abſurditie whereof argueth the rawneſſe of that ſuppoſall out of which it groweth. Now the [a] cauſe why antiquitie did the more *in actions of common life* honor the Ceremonie of the Croſſe might be for that they liued with infidels. But that which they did in the ſacrament of baptiſme was for the ſelfeſame good of belieuers which is thereby intended ſtill. The Croſſe is for vs an admonition no leſſe neceſſarie then for them to glorie in the ſeruice of Ieſus Chriſt, and not to hang downe our heads as men aſhamed thereof although it procure vs reproch and obloquie at the hands of this wretched world. Shame is a kind of feare to incurre diſgrace and ignominie. Now whereas ſome things are worthie of reproch, ſome things ignominious only through a falſe opinion which men haue conceiued of them, nature that generally feareth opprobrious reprehenſion muſt by reaſon and religion be [b] taught what it ſhould be aſhamed of and what not. But be we neuer ſo well inſtructed what our dutie is in this behalfe, without ſome preſent admonition at the very inſtant of practiſe, what we know is many times not called to minde till that be done whereupon our iuſt confuſion enſueth. To ſupplie the abſence of ſuch as that way might do vs good when they ſee vs

[a] T. C. lib. 1. pag. 170. It is knowne to all that haue read the Eccleſiaſticall ſtories that the Heathen did obiect to Chriſtians in times paſt in reproch that the God which they belieued of was hanged vpon a croſſe. And they thought good to teſtifie that they were not aſhamed therefore of the Sonne of God, by the often vſing of the ſigne of the croſſe. Which carefulnes and good minde to keepe amongſt them an open profeſſion of Chriſt crucified although it be to be commended, yet is not this meanes ſo. For they might otherwiſe haue kept it and with leſſe daunger then by this vſe of croſſing. And as it was brought in vpon no good ground, ſo the Lord left a marke of his curſe of it, and whereby it might be perceiued to come out of the forge of mans braine, in that it began forthwith while it was yet in the ſwadling cloutes to be ſuperſtitiouſly abuſed. The Chriſtians had ſuch a ſuperſtition in it that they would do nothing without croſſing. But if it were graunted that vpon this conſideration which I haue before mentioned, the auncient Chriſtians did well, yet it followeth not that we ſhould ſo do. For we liue not amongſt thoſe nations which do caſt vs in the teeth or reproch vs with the croſſe of Chriſt. Now that wee liue amongſt Papiſts that do not contemne the croſſe of Chriſt but which eſteeme more of the wodden croſſe then of the true croſſe which is his ſufferings, we ought now to do cleane contrariwiſe to the old Chriſtians, and aboliſh all vſe of theſe croſſes. For contrarie diſeaſes muſt haue contrarie remedies. If therefore the old Chriſtians to deliuer the croſſe of Chriſt from contempt did often vſe the croſſe, the Chriſtians now to take away the ſuperſtitious eſtimation of it ought to take away the vſe of it.

[b] *Epheſ. 5. 12. Rom. 6. 21.*

in danger of ſliding, there are [a] iudicious and wiſe men which thinke we may greatly relieue our ſelues by a bare imagined preſence of ſome, whoſe authoritie we feare and would be loath to offend, if in deed they were preſent with vs. Witneſſes at hand are a bridle vnto many offences. Let the minde haue alwayes ſome whome it feareth, ſome whoſe authoritie may keepe euen ſecret thoughts vnder awe. Take Cato, or if he be too harſh and rugged, chooſe ſome other of a ſofter mettle, whoſe grauitie of life and ſpeech thou loueſt, his minde and countenance carrie with thee, ſet him alwaies before thine eyes either as a watch or as a paterne. That which is crooked we cannot ſtreighten but by ſome ſuch leuell. If men of ſo good experience and inſight in the maimes of our weake fleſh, haue thought theſe fancied remembrances auaileable to awaken ſhamefaſtnes, that ſo the boldnes of ſinne may be ſtayed ere it looke abroad, ſurely the wiſdome of the Church of Chriſt which hath to that vſe conuerted the Ceremonie of the Croſſe in Baptiſme it is no Chriſtian mans part to deſpiſe, eſpecially ſeeing that by this meane where nature doth earneſtly implore aide, religion yeeldeth her that readie aſſiſtance then which there can be no help more forcible ſeruing only to relieue memorie, and to bring to our cogitation that which ſhould moſt make aſhamed of ſinne. The minde while we are in this preſent life [b] whether it contemplate, meditate, deliberate, or howſoeuer exerciſe it ſelfe, worketh nothing without continuall recourſe vnto imagination the onely ſtorehouſe of wit, and peculiar chaire of memorie. On this anuile it ceaſeth not day and night to ſtrike, by meanes whereof as the pulſe declareth how the hart doth worke, ſo the very [c] thoughts and cogitations of mans minde be they good or bad do no where ſooner bewray themſelues, then through the creueſſes of that wall wherewith nature hath compaſſed the cells and cloſets of fancie. In the forehead nothing more plaine to be ſeene then the feare of contumelie and diſgrace. For which cauſe the ſcripture (as with great probabilitie it may be thought) deſcribeth them [d] marked of God in the forehead, whom his mercie hath vndertaken to keepe from finall confuſion and ſhame. Not that God doth ſet any corporall marke on his choſen, but to note that he giueth his elect ſecuritie of preſeruation frō reproch, the feare whereof doth vſe to ſhew it ſelfe [e] in that part. Shall I ſay that the ſigne of the croſſe (as we vſe it) is in ſome ſort a meane to worke our [f] preſeruation from reproch? Surely the minde which as yet hath not hardned it ſelfe in ſinne is ſeldome prouoked thereunto in any groſſe & grieuous maner, but natures ſecret ſuggeſtion obiecteth againſt it ignominie as a barre. Which conceipt being entred into that palace of mans fancie, the gates whereof hath imprinted in them that holy ſigne which bringeth forthwith to mind whatſoeuer Chriſt hath wrought and we vowed againſt ſinne, it commeth hereby to paſſe that Chriſtian men neuer want a moſt effectuall though a ſilent teacher to auoid whatſoeuer may deſeruedly procure ſhame. So that in things which we ſhould be aſhamed of we are by the croſſe admoniſhed faithfully of our dutie at the very moment when admonition doth moſt neede. Other things there are which deſerue honor and yet do purchaſe many times our diſgrace in this preſent world, as of old the very truth of religion it ſelfe, till God by his owne outſtretched arme made the glorie thereof to ſhine ouer all the earth.

Where-

[a] Senec. ep. 11. lib. 1.

[b] Τὸ νοεῖν ἢ φαντασία πᾶς ἢ οὐκ ἄνευ φαντασίας. Ariſt. de anim. l. 1. c. 1. Ἡ μὲν αἰσθητικὴ φαντασία ἐν τοῖς ἀλόγοις ζώοις ὑπάρχει, ἡ δὲ λογιστικὴ ἐν τοῖς λογιστικοῖς. li. 3. ca. 11. Τὰ μὲν οὖν αἰσθητὰ τὸ νοητικὸν ἐν τοῖς φαντάσμασι νοεῖ. καὶ ὡς ἐν ἐκείνοις ὁρίσαι αὐτῷ τὰ διωκτὸν καὶ φευκτὸν, καὶ ἐκτὸς τῆς αἰσθήσεως οὕτω, ὅταν ὁπόταν ἀπὸ φαντασμάτων ᾖ, κινεῖται. lib. 3. ca. 8.

[c] Frons hominis triſtitia, hilaritatis, clementia, ſeueritatis index eſt. Plin. lib. 11.

[d] Exech. 9. 4. Apoc. 7. 3. 9. 4.

[e] Ερυθριῶντα γὰρ οἱ αἰσχυνόμενοι. Ariſt. eth. 4. c. 9.

[f] Caro ſignatur vt anima muniatur. Tertul. de reſur. car.

Whereupon [a] S. Cyprian exhorting to martyrdome in times of heathenish persecution and crueltie, thought it not vaine to alleage vnto them with other arguments the verie Ceremonie of that Crosse whereof we speake. Neuer let that hand offer sacrifice to idols which hath alreadie receyued the bodie of our Sauiour Christ and shall hereafter the Crowne of his glorie; *arme your foreheads* vnto all boldnes that *the signe of God* may be kept safe. Againe, when it pleased God that the furie of their enemies being bridled the Church had some little rest and quietnes, (if so small a libertie but only to breath betweene troubles may be tearmed quietnes and rest) to such as fell not away from Christ through former persecutions, he giueth due and deserued prayse in the selfesame manner, [b] *You that were readie to indure imprisonment, and were resolute to suffer death; you that haue courageously withstoode the world, yee haue made your selues both a glorious spectacle for God to behold, and a worthie example for the rest of your brethren to follow. Those mouthes which had sanctified themselues with foode comming downe from heauen loathed after Christs owne bodie and bloud to taste the poysoned and contagious scraps of idols; those foreheads which the signe of God had purified kept themselues to be crowned by him; the touch of the* [c] *garlands of Satan they abhorred.* Thus was the memorie of that signe which they had in baptisme a kinde of barre or preuention to keepe them euen from apostasie, whereinto the frailtie of flesh and bloud ouermuch fearing to indure shame, might peraduenture the more easily otherwise haue drawne them. We haue not now through the gratious goodnes of almightie God, those extreame conflicts which our fathers had with blasphemous contumelies euery where offered to the name of Christ, by such as professed themselues infidels and vnbeleeuers. Howbeit, vnlesse we be strangers to the age wherein we liue, or els in some partiall respect dissemblers of that we howerly both heare and see, there is not the simplest of vs but knoweth with what disdaine and scorne Christ is honored farre and wide. Is there any burthen in the world more heauie to beare then contempt? Is there any contempt that grieueth as theirs doth whose qualitie no way making them lesse worthie then others are of reputation, only the seruice which they do to Christ in the dayly exercise of religion treadeth them downe? Doth any contumelie which we sustaine for religions sake pierce so deeply as that which would seeme euen of meere conscience religiously spitefull? when they that honor God are despised; when the chiefest seruice of honor that man can do vnto him is the cause why they are despised; when they which pretend to honor him and that with greatest sincerite do with more then heathenish petulancie trample vnder foote almost whatsoeuer either we or the whole Church of God by the space of so many ages haue beene accustomed vnto for the comlier and better exercise of our religion according to the soundest rules that wisedome directed by the word of God and by long experience confirmed hath bene able with common aduise with much deliberation and exceeding great diligence to comprehende; when no man fighting vnder Christes banner can be alwayes exempted from seeing or susteyning those indignities, the sting whereof not to feele, or feeling, not to be moued thereat, is a thing impossible to flesh and bloud: if this be any obiect for patience to worke on,

[a] *Cypr. ep 58. ad Thibaritanos.*

[b] *Cypr. de lapsis.*

[c] *Erant enim supplices coronarij. Tertul. lib. de coro. mil.* In the seruice of idols the doores of their temples, the sacrifices, the altars, the priests and the suppliants that were present wore garlands.

the ſtricteſt bond that thereunto tyeth vs is our vowed obedience to Chriſt; the ſollemneſt vow that we euer made to obey Chriſt and to ſuffer willingly all reproches for his ſake was made in baptiſme; and amongſt other memorials to keepe vs mindfull of that vow we cannot thinke that the ſigne which our new baptiſed foreheads did there receyue is either vnfit or vnforcible, the reaſons hitherto alleaged being weighed with indifferent balance. It is not (you will ſay) the croſſe in our foreheads, but in our harts the faith of Chriſt that armeth vs with patience, conſtancie and courage. Which as we graunt to be moſt true, ſo neither dare we deſpiſe no not the meaneſt helps that ſerue though it be but in the very loweſt degree of furtherance towards the higheſt ſeruices that God doth require at our hands. And if any man deny that ſuch Ceremonies are auaileable at the leaſt as memorials of dutie, or do thinke that himſelfe hath no neede to be ſo put in minde what our duties are, it is but reaſonable that in the one the publique experience of the world ouerwaigh ſome few mens perſwaſion, and in the other the rare perfection of a few condiſcend vnto common imbecillitie. Seeing therefore that to feare ſhame which doth worthely follow ſinne, and to beare vndeſerued reproch conſtantly is the generall dutie of all men profeſſing Chriſtianitie, ſeeing alſo that our weakenes while we are in this preſent world doth neede towards ſpirituall duties the help euen of corporall furtherances, and that by reaſon of naturall intercourſe betweene the higheſt and the loweſt powers of mans minde in all actions, his phancie or imagination carrying in it that ſpeciall note of remembrance then which there is nothing more forcible where either too weake or too ſtrong a conceipt of infamie and diſgrace might do great harme, ſtandeth alwayes readie to put forth a kinde of neceſſarie helping hand, we are in that reſpect to acknowledge the [a] good and profitable vſe of this Ceremonie, and not to thinke it ſuperfluous that Chriſt hath his marke applyed [b] vnto that part where baſhfulnes appeareth, in token that they which are Chriſtians ſhould be at no time aſhamed of his ignominie. But to preuent ſome inconueniences which might enſew if the ouer ordinarie vſe thereof (as it fareth with ſuch rites when they are too common) ſhould cauſe it to be of leſſe obſeruation or regard where it moſt auaileth, we neither omit it in that place, nor altogether make it ſo vulgar as the cuſtome heretofore hath bene: although to condemne the whole Church of God when it moſt flouriſhed in zeale and pietie, to marke that age with the brand of error and ſuperſtition only becauſe they had this Ceremonie more in vſe then we now thinke needefull, boldly to affirme that this their practiſe grew ſo ſoone through a fearefull malediction of God vpon the Ceremonie of the Croſſe as if we knew that his purpoſe was thereby to make it manifeſt in all mens eyes how execrable thoſe things are in his ſight which haue proceeded from humane inuention, is as we take it a cenſure of greater zeale then knowledge. Men whoſe iudgements in theſe caſes are growne more moderate, although they retaine not as we do the vſe of this Ceremonie, perceiue notwithſtanding very well ſuch cenſures to be out of ſquare, and do therefore not only [c] acquit the Fathers from ſuperſtition therein, but alſo thinke it ſufficient to anſwere in excuſe of themſelues, *That ceremonie which was but a thing indifferent euen of old we iudge not at this day a matter neceſſary*

[a] Ἕτω δὴ ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὸ φυλακτικὸν σημεῖον τοιούτων καὶ ᾧ ἀκολουθεῖ τὸ τοιαῦτα καὶ τὰ κωλυτικὰ τῶν ἐναντίων καὶ τὰ φθαρτικά. *Ariſt. Rhet. lib. 1. ca. 6.*

[b] *Oziæ rex lepra varietate in fronte maculatus eſt, ea parte corporis notatus offenſo Domino vbi ſignantur qui Dominum promerentur. Cypr. de Vnit. Eccleſ. ca. 16.*

[c] *Goulart. Annot. in Cypr. lib. ad Demetr. ca. 19. Quamuis veteres Chriſtiani ex-*

necessary for all Christian men to obserue. As for their last vpshot of all towards this marke, they are of opinion that if the auncient Christians to deliuer the Crosse of Christ from contempt did well and with good consideration vse often the signe of the crosse in testimonie of their faith and profession before infidels which vpbraided them with Christs sufferings, now that we liue with such as contrariwise adore the signe of the crosse (because contrarie diseases should alwayes haue contrarie remedies) we ought to take away all vse thereof. In which conceipt they both wayes greatly seduce themselues, first for that they imagin the Fathers to haue had no vse of the crosse but with reference vnto infidels, which misperswasion we haue before discouered at large; and secondly by reason that they thinke there is not any other way besides vniuersall extirpation to reforme superstitious abuses of the crosse. Wherein because there are that stand very much vpon the example of Ezechias, as if his [a] *breaking to peeces that serpent* of brasse whereunto the children of Israell had *burnt incense*, did inforce the vtter abolition of this Ceremonie, the fact of that vertuous prince is by so much the more attentiuely to be considered. Our liues in this world are partly guided by rules, and partly directed by examples. To conclude out of generall rules and axiomes by discourse of wit our duties in euery particular action is both troublesome and many times so full of difficultie that it maketh deliberations hard and tedious to the wisest men. Whereupon we naturallie all incline to obserue examples, to marke what others haue done before vs, and in fauour of our owne ease rather to follow them then to enter into new consultation, if in regard of their vertue and wisdome we may but probablie thinke they haue waded without error. So that the willingnes of men to be led by example of others both discouereth and helpeth the imbecilitie of our iudgement. Because it doth the one, therefore insolent and proud wits would alwayes seeme to be their owne guides; and because it doth the other, we see how hardly the vulgar sort is drawne vnto any thing for which there are not as well examples as reasons alleaged. Reasons prouing that which is more particular by things more generall and farther from sense are with the simpler sort of men lesse trusted for that they doubt of their owne iudgement in those things; but of examples which proue vnto them one doubtfull particular by an other more familiarly and sensibly knowne, they easily perceiue in themselues some better abilitie to iudge. The force of examples therefore is great, when in matter of action being doubtfull what to do we are informed what others haue commendablie done whose deliberations were like. But whosoeuer doth perswade by example must as well respect the fitnes as the goodnes of that he alleageth. To Ezechias God himselfe in this fact giueth testimonie of well doing. So that nothing is heere questionable but only whether the example alleaged be pertinent pregnant and strong. The serpent spoken of was first erected for the extraordinarie and *miraculous cure* of the Israelites in the desert. This vse hauing presently an end when the cause for which God ordeined it was once remoued, the thing it selfe they notwithstanding kept for a *monument of Gods mercie*, as in like consideration they did the pot of Manna, the rod of Aaron, and the sword which Dauid tooke from Goliah. In processe of time they made of a monument of diuine

power

termo signo crucis vsi sunt, id tamen fuit sine superstitione, & doctrina de Christi merito ab errore qui postea irrepsit pios seruauit immunes.

* *Idem annot. in Cypr. ep. 56. cap. 7.*

a 2. Reg. 18. 3.

power a plaine idoll, they burnt incenſe before it contrarie to the law of God, and did it the ſeruices of honor due vnto God only. Which groſſe and grieuous abuſe continued till Ezechias reſtoring the puritie of ſound religion, deſtroyed vtterly that which had bene ſo long and ſo generally a ſnare vnto them. It is not amiſſe which the [a] Canon law hereupon concludeth, namely, that *if our predeceſſors haue done ſome things which at that time might be without fault, and afterward be turned to error and ſuperſtition, we are taught by Ezechias breaking the braſen Serpent that poſteritie may deſtroy them without any delay and with great authoritie.* But may it be ſimplie and without exception hereby gathered, that poſteritie *is bound to deſtroy* whatſoeuer hath bene either at the firſt inuented, or but afterwards turned to like ſuperſtition and error? No it cannot be. The Serpent therefore and the ſigne of the Croſſe although ſeeming equall in this point that ſuperſtition hath abuſed both, yet being herein alſo vnequall, that neither they haue bene both ſubiect to the like degree of abuſe, nor were in hardnes of redreſſe alike, it may be that euen as the one for abuſe was religiouſly taken away, ſo now, when religion hath taken away abuſe from the other, we ſhould by vtter abolition thereof deſerue hardly his commendation whoſe example there is offered vs no ſuch neceſſarie cauſe to follow. For by the words of Ezechias in terming the Serpent but *a lump of braſſe*, to ſhew that the beſt thing in it now was the mettle or matter whereof it conſiſted, we may probablie coniecture, that the people whoſe error is therein controld had the ſelfeſame opinion of it which the Heathens had of idols, they thought that the power of deitie was with it, and when they ſaw it diſſolued happely they might to comfort themſelues imagin as *Olimpius* the Sophiſter did beholding the diſſipation of idols, [b] *Shapes and counterfeits they were, faſhioned of matter ſubiect vnto corruption, therefore to grinde them to duſt was eaſie, but thoſe cæleſtiall powers which dwelt and reſided in them are aſcended into heauen.* Some difference there is betwene theſe opinions of palpable idolatrie and that which the ſchooles in ſpeculation haue boulted out concerning the Croſſe. Notwithſtanding for as much as the Church of Rome hath hetherto practiſed and doth profeſſe the ſame adoration to the ſigne of the Croſſe and neither leſſe nor other then is due vnto Chriſt himſelfe, howſoeuer they varniſh and qualifie their ſentence, pretending that the croſſe, which to outward ſenſe preſenteth viſiblie it ſelfe alone, is not by them apprehended alone, but hath in their ſecret ſurmiſe or conceipt a reference to the perſon of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, ſo that the honor which they iointlie do to both reſpecteth principallie his perſon, and the croſſe but only for his perſons ſake, the people not accuſtomed to trouble their wits with ſo nice and ſubtle differences in the exerciſe of religion are apparently no leſſe inſnared by adoring the Croſſe, then the Iewes by burning incenſe to the braſen Serpent. It is by [c] Thomas ingenuouſly graunted, that becauſe vnto reaſonable creatures a kinde of reuerence is due for the excellencie which is in them and whereby they reſemble God, therefore if reaſonable creatures angels or men ſhould receiue at our hands holie and diuine honor as the ſigne of the croſſe doth at theirs, to pretend that we honor not them alone but we honor God with them would not ſerue the turne, neither would this be able to preuent the error of men or cauſe them alwayes to reſpect

[a] *Diſt. 63. c. Quia.*

[b] *Zoſim. lib. 7. ca. 15.*

[c] *Th. p. 3. q. 25. art. 3. reſp. ad tert.*

reſpect God in their adorations, and not to finiſh their intents in the obiect next before them. But vnto this he addeth that no ſuch error can grow by adoring in that ſort a dead image which euery man knoweth to be voyd of excellencie in it ſelfe, and therefore will eaſily conceyue that the honor done vnto it hath an higher reference. Howbeit, ſeeing that we haue by ouer true experience bene taught how often, eſpecially in theſe caſes, the light euen of common vnderſtanding faileth, ſurely their vſuall adoration of the Croſſe is not hereby freed. For in actions of this kinde we are more to reſpect what the greateſt part of men is commonly prone to conceyue, then what ſome few mens wits may deuiſe in conſtruction of their owne particular meanings. Plaine it is, that a falſe opinion of ſome perſonall diuine excellencie to be in thoſe things which either nature or arte hath framed cauſeth alwayes religious adoration. And as plaine that the like adoration applyed vnto things ſenſible argueth to vulgar capacities, yea leaueth imprinted in them the very ſame opinion of deitie from whence all idolatrous worſhip groweth. Yea the meaner and baſer a thing worſhipped is in it ſelfe, the more they incline to thinke that euery man which doth adore it, knoweth there is in it or with it a preſence of diuine power. Be it therefore true that Croſſes purpoſely framed or vſed for receipt of diuine honor be euen as ſcandalous as the braſen Serpent it ſelfe where they are in ſuch ſort adored. Should wee hereupon thinke our ſelues in the ſight of God and in conſcience charged to aboliſh vtterly the very *Ceremonie* of the Croſſe, neither meant at the firſt, nor now conuerted vnto any ſuch offenſiue purpoſe? Did the Iewes which could neuer be perſwaded to admit in the Citie of Ieruſalem that [a] image of Cæſar which the Romanes were accuſtomed [b] to adore, make any ſcruple of [c] Cæſars image in the Coine which they knewe very well that men were not woont to worſhip? Betweene the Croſſe which ſuperſtition honoreth as Chriſt, and that Ceremonie of the Croſſe which ſerueth only for a ſigne of remembrance, there is as plaine and as great a difference as betweene thoſe [d] braſen Images which Salomon made to beare vp the Ceſterne of the Temple, and (ſith both were of like ſhape but of vnlike vſe) [e] that which the Iſraelites in the wildernes did adore; or betweene the [f] altares which Ioſias deſtroyed becauſe they were inſtruments of meere Idolatrie, and [g] that which the tribe of Ruben with others erected neere to the riuer Iordan, for which alſo they grewe at the firſt into ſome diſlike, and were by the reſt of their brethren ſuſpected yea hardlie charged with open breach of the law of God, accuſed of backwardnes in religion, vpbraided bitterly with the fact of Peor, and the odious example of Achan, as if the building of their altare in that place had giuen manifeſt ſhew of no better then intended Apoſtaſie, till by a true declaration made in theyr owne defenſe it appeared that ſuch as miſliked miſunderſtoode theyr enterpriſe, in as much as they had no intent to build any altare for ſacrifice which God woulde haue no where offered ſauing in Ieruſalem onely, but to a farre other ende and purpoſe, which beeing opened ſatisfied all partes, and ſo deliuered them from cauſeleſſe blame. In this particular ſuppoſe the woorſt, imagin

a *Ioſeph. Antiq. lib. 17. ca. 8. & lib. 18 ca. 3. & de bel. li. 2. c. 8.*

b Their Eagles their enſignes, and the images of their Princes they carried with them in all their armies, and had alwaies a kind of Chappell wherein they placed and adored them as their Gods.

c *Matth. 22. 20.*

d *2. Chro. 4. 3.*

e *Exod. 32. 4.*

f *2. Chro. 34. 7.*

g *Ioſu. 22. 10.*

imagin that the immateriall Ceremonie of the Croſſe had bene the ſubiect of as groſſe pollution as any heatheniſh or profane idole. If wee thinke the example of Ezechias a proofe that things which error and ſuperſtition hath abuſed may in no conſideration be tolerated, although we preſently finde them not ſubiect to ſo vile abuſe, the plaine example of Ezechias proueth the contrarie. The temples and Idols which vnder Salomon [a] had bene of very purpoſe framed for the honor of forreine Gods Ezechias deſtroyed not, becauſe they ſtood as forlorne things and did now no harme, although formerly they had done harme. [b] Ioſias for ſome inconuenience afterwards raced them vp. Yet to both there is one commendation giuen euen from God himſelfe, that touching [c] matter of religion they walked in the ſteps of Dauid and did no way diſpleaſe God. Perhaps it ſeemeth that by force and vertue of this example although in bare deteſtation and hatred of idolatrie all things which haue bene at any time worſhipped are not neceſſarily to be taken out of the world, neuertheleſſe for remedie and preuention of ſo great offences wiſedome ſhould iudge it the ſafeſt courſe to remoue altogether from the eyes of men that which may put them in minde of euill. Some kinds of euill no doubt there are very quick in working on thoſe affections that moſt eaſilie take fire, which euils ſhould in that reſpect no oftner then neede requireth be brought in preſence of weake mindes. But neither is the Croſſe any ſuch euill, nor yet the braſen Serpent it ſelfe ſo ſtrongly poiſoned, that our eyes eares and thoughts ought to ſhunne them both, for feare of ſome deadly harme to enſue the only repreſentation thereof by geſture, ſhape, ſound, or ſuch like ſignificant meanes. And for mine owne part I moſt aſſuredly perſwade my ſelfe, that had Ezechias (till the dayes of whoſe moſt vertuous raigne they ceaſed not continuallie to burne incenſe to the braſen Serpent) had he found the Serpent, though ſometime adored, yet at that time recouered from the euill of ſo groſſe abuſe, and reduced to the ſame that was before in the time of Dauid, at which time they eſteemed it only as a memoriall ſigne or monument of Gods miraculous goodnes towards them, euen as wee in no other ſort eſteeme the Ceremonie of the Croſſe, the due conſideration of an vſe ſo harmeleſſe common to both might no leſſe haue wrought their equall preſeruation, then different occaſions haue procured, notwithſtanding the ones extinguiſhment, the others lawfull continuance. In all perſwaſions which ground themſelues vpon example, wee are not ſo much to reſpect what is done, as the cauſes and ſecret inducements leading thereunto. The queſtion being therefore whether this Ceremonie ſuppoſed to haue bene *ſometimes* ſcandalous and offenſiue, ought for that cauſe to be *now* remoued, there is no reaſon we ſhould forthwith yeeld our ſelues to be carried away with examples, no not of them whoſe actes the higheſt iudgement approueth for hauing reformed in that manner any publique euill: but before wee either attempt any thing or reſolue, the ſtate and condition as well of our owne affaires as theirs whoſe example preſſeth vs, is aduiſedly to be examined, becauſe ſome things are of their owne nature ſcandalous and cannot chooſe but breede offence, as thoſe [d] ſinkes of execrable filth which Ioſias did ouerwhelme; ſome things albeit

[a] 1. Reg. 11. 17.
[b] 2. Reg. 23. 13.
[c] 2. Reg. 18. 3. 6 2. Reg. 22. 2.
[d] 2. Reg. 23. 7.

albeit not by nature and of themſelues, are notwithſtanding ſo generally turned to euill by reaſon of an euill corrupt habit growne and through long continuance incurablie ſettled in the mindes of the greateſt part that no redreſſe can be well hoped for without remouall of that wherein they haue ruined themſelues, which plainely was the ſtate of the Iewiſh people, and the cauſe why Ezechias did with ſuch ſuddaine indignation deſtroy what he ſawe worſhipped; finally ſome things are as the ſigne of the Croſſe though ſubiect either almoſt or altogether to as great abuſe, yet curable with more facilitie and eaſe. And to ſpeake as the truth is, our very nature doth hardly yeeld to deſtroy that which may be fruitefullie kept and without any great difficultie cleane ſcoured from the ruſt of euill which by ſome accident hath growne into it. Wherefore to that which they build in this queſtion vpon the example of Ezechias let this ſuffice. When Heathens deſpiſed Chriſtian religion becauſe of the ſufferings of Ieſus Chriſt, the Fathers to teſtifie how little ſuch contumelies and contempts preuailed with them choſe rather the ſigne of the Croſſe then any other outward marke, whereby the world might moſt eaſily diſceme alwayes what they were. On the contrarie ſide now, whereas they which do all profeſſe the Chriſtian religion are deuided amongſt themſelues, and the fault of the one part is that in zeale to the ſufferings of Chriſt they admire too much and ouerſuperſtitiouſly adore the viſible ſigne of his Croſſe, if you aske what we that miſlike them ſhould do, we are heere aduiſed to cure one contrarie by an other. Which arte or method is not yet ſo currant as they imagin. For if, as their practiſe for the moſt part ſheweth, it be their meaning that the ſcope and drift of reformation when things are faultie ſhould be to *ſettle* the Church in the contrarie, it ſtandeth them vpon to beware of this rule, becauſe ſeeing vices haue not only vertues but other vices alſo in nature oppoſite vnto them, it may be daungerous in theſe caſes to ſeeke but that which we finde contrarie to preſent euils. For in ſoares and ſickneſſes of the minde we are not ſimplie to meaſure good by diſtance from euill, becauſe one vice may in ſome reſpect be more oppoſite to another then either of them to that vertue which holdeth the meane betweene them both. Liberalitie and couetouſnes, the one a vertue and the other a vice are not ſo contrarie as the vices of couetouſnes and prodigalitie; religion and ſuperſtition haue more affiance, though the one be light and the other darkenes, then ſuperſtition and prophaneſſe which both are vitious extremities. By meanes whereof it commeth alſo to paſſe that the meane which is vertue ſeemeth in the eyes of each extreame an extremitie; the liberall harted man is by the opinion of the prodigall miſerable, and by the iudgement of the miſerable lauiſh; impietie for the moſt part vpbraideth religion as ſuperſtitious, which ſuperſtition often accuſeth as impious, both ſo conceiuing thereof becauſe it doth ſeeme more to participate each extreame, then one extreame doth an other, and is by conſequent leſſe contrarie to either of them, then they mutuallie betweene themſelues. Now if hee that ſeeketh to reforme couetouſnes or ſuperſtition ſhould but labour to induce the contrarie, it were but to drawe men out of lime into coleduſt. So that their courſe which will remedie

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the ſuperſtitious abuſe of things profitable in the Church is not ſtill to aboliſh vtterly the vſe thereof, becauſe not vſing at all is moſt oppoſite to ill vſing, but rather if it may be to bring them backe to a right perfect and religious vſage, which albeit leſſe contrarie to the preſent ſoare is notwithſtanding the better and by many degrees the ſounder way of recouerie. And vnto this effect that very precedent it ſelfe which they propoſe may be beſt followed. For as the Fathers when the Croſſe of Chriſt was in vtter contempt did not ſuperſtitiouſly adore the ſame but rather declare that they ſo eſteemed it as was meete: in like maner where we finde the Croſſe to haue that honor which is due to Chriſt, is it not as lawfull for vs to retaine it in that eſtimation which it ought to haue and in that vſe which it had of old without offence, as by taking it cleane away to ſeeme followers of their example which cure wilfully by abſciſion that which they might both preſerue and heale? Touching therefore the ſigne and Ceremonie of the Croſſe, we no way finde our ſelues bound to relinquiſh it, neither becauſe the firſt inuentors thereof were but mortall men, nor leaſt the ſenſe and ſignification we giue vnto it ſhould burthen vs as authors of a new Goſpell in the houſe of God, nor in reſpect of ſome cauſe which the Fathers had more then we haue to vſe the ſame, nor finally for any ſuch offence or ſcandall as heretofore it hath bene ſubiect vnto by error now reformed in the mindes of men.

Of confirmation after Baptiſme.

66 The auncient cuſtome of the Church was after they had baptiſed, to adde thereunto impoſition of hands with effectuall prayer for the [a] illumination of Gods moſt holie Spirit to confirme and perfect that which the grace of the ſame Spirit had alreadie begun in baptiſme. For our meanes to obteine the graces which God doth beſtow are our prayers. Our prayers to that intent are auaileable as well for others as for our ſelues. To pray for others is *to bleſſe* them for whome we pray, becauſe prayer procureth the bleſſing of God vpon them, eſpecially the prayer of ſuch as God either moſt reſpecteth for their pietie and zeale that way, or els regardeth for that their place and calling bindeth them aboue others vnto this dutie as it doth both naturall and ſpirituall fathers. With prayers of ſpirituall and perſonall benediction the maner hath bene in all ages to vſe *impoſition of hands* as a Ceremonie betokening our *reſtrained deſires* to the partie, whome we preſent vnto God by prayer. Thus when [b] Iſraell *bleſſed* Ephraim and Manaſſes Ioſephs ſonnes, he *impoſed* vpon them his hands and prayed, *God in whoſe ſight my fathers Abraham and Izaac did walke, God which hath fed me all my life long vnto this day, and the Angell which hath deliuered me from all euill bleſſe theſe children.* The Prophets which healed diſeaſes by prayer, vſed therein the ſelfeſame Ceremonie. And therefore [c] when Eliſeus willed Naaman to waſh himſelfe ſeauen times in Iordan for cure of his foule diſeaſe it much offended him, *I thought* (ſayth he) *with my ſelfe, Surely the man will come forth and ſtand and call vpon the name of the Lord his God, and put his hand on the place to the end he may ſo heale the leproſie.* In [d] conſecrations and ordinations of men vnto roomes of diuine calling, the like was vſually done from the time of Moſes to Chriſt. Their ſutes that came vnto Chriſt for help were alſo tendered oftentimes and are expreſſed in [e] ſuch formes or phraſes of ſpeech as ſhew that he was himſelfe an obſeruer of the ſame cuſtome. He which

[a] *Caro manus impoſitione adumbratur vt & anima ſpiritu illuminetur. Tertul. de reſur. car.*

[b] *Gen. 48. 14.*

[c] *2. Reg. 5. 11.*

[d] *Num. 27. 18.*

[e] *Math. 9. 18. Marc. 5. 23. 8. 22.*

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with impoſition of hands and praier did ſo great workes of mercie for reſtauration of bodily health, was worthily iudged as able to effect the infuſion of heauenly grace into them whoſe age was not yet depraued with that malice which might be ſuppoſed a barre to the goodneſſe of God towardes them. They [f] brought him therefore young Children to put *his hands* vppon them and *pray*. After the aſcention of our Lord & Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt, that which hee had begun continued in the daily practiſe of his Apoſtles, whoſe prayer and impoſition of hands were a meane wherby thouſands became partakers of the wonderfull giftes of God. The Church had receiued from Chriſt [g] a promiſe that ſuch as belieued in him theſe ſignes and tokens ſhould followe them, *To caſt out diuels, to ſpeake with tongues, to driue away Serpents, to be free from the harme which any deadly poyſon could worke, and to cure diſeaſes by impoſition of hands.* Which power, common at the firſt in a manner vnto *all belieuers*, all belieuers had not power to deriue or cõmunicate vnto all other men, but whoſoeuer was the inſtrument of God to inſtruct, conuert and baptiſe them, [h] the gift of miraculous operations by the power of the holy Ghoſt they had not but onely at the Apoſtles owne hands. For which cauſe [i] Simon Magus perceiuing that power to be in none but them, and preſuming that they which had it might ſell it, ſought to purchaſe it of them with money. And as miraculous graces of the ſpirit continued after the Apoſtles times (for ſaith [k] Irenæus,) *They which are truely his Diſciples doe in his name and through grace receiued from him ſuch workes for the benefit of other men as euerie of them is by him inabled to worke; Some caſt out diuels in ſo much as they which are deliuered from wicked ſpirits haue bene thereby woon vnto Chriſt and do conſtantly perſeuere in the Church and ſocietie of faithfull men; Some excell in the knowledge of thinges to come, in the grace of viſions from God and the gift of propheticall predictions; Some by laying on their hands reſtore them to health which are grieuouſly afflicted with ſickneſſe; yea there are that of dead haue beene made aliue and haue afterwards many yeares conuerſed with vs; What ſhould I ſay? the gifts are innumerable wherewith God hath enritched his Church throughout the world, and by vertue whereof in the name of Chriſt crucified vnder Pontius Pilate the Church euerie day doth many woonders for the good of nations, neither fraudulently nor in any reſpect of lucre and gaine to her ſelfe but as freely beſtowing as God on her hath beſtowed his diuine graces)* ſo it no where appeareth that euer any did by praier & impoſition of hands ſithence the Apoſtles times make others pertakers of the like *miraculous gifts* and graces as long as it pleaſed God to continue the ſame in his Church, but onely Biſhops the Apoſtles ſucceſſors for a time euen in that power. [l] Saint Auguſtine acknowledgeth that ſuch gifts were not permitted to laſt alwaies, leaſt men ſhoulde waxe colde with the commonnes of that the ſtrangnes whereof at the firſt inflamed them. Which wordes of Saint Auguſtine, declaring howe the vulgar vſe of thoſe miracles was then expired, are no preiudice to the like extraordinarie graces more rarely obſerued in ſome either then or of later dayes. Now whereas the ſucceſſors of the Apoſtles had but onely for a time ſuch power as by prayer and impoſition of hands to beſtow the holy Ghoſt, The reaſon wherefore confirmation neuertheleſſe by praier and laying on of hands hath hitherto alwayes continued, is for other very ſpeciall benefites

f *Mat.* 19.13 *Marc.* 10.13 *Luc.* 18.15.

g *Marc.* 16.17

h *Act.* 19.6

i *Act.* 8.17.18.

k *Iren. l.* 6. 2.57

l *Auguſt. de Catechiſ. rud.* ca. 25

which the Church thereby inioyeth. The Fathers euerie where impute vnto it that gift or grace of the holy Ghost, not which maketh vs first Christian men, but when we are made such, assisteth vs in all vertue, armeth vs against temptation and sinne. For after Baptisme administred *there followeth* (layth [a] Tertullian) *Imposition of handes with inuocation and inuitation of the holy Ghost, which willingly commeth downe from the Father to rest vpon the purified and blessed bodies as it were acknowledging the waters of Baptisme a fit seate.* Saint [b] Cyprian in more particular manner alluding to that effect of the spirit which here especially was respected, *How great* (saith hee) *is that power and force wherewith the mind is here* (he meaneth in Baptisme) *inabled, being not onely withdrawne from that pernicious holde which the world before had of it, nor onely so purified and made cleane that no staine or blemish of the enemies inuasion doth remaine, but ouer and besides* (namely through praier and imposition of handes) *becometh yet greater, yet mightier in strength, so farre as to raigne with a kind of imperiall dominion ouer the whole hand of that roaming and spoyling aduersarie.* As much is signified by [c] Eusebius Emisenus saying, *The holy Ghost which descendeth with sauing influence vpon the waters of baptisme doth there giue that fulnesse which sufficeth for innocencie and afterwards exhibiteth in confirmation an augmentation of further grace.* The Fathers therfore being thus perswaded held confirmation as [d] an ordinance Apostolique *alwaies profitable* in Gods Church, although not alwaies accompanied with equall largenes of those externall effects which gaue it countinance at the first. The cause of seuering confirmation from Baptisme (for most commonly they went together) was sometime in the Minister, which being of inferiour degree might Baptise but not confirme, as in [e] their case it came to passe whome Peter and Iohn did confirme, whereas Philip had before Baptised them; and in theirs of whome [f] Saint Ierome hath said, *I denie not but the custome of the Churches is that the Bishop should goe abroade and imposing his hands pray for the gift of the holy Ghost on them whome Presbyters and Deacons far off in lesser Citties haue already Baptised.* Which auncient custome of the Church Saint Cyprian groundeth vppon the example of Peter and Iohn in the eight of the Acts before alleaged. The [g] faithfull in Samaria (saith hee) *Had already obtained Baptisme: Onely that which was wanting Peter and Iohn supplied by praier and imposition of hands to the end the holy Ghost might be powred vpon them. Which also is done amongst our selues, when they which be alreadie Baptised are brought to the Prelats of the Church to obtaine by our prayer and imposition of hands the holy Ghost.* By this it appeareth that when the ministers of Baptisme were persons of inferiour degree, the Bishops did after confirme whome such had before Baptised. Sometimes they which by force of their Ecclesiasticall calling might doe as well the one as the other, were notwithstanding men whome heresie had disiovned from the fellowship of true belieuers. Wherevpon when any man by them Baptised and confirmed, came afterwardes to see and renounce their error, there grew in some Churches verie whot contention about the manner of admitting such into the bosome of the true Church as hath beene declared already in the question of rebaptisation. But the generall receiued custome was onely to admit them with imposition of hands and prayer. Of which custome while some imagined the reason to be

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[a] *Tertul. de baptis.*
[b] *Cypr. Ep. 2. ad Donat. c. 2.*
[c] *Euseb. Emise. Ser. de Penti.*
[d] *August. de trin. l. 15. c. 26.* *Heb. 6. 2.*
[e] *Act. 8. 12. 15.*
[f] *Hieron. aduer. Lucif. cap. 4.*
[g] *Cypr. Ep. 73. ad Iubaianum.*

for that heretiques might giue remiſsion of ſinnes by Baptiſme, but not the Spirit by impoſition of hands becauſe themſelues had not Gods Spirit, and that therefore their Baptiſme might ſtand but confirmation muſt be giuen againe: the imbecillitie of this ground gaue Cyprian occaſion to oppoſe himſelfe againſt the practiſe of the Church heerein, labouring many wayes to prooue that heretiques could doe neither, and conſequently that their baptiſme in all reſpectes was as fruſtrate as their chriſme, for the manner of thoſe times was in confirming to vſe annoynting. On the other ſide againſt Luciferians which ratified onely the Baptiſme of heretiques but diſanulled their confirmations and conſecrations vnder pretenſe of the reaſon which hath beene before ſpecified, *Heretiques cannot giue the holy Ghoſt*, Saint Ierome proueth at large, that if baptiſme by heretiques be graunted auaileable to remiſſion of ſinnes, which no man receiueth without the Spirit, it muſt needs follow that the reaſon taken from diſabilitie of beſtowing the holy Ghoſt was no reaſon wherefore the Church ſhould admit Conuerts with any new impoſition of hands. Notwithſtanding becauſe it might be obiected, that if the gift of the holy Ghoſt do alwaies ioyne it ſelf with true baptiſme, the Church, which thinketh the Biſhops confirmation after other mens baptiſme needefull for the obtaining of the holy Ghoſt, ſhould hold an error, Saint Ierome hereunto maketh anſwere, that the cauſe of this obſeruation is not any abſolute impoſsibilitie of receiuing the holy Ghoſt by the Sacrament of baptiſme vnleſſe a Biſhoppe adde after it the impoſition of hands, but rather a certaine Congruitie and fitneſſe to honour Prelacie with ſuch preeminences, becauſe the ſaftie of the Church dependeth vpon the dignitie of her chiefe ſuperiors, to whome if ſome eminent offices of power aboue others ſhould not bee giuen, there would be in the Church as many Schiſmes as prieſtes. By which aunſwere it appeareth his opinion was, that the holy Ghoſt is receiued in baptiſme; that Confirmation is onely a Sacramentall complement; that the reaſon why Biſhops alone did ordinarily confirme, was not becauſe the benefit grace and dignitie thereof is greater then of baptiſme, but rather for that by the Sacrament of Baptiſme men being admitted into Gods Church it was both reaſonable and conuenient that if hee baptiſe them not vnto whome the chiefeſt authoritie & charge of their ſoules belongeth, yet for honors ſake & in token of his ſpirituall ſuperioritie ouer them, becauſe to [a] bleſſe is an Act of authoritie, the performance of this anexed ceremony ſhould be ſought for at his hands. Now what effect their impoſition of hands hath either after baptiſme adminiſtred by heretiques or otherwiſe, Saint Ierome in that place hath made no mention, becauſe all men vnderſtoode that in Conuerts it tendeth to the fruites of repentance, and craueth in behalfe of the penitent ſuch grace as [b] Dauid after his fall deſired at the hands of God; in others the fruit and benefite thereof is that which hath beene before ſhewed. Finally ſometime the cauſe of ſeuering Confirmation from Baptiſme was in the parties that receiued Baptiſme being infants, at which age they might bee very well admitted to liue in the family; but becauſe to fight in the armie of God, to diſcharge the duties of a Chriſtian man, to bring forth the fruites and to doe the works of the holy Ghoſt their time of habilitie was not yet come (ſo that

[a] *Heb. 7. 7.*

[b] *Pſal. 51. 10, 11, 12.*

Baptiſme were not differd) ther could by ſtay of their cõfirmation no harme enſue but rather good. For by this meane it came to paſſe that Children in expectation thereof were ſeaſoned with the principles of true Religion before malice and corrupt examples depraued their mindes, a good foundation was laide betimes for direction of the courſe of their whole liues, the ſeed of the Church of God was preſerued ſincere and ſound, the Prelates and fathers of Gods family to whome the cure of their ſoules belonged ſaw by triall and examination of them a part of their owne heaue burthen diſcharged, reaped comfort by beholding the firſt beginnings of true godlineſſe in tender yeares, glorified him whoſe praiſe they found in the mouthes of infants, and neglected not ſo fit opportunitie of giuing euerie one fatherly encouragment and exhortation. Whereunto impoſition of hands and praier being added, our warrant for the great good effect thereof is the ſame which Patriarkes, Prophets, Prieſtes, Apoſtles, Fathers and men of God haue had for ſuch their particula[r] inuocations and benedictions as no man I ſuppoſe profeſſing truth of Religion will eaſily thinke to haue beene without fruite. No there is no cauſe wee ſhould doubt of the benefite, but ſurely great cauſe to make complaint of the deepe neglect of this Chriſtian dutie almoſt with all them to whome by right of their place and calling the ſame belongeth. Let them not take it in euill part, the thing is true, their ſmall regarde heereunto hath done harme in the Church of God. That which [a] error raſhly vttereth in diſgrace of good thinges may peraduenture be ſpoonged out, when the print of thoſe euils which are growne through neglect wil remaine behind. Thus much therefore generally ſpoken may ſerue for anſwer vnto their demaundes that require vs to tell them *why there ſhould be any ſuch Confirmation* in the Church, ſeing wee are not ignorant howe earneſtly they haue proteſted againſt it, and how directly (although vntruly for ſo they are content to acknowledge) it hath by ſome of thẽ bene ſaid to be *firſt brought in by the faigned decretall Epiſtles of the Popes*; or why it ſhoulde not bee *vtterly aboliſhed ſeeing that no one title thereof can bee once found in the whole Scripture*, except the Epiſtle to the [b] Hebrewes be Scripture, and again ſeeing that how free ſoeuer it bee now from abuſe, if wee looke backe to the times paſt, which wiſe men doe alwaies more reſpect then the preſent, it *hath beene* abuſed, and is founde at the length *no* ſuch *profitable Ceremonie* as the whole ſilly Church of Chriſt for the ſpace of theſe ſixteene hundred yeares hath

[a] *T.C.l.1.p.199.* Tell mee why there ſhould be any ſuch confirmation in the Church being brought in by the fained decretal Epiſtls of the Popes (this is retracted by ſ ſame T.C.l.3.p.232. That it is ancienter then the fained decretall Epiſtles I yeeld vnto) & no one title therof being once found in the Scripture, and ſeeing that it hath beene ſo horribly abuſed, and not neceſſarie, why ought it not to be vtterly aboliſhed? And thirdly this confirmation hath many dangerous points in it. The firſt ſtep of Poperie in this confirmation is the laying on of hands vpon the head of the Childe whereby the opinion of it that it is a Sacrament is confirmed, eſpecially when as the praier doth ſay that it is done according to the example of the Apoſtles which is a manifeſt vntruth and taken indeed from the Popiſh confirmation. The ſecond is for that the Biſhop as he is called muſt be the onely Miniſter of it, whereby the *Popiſh* opinion which eſteemeth it aboue Baptiſme is confirmed. For whileſt baptiſme may be miniſtred of the Miniſter and not confirmation but onely of the Biſhop there is great cauſe of ſuſpition giuen to thinke that baptiſme is not ſo precious a thing as confirmation, ſeing this was one of the principall reaſons whereby that wicked opinion was eſtabliſhed in *Poperie*. I doe not here ſpeake of the inconuenience that men are conſtrained with charges to bring their Children oftentimes halfe a ſcore miles for that which if it were needful might be as well done at home in their owne Pariſhes. The third is for that the booke ſaith a cauſe of vſing confirmation is that by impoſition of hands and praier the Children may receiue ſtrength and defence againſt al temptations, whereas there is no promiſe that by the laying on of hands vpon Children any ſuch gift ſhall be giuen, and it maintaineth the *Popiſh* diſtinction that the ſpirite of God is giuen at Baptiſme, vnto remiſsion of ſinnes, and in confirmation, vnto ſtrength.

[b] *Heb.1.7.*

hath through want of experience imagined, laſt of all *ſeeing* alſo beſides the crueltie which is ſhewed towardes poore Countrie people who are faine ſometime to let their Ploughes ſtand ſtill, and with incredible weariſome toyle of their feeble bodies to wander ouer mountaines & thorough woodes it may be now & then little leſſe then a whole *halfe ſcore of miles* for a Biſhops bleſsing *which if it were needfull might as well be done at home in their own Pariſhes*, rather then they to purchaſe it with ſo great loſſe and ſo intollerable paine, there are they ſay in Confirmation beſides this, *three* terrible *points*. The firſt is *laying on of hands with pretenſe that the ſame is done to the example of the Apoſtles*, which is not onely as they ſuppoſe *a manifeſt vntruth* (for all the world doth know that the Apoſtles did neuer after Baptiſme lay hands on any, and therefore [a] Saint Luke which ſaith they did was much deceiued) but farther alſo we therby teach men to thinke *impoſition of hands a Sacrament*, belike becauſe it is a principle ingrafted by common light of nature in the mindes of men that all things done by Apoſtolique example muſt needes be Sacraments, the ſecond high point of daunger is that by *tying Confirmation to the Biſhoppe alone there is great cauſe of ſuſpition giuen to thinke that Baptiſme is not ſo precious a thing as Confirmation*, for will any man thinke that a Veluet Coate is of more price then a linnen Coife knowing the one to bee an ordinarie garment, the other an ornament which only Sergeants at law doe weare? Finally to draw to an ende of perils the laſt and the waightieſt hazard is where the booke it ſelfe doth ſaye that Children by *impoſition* of hands and praier may receiue *ſtrength* againſt al temptation, which ſpeech as a two edged ſword doth both waies daungerouſly wound, partly becauſe it aſcribeth grace to impoſition of hands whereby we are able no more to aſſure our ſelues in the warrant of *any promiſe from God* that his heauenly grace ſhall be giuen, then the Apoſtle was that himſelfe ſhould obtaine grace by the [b] bowing of his knees to God; and partly becauſe by vſing the verie worde *ſtrength* in this matter a word ſo apt to ſpread infection we *maintaine* with *Popiſh* Euangeliſts an olde forlorne *diſtinction* of the holy Ghoſt [c] beſtowed vpon Chriſts Apoſtles before his aſcention into heauen and [d] *augmented* vpon them afterwards, a diſtinction of *grace* infuſed into Chriſtian men by degrees, planted in them *at the firſt* by Baptiſme, *after* cheriſhed, watred, and (bee it ſpoken without offence) *ſtrengthened* as by other vertuous offices which pietie and true Religion teacheth, euen ſo by this very ſpeciall benediction whereof we ſpeake the rite or Ceremonie of confirmation.

[a] *Act.8.15.17*

[b] *Eph.3.14.*

[c] *Ioh.20.22.*
[d] *Act.1.8.*

67 The grace which wee haue by the holy Euchariſt doth not begin but continue life. No man therefore receiueth this Sacrament before Baptiſme, becauſe no dead thing is capable of nouriſhment. That which groweth muſt of neceſſitie firſt liue. If our bodies did not daily waſt, foode to reſtore them were a thing ſuperfluous. And it may bee that the grace of Baptiſme woulde ſerue to eternall life, were it not that the ſtate of our ſpirituall being is daily ſo much hindered and impaired after Baptiſme. In that life therefore wher neither body nor ſoule can decay, our ſoules ſhall as litle require this Sacrament as our bodies corporall nouriſhment. But as long as the daies of our warfare laſt, during the time that wee are both ſubiect to diminution and capable of

Of the Sacrament of the body & bloud of Chriſt.

augmentation in grace, the wordes of our Lord and Sauiour Christ will remaine forceable, [a] *Except ye eate the flesh of the Sonne of man and drinke his bloud ye haue no life in you.* Life being therefore proposed vnto all men as their ende, they which by Baptisme haue laide the foundation and attained the first beginning of a new life haue heere their nourishment and foode prescribed for *continuance of life* in them. Such as will liue the life of God must eate the flesh and drinke the bloud of the Sonne of man, because this is a part of that diet which if we want we cannot liue. Whereas therefore in our infancie wee are incorporated into Christ and by Baptisme receiue the grace of his spirit without any sence or feeling of the gift which God bestoweth, in the Eucharist we so receiue the gift of God, that we know by grace what the grace is which God giueth vs, the degrees of our owne increase in holinesse and vertue wee see and can iudge of them, we vnderstand that the strength of our life begun in Christ is Christ, that his flesh is meate and his bloud drinke, not by surmised imagination but truely, euen so truely that through faith wee perceiue in the body and bloud sacramentally presented the very tast of eternall life, the grace of the Sacrament is here as the foode which we eate and drinke. This was it that some did exceedingly feare, least *Zwinglius* and *Oecolampadius* would bring to passe, that men should accompt of this Sacrament but onely as of a shadow destitute emptie and voide of Christ. But seeing that by opening the seuerall opinions which haue beene held, they are growne for ought I can see on all sides at the length to a generall agreement concerning that which alone is materiall namely the *reall participation* of Christ and of life in his body and bloud *by meanes of this Sacrament*, wherefore should the world continue still distracted and rent with so manifold contentions, when there remaineth now no Controuersie sauing onely about the subiect *where* Christ is? Yea euen in this point no side denieth but that *the soule of man* is the receptacle of Christs presence. Whereby the question is yet driuen to a narrower issue, nor doth any thing rest doubtfull but this, whether when the Sacrament is administred Christ bee whole *within man onely*, or else his body and bloud be also externally seated in the very consecrated elements themselues, which opinion they that defend are driuen either to *Consubstantiate* and incorporate Christ with elements sacramental, or to *Transubstantiate* & change their substance into his, and so the one to hold him really but inuisibly moulded vp with the substance of those elements, the other to hide him vnder the onely visible show of Breade and Wine the substance whereof as they imagine is abolished and his succeeded in the same roome. All things considered and compared with that successe which truth hath hitherto had by so bitter conflicts with errors in this point, shall I wish that men would more giue themselues to meditate with silence what we haue by the Sacrament, & lesse to dispute of the manner how? If any man suppose that this were too great stupiditie and dulnes, let vs see whether the Apostles of our Lord themselues haue not doone the like. It appeareth by many examples that they of their owne disposition were very scrupulous and inquisitiue, yea in other Cases of lesse importance and lesse difficultie alwaies apt to mooue questions. Howe commeth it to passe that so few words of so high a mistery being vttered, they

[a] Ioh. 6. 52.

receiue

receiue with gladneſſe the gift of Chriſt and make no ſhow of doubt or ſcruple? The reaſon hereof is not darke to them which haue any thing at all obſerued how the powers of the mind are woont to ſtirre when that which we infinitly long for preſenteth it ſelfe aboue and beſides expectation. Curious and intricate ſpeculations doe hinder, they abate, they quench ſuch inflamed motions of delight and ioy as diuine graces vſe to rayſe when extraordinarily they are preſent. The mind therefore feeling preſent ioy is alwaies marueilous vnwilling to admit any other cogitation, & in that caſe caſteth off thoſe diſputes whereunto the intellectuall parte at other times eaſily draweth. A manifeſt effect whereof may bee noted if we compare with our Lords Diſciples in the twentith of Iohn the people that are ſaid in the ſixt of Iohn to haue gone after him to Capernaum. Theſe leauing him on the one ſide the Sea of Tiberias, and finding him againe as ſoone as themſelues by ſhippe were arriued on the contrarie ſide, whether they knew that by ſhip he came not, and by land the iorney was longer then according to the time hee could haue to trauaile, as they wondred ſo they [a] asked alſo, *Rabbi when cameſt thou hether?* The Diſciples when Chriſt appeared to them in farre more ſtraunge and miraculous manner mooued no queſtion but reioyced greatly in that they ſaw. For why? The one ſorte behelde onely that in Chriſt which they knew was more then naturall, but yet their affection was not rapt therewith through any great extraordinarie gladneſſe, the other when they looked on Chriſt were not ignorant that they ſaw the welſpring of their owne euerlaſting felicitie; the one becauſe they enioyed not diſputed, the other diſputed not becauſe they enioyed. If then the preſence of Chriſt with them did ſo much moue, iudge what their thoughts and affections were at the time of this new preſentation of Chriſt not before their eyes but within their ſoules. They had learned before that his fleſh and bloud are the true cauſe of eternall life, that this they are not by the bare force of their owne ſubſtance, but through the dignitie and woorth of his Perſon which offered them vp by way of ſacrifice for the life of the whole world, and doth make them ſtill effectuall thereunto, finally that to vs they are life in particular, by being particularly receiued. Thus much they knewe, although as yet they vnderſtoode not perfectly to what effect or iſſue the ſame would come, till at the length being aſſembled for no other cauſe which they could imagine but to haue eaten the Paſſouer onely that Moyſes appointeth, when they ſaw their Lorde and Maſter with hands and eyes lifted vp to heauen firſt bleſſe and conſecrate for the endleſſe good of all generations till the worlds end the choſen elements of bread and wine, which elements made for euer the inſtruments of life by vertue of his diuine benediction they being the firſt that were commaunded to receiue from him, the firſt which were warranted by his promiſe that not onely vnto them at the preſent time but to whomeſoeuer they and their ſucceſſors after them did duly adminiſter the ſame, thoſe miſteries ſhoulde ſerue as conduicts of life and conueyances of his body and bloud vnto them, was it poſſible they ſhould heare that voice *Take, eate, this is my body, drinke yee all of this, this is my bloud*; poſsible that doing what was required & belieuing what was promiſed, the ſame ſhould haue preſent effect in them, and not fill them with

[a] *Iohn. 6. 26.*

a kinde of feareful admiration at the heauen which they saw in themselues? They had at that time a sea of comfort and ioy to wade in, and wee by that which they did are taught that this heauenly foode is giuen for the satisfying of our emptie soules, and not for the exercising of our curious & subtle wits. If we doubt what those admirable wordes may importe, let him be our teacher for the meaning of Christ to whome Christ was himselfe a schoolemaster, let our Lords Apostle be his interpreter, content we our selues with his explication, My body, *the communion of my body*, My bloud, *the communion* of my bloud. Is there any thing more expedite, cleare and easie then that as Christ is termed our life because through him we obtaine life, so the parts of this Sacrament are his body and bloud for that they are so to vs who receiuing them receiue that by them which they are termed? The breade and Cup are his body and bloud because they are causes instrumentall vpon the receipt whereof the *participation* of his body and bloude ensueth. For that which produceth any certaine effect is not vainely nor improperly said to be that very effect wherunto it tendeth. Euery cause is in the effect which groweth from it. Our soules and bodies quickned to eternall life are effectes the cause whereof is the Person of Christ, his body and his bloud are the true welspring out of which this life floweth. So that his body and bloud are in that very subiect whereunto they minister life not onely by effect or operation euen as the influence of the heauens is in Plants, beasts, men, and in euerie thing which they quicken, but also by a farre more diuine and misticall kinde of vnion which maketh vs one with him euen as he and the Father are one. The reall presence of Christs most blessed body and bloud is not therefore to bee sought for in the Sacrament, but in the worthie receiuer of the Sacrament. And with this the verie order of our Sauiours wordes agreeth, first *Take and eate*, then *This is my body which was broken for you*: first *Drinke yee all of this*, then followeth *This is my bloud of the new Testament which is shed for many for the remission of sinnes*. I see not which way it should bee gathered by the wordes of Christ when and where the bread is his body or the Cup his bloud but onely in the very hart and soule of him which receiueth them. As for the Sacraments they really exhibit, but for ought wee can gather out of that which is written of them, they are not really nor doe really containe in themselues that grace which with them or by thē it pleaseth God to bestow. If on all sides it be confest that the grace of Baptisme is powred into the soule of man, that by water we receiue it although it be neither seated in the water nor the water chaunged into it, what shoulde induce men to thinke that the grace of the Eucharist must needes be in the Eucharist before it can be in vs that receiue it? The fruite of the Eucharist is the participation of the bodie and bloud of Christ. There is no sentence of holy Scripture which saith that we cannot by this Sacrament bee made partakers of his body and bloude except they be first contained in the Sacrament or the Sacrament conuerted into them. *This is my body*, and *This is my bloud*, being words of promise, sith we all agree that by the Sacrament Christ doth really and truely in vs performe his promise, why doe wee vainely trouble our selues with so fierce contentions whether by Consubstantiation, or else by Transubstantiation the Sacra-

Marc. 14. 22.

ment

ment it ſelfe be firſt poſſeſſed with Chriſt or no? A thing which no way can either further or hinder vs howſoeuer it ſtand, becauſe our participation of Chriſt in this Sacrament dependeth on the cooperation of his omnipotent power which maketh it his body and bloud to vs, whether with change or without alteration of the element ſuch as they imagine we neede not greatly to care nor inquire. Take therefore that wherein all agree and then conſider by it ſelfe what cauſe why the reſt in queſtion ſhould not rather be left as ſuperfluous then vrged as neceſſarie. It is on all ſides plainely confeſt, firſt that this Sacrament is a true and a reall participation of Chriſt, who thereby imparteth himſelfe euen his whole intire perſon *as a miſticall head* vnto euerye ſoule that receiueth him, and that euerie ſuch receiuer doth thereby incorporate or vnite himſelfe vnto Chriſt as *a miſticall member* of him, yea of them alſo whome he acknowledgeth to be his owne; ſecondly that to whome *the perſon of Chriſt* is thus communicated to them hee giueth by the ſame Sacrament his holy ſpirit to ſanctifie them as it ſanctifieth him which is their head; thirdly that what *merit force or vertue ſoeuer there is in his ſacrificed body & bloud*, we freely, fully and wholly haue it by this Sacrament, fourthly that *the effecte thereof in vs is a reall tranſmutation of our ſoules and bodies* from ſinne to righteouſneſſe, from death and corruption to immortalitie and life; fiftly that becauſe the Sacrament being of it ſelfe but a corruptible and earthly creature muſt needs be thought an vnlikely inſtrument to worke ſo admirable effects in man, we are therefore to reſt our ſelues altogether vpon *the ſtrength of his glorious power* who is able & will bring to paſſe that the bread and Cup which he giueth vs ſhall be truely the thing he promiſeth. It ſeemeth therfore much amiſſe that againſt them whome they terme Sacramentaries ſo many inuectiue diſcourſes are made all running vpon two pointes, that the Euchariſt is not a bare ſigne or figure onely, and that the efficacie of his body and bloud is not all we receiue in this Sacrament. For no man hauing read their bookes and writings which are thus traduced can be ignorant that both theſe aſſertions they plainely confeſſe to bee moſt true. They doe not ſo interpret the wordes of Chriſt as if the name of his body did import but the figure of his body, and to be were onely to ſignifie his bloud. They graunt that theſe holy miſteries receiued in due manner doe inſtrumentally both make vs partakers of the grace of that body and bloud which were giuen for the life of the world, and beſides alſo imparte vnto vs euen in true and reall though miſticall manner the very perſon of our Lord himſelfe whole perfect and intire as hath beene ſhowed. Now whereas all three opinions doe thus far accord in one, that ſtrong conceipt which two of the three haue imbraced as touching a literall, corporall and orall manducation of the very ſubſtaunce of his fleſh and bloud is ſurely an opinion no where deliuered in holy Scripture, whereby they ſhould thinke themſelues bound to beliefue it, and (to ſpeake with the ſofteſt termes wee can vſe) greatly preiudiced in that when ſome others did ſo conceiue of eating his fleſhe, our Sauiour to abate that error in them gaue them directly to vnderſtand how his fleſh ſo eaten coulde profite them nothing, becauſe the words which he ſpake were ſpirite, that is to ſay, they had a reference to a miſticall participation which miſticall participation

giueth

giueth life. Wherein there is ſmall appearance of likelihoode that his meaning ſhould be onely to make them Marcionites by inverſion, and to teach them that as Marcion did thinke Chriſt ſeemed to bee man but was not, ſo they contrariwiſe ſhould beliue that Chriſt in truth would ſo giue them as they thought his fleſh to eate, but yet leaſt the horror thereof ſhould offende them, he would not ſeeme to doe that hee did. When they which haue this opinion of Chriſt in that bleſſed Sacrament go about to explane themſelues and to open after what manner things are brought to paſſe, the one ſorte lay the vnion of Chriſts deitie with his manhoode as their firſt foundation and ground; from thence they inferre a power which the body of Chriſt hath *thereby* to preſent it ſelfe in all places; out of which vbiquitie of his body they gather the preſence thereof with that ſanctified bread and Wine of our Lords table; the coniunction of his body and bloud with thoſe elements they vſe as an argument to ſhow how the bread may as well in that reſpect be termed his body becauſe his body is therewith ioyned, as the Sonne of God may bee named man by reaſon that God and man in the perſon of Chriſt are vnited; to this they adde how the wordes of Chriſt commaunding vs to eate muſt needes importe that as hee hath coupled the ſubſtance of his fleſhe and the ſubſtance of bread together, ſo we together ſhould receiue both; Which labyrinth as the other ſort doth iuſtly ſhun, ſo the way which they take to the ſame Inne is ſomewhat more ſhort but no whit more certaine. For through Gods omnipotent power they imagine that Tranſubſtantiation followeth vpon the wordes of Conſecration, and vpon Tranſubſtantiation the participation of Chriſts both body and bloud in the onely ſhape of ſacramentall elements. So that they all three doe pleade Gods omnipotencie, Sacramentaries to that alteration which the reſt confeſſe hee accompliſheth; the patrons of Tranſubſtantiation ouer and beſides that to the change of one ſubſtance into another; the followers of Conſubſtantiation to the kneding vp of both ſubſtances as it were into one lump. Touching the ſentence of antiquitie in this cauſe, firſt for as much as they knew that the force of this Sacrament doth neceſſarily preſuppoſe the veritie of Chriſts both body and bloud they vſed oftentimes the ſame as an argument to prooue that Chriſt hath as truely the ſubſtance of man as of God, becauſe here we receiue Chriſt and thoſe graces which flow from him in that he is man. So that if he haue no ſuch being, neither can the Sacrament haue any ſuch meaning as wee all confeſſe it hath. Thus [a] Tertullian, thus [b] Ireney, thus [c] Theoderet diſputeth. Againe as euident it is howe they teach that Chriſt is *perſonally* there preſent, yea preſent whole, albeit a part of Chriſt bee *corporally* abſent from thence, that [d] Chriſt aſſiſting this heauenlye banquet with his perſonall and true preſence [e] doth by his owne diuine power adde to the natural ſubſtance thereof ſupernatural efficacie, which [f] addition to the nature of thoſe cõſecrated elements changeth

[a] *Acceptum panem & diſtributum Diſcipulis ſuum illum fecit, hoc eſt corpus meum dicendo id eſt figura corporis mei. Figura autem non fuiſſet niſi veritatis eſſet corpus, cum vacua res quod eſt phantaſma figuram capere non poſſet.* Tertul. contra. Marc. l. 4. c. 40.

[b] *Secundum hæc* (that is to ſay if it ſhould bee true which heretiques haue taught denying that Chriſt tooke vppon him the very nature of man) *nec Dominus ſanguine ſuo redemit nos, neq; calix Euchariſtiæ communicatio ſanguinis eius erit, nec panis quem frangimus communicatio corporis eius eſt. Sanguis enim non eſt niſi a venis & carnibus & reliqua quæ eſt ſecundum hominem ſubſtantia.* Ireneus. l. 5. c. 1.

[c] Εἰ τοίνυν τὸ ὀπτὸν σῶμα ἀντίτυπόν ἐστι τοῦ θείου μυστηρίου, σῶμα ἄρα ἐστὶ καὶ νῦν τὸ μυστήριον τὸ σῶμα, οὐκ εἰς θεότητος φύσιν μεταβληθὲν ἀλλὰ θείας δόξης ἀναπλησθέν. Theod. Dialog. Ασυγχυτ.

changeth them and maketh them that vnto vs which otherwiſe they could not be; that to vs they are therby made ſuch inſtrumẽts as g miſtically yet truely, inuiſibly yet really worke our communion or fellowſhip with the perſon of Ieſus Chriſt as well in that hee is man as God, our participation alſo in the fruite, grace and efficacie of his body and bloud, whereupon there enſueth a kinde of Tranſubſtantiatiõ in vs, a true h change both of ſoule and body, an alteration from death to life. In a word it appeareth not that of all the ancient Fathers of the Church any one did euer conceiue or imagine other then onely a myſticall participation of Chriſts both body and bloud in the Sacrament, neither are their ſpeeches concerning the chaunge of the elements themſelues into the body and bloude of Chriſt ſuch, that a man can thereby in conſcience aſſure himſelfe it was their meaning to perſwade the worlde eyther of a corporall Conſubſtantiation of Chriſt with thoſe ſanctified and bleſſed elements before we receiue them, or of the like Tranſubſtantiation of them into the body and bloud of Chriſt. Which both to out myſticall communion with Chriſt are ſo vnneceſſarie that the Fathers who plainely holde but this myſticall communion cannot eaſily bee thought to haue ment any other change of ſacramentall elements then that which the ſame ſpirituall communion did require them to holde. Theſe things conſidered, how ſhould that minde which louing truth and ſeeking comfort out of holy miſteries hath not perhaps the leaſure, perhaps not the wit nor capacitie to treade out ſo endleſſe mazes, as the intricate diſputes of this cauſe haue led men into, how ſhould a vertuouſly diſpoſed minde better reſolue with it ſelfe then thus? Varietie of iudgements and opinions argueth obſcuritie in thoſe things where about they differ. But that which all parts receiue for truth, that which euery one hauing ſifted is by no one denied or doubted of, muſt needes be matter of infallible certaintie. Whereas therfore there are but three expoſitions made of *This is my body*, the firſt, This is in it ſelfe before participation *really and truely the naturall ſubſtance of my body by reaſon of the*

d *Sacramenta quidem quantum in ſe eſt ſine propria virtute eſſe non poſſunt, nec illa modo ſe abſentat maieſtas myſterij.* Cypr. de Cen. c. 7.

e *Sacramento viſibili ineffabiliter diuina ſe infudit eſſentia vt eſſet Religionis circa Sacramenta deuotio.* Idem. c. 6. *Inuiſibilis ſacerdos viſibiles creaturas in ſubſtantiam corporis & ſanguinis ſui verbo ſuo ſecreta poteſtate conuertit. In ſpiritualibus ſacramentis verbi præcipit virtus & ſeruit effectus.* Euſeb. Emiſen. hom. 5. de paſch.

f τὰ σύμβολα τῆς δεσποτικῆς σώματός τε καὶ αἵματος ἄλλα μὲν ἐστὶ πρὸ τῆς ἱερατικῆς ἐπικλήσεως, μετὰ δὲ γε τὴν ἐπίκλησιν μεταβάλλεται καὶ ἕτερα γίνεται. Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀνοίας ἐξίσταται φύσεως. Μένει γὰρ ἔτι τῆς προτέρας οὐσίας καὶ τοῦ σχήματος καὶ τοῦ εἴδους, καὶ ὁρατὰ ὄντα καὶ ἁπτὰ ὅμοια καὶ πρότερον ἦν, ποιεῖται δὲ ἅπερ γέγονε καὶ πιστεύεται καὶ προσκυνεῖται ὡς ἐκεῖνα ὄντα ἅπερ πιστεύεται. *Theodo. Ex quo a Domino dictum eſt, Hoc facite in meam commemorationem, hac eſt caro mea, & hic eſt ſanguis meus, quotieſcunq; his verbis & hac fide actum eſt, panis iſte ſuperſubſtantialis & calix benedictione ſolenni ſacratus ad totius hominis vitam ſalutemq; proficit.* Cypr. de cæn. c. 3. *Immortalitatis alimonia datur, a communibus cibis differens, corporalis ſubſtantia retinens ſpeciem ſed virtutis diuinæ inuiſibilis efficientia probans adeſſe præſentiam.* Ibid. c. 2.

g *Senſibilibus ſacramentis ineſt vita æterna effectus & non tam corporali quam ſpirituali tranſitione Chriſto vnimur. Ipſe enim & panis & caro & ſanguis, idem cibus & ſubſtantia & vita factus eſt Eccleſiæ ſuæ quam corpus ſuum appellat, dans ei participationem ſpiritus.* Ibid. c. 5. *Noſtra & ipſius coniunctio nec miſcet perſonas nec vnit ſubſtantias, ſed affectus conſociat & confederat voluntates.* ca. 6. *Manſio noſtra in ipſo eſt manducatio, & potius quaſi quadam incorporatio.* c. 9. *Ille eſt in patre per naturam diuinitatis, nos in eo per corporalem eius naturitatem, ille rurſus in nobis per Sacramentorum myſterium.* Hilar. de trin. lib. 8.

h *Panis hic azymus cibus verus & ſincerus* per ſpeciem & ſacramentum *noſtra tactu ſanctificat, fide illuminat, veritate Chriſto cõformat.* Cyp. de can. c. 6. *Non aliud agit participatio corporis & ſanguinis Chriſti quam vt in id quod ſumimus tranſeamus, & in quo mortui & ſepulti & conreſuſcitati ſumus ipſum per omnia & ſpiritu & carne geſtemus.* Leo de paſ. Ser. 14. *Quemadmodum qui eſt a terra panis percipiens Dei vocationem* (id eſt facta inuocatione diuini nominis) *iam non communis panis eſt ſed Euchariſtia ex duabus rebus conſtans terrena & cæleſti: Sic & corpora noſtra percipientia Euchariſtiam iam non ſunt corruptibilia ſpem reſurrectionis habentia.* Irena. l. 4. c. 34. *Quoniam ſalutaris caro verbo Dei quod naturaliter vita eſt coniuncta viuifica effecta eſt, quando eam comedimus, tunc vitam habemus in nobis illi carni coniuncti quæ vita effecta eſt.* Cyril. in Iohan. lib. 4. cap. 14.

„ „ „ „ „ „

coexiſtoance

" *coexiſtence which my omnipotent body hath with the ſanctified element of bread which*
" *is the Lutherans interpretation*, the ſecond, This is in it ſelfe and before partici-
" pation *the very true and naturall ſubſtance of my body, by force of that Deitie which*
" *with the words of conſecration aboliſheth the ſubſtance of bread and ſubſtituteth in the*
" *place thereof my body which is the Popiſh conſtruction*, the laſt, *This hallowed foode,*
" *through concurrence of diuine power, is in veritie and truth, vnto faithfull receiuers,*
" *inſtrumentally a cauſe of that miſticall participation, wherby as I make my ſelfe whol-*
" *ly theirs, ſo I giue them in hand an actuall poſſeſſion of all ſuch ſauing grace as my ſa-*
" *crificed body can yeelde, and as their ſoules doe preſently neede, this is* to them and in
" them *my body*, of theſe three rehearſed interpretations the laſt hath in it no-
" thing but what the reſt doe all approoue and acknowledge to bee moſt true,
" nothing but that which the words of Chriſt are on al ſides confeſt to inforce,
" nothing but that which the Church of God hath alwaies thought neceſſa-
" rie, nothing but that which alone is ſufficient for euerie Chriſtian man to be-
" lieue concerning the vſe and force of this Sacrament, finally nothing but
" that wherewith the writings of all antiquitie are conſonant and all Chriſtian
" confeſſions agreeable. And as truth in what kinde ſoeuer is by no kinde of
" truth gain-ſaid, ſo the minde which reſteth it ſelfe on this is neuer troubled
" with thoſe perplexities which the other doe both find, by meanes of ſo great
" contradiction betweene their opinions and true principles of reaſon groun-
" ded vppon experience, nature and ſenſe. Which albeit with boyſterous cou-
" rage and breath they ſeeme oftentimes to blow away, yet who ſo obſerueth
" how againe they labour and ſweate by ſubtletie of wit to make ſome ſhow of
" agreement betweene their peculiar conceipts and the generall Edicts of na-
" ture, muſt needes perceiue they ſtruggle with that which they cannot fully
" maſter. Beſides ſith of that which is proper to themſelues their diſcourſes are
" hungrie and vnpleaſant, full of tedious and irkſome labour, harteleſſe and he-
" therto without fruite, on the other ſide reade we them or heare we others be
" they of our owne or of ancienter times, to what part ſo euer they be thought
" to incline touching that whereof there is controuerſie, yet in this wher they
" all ſpeake but one thing their diſcourſes are heauenly, their wordes ſweete as
" the honie Combe, their tongues melodiouſly tuned inſtruments, their ſen-
" tences meere conſolation and ioy, are we not hereby almoſt euen with voice
" from heauen admoniſhed which wee may ſafelieſt cleaue vnto? Hee which
" hath ſaid of the one Sacrament *Waſh and be cleane*, hath ſaid concerning the o-
" ther likewiſe *Eate and liue*. If therefore without any ſuch particular and ſo-
" lemne warrant as this is that poore diſtreſſed woman comming vnto Chriſt
" for health could ſo conſtantly reſolue her ſelfe *May I but touch the skirt of his*
" *garment I ſhall bee whole*, what mooueth vs to argue of the manner howe life
" ſhould come by bread, our duetie being heere but to take what is offered,
" and moſt aſſuredly to reſt perſwaded of this, that can we but eate we are ſafe?
" When I behold with mine eyes ſome ſmall and ſcarce diſcerneable graine or
" ſeede whereof nature maketh promiſe that a tree ſhall come; and when after-
" wardes of that tree any skilfull artificer vndertaketh to frame ſome exquiſite
" and curious worke, I looke for the euent, I moue no queſtion about perfor-
" mance either of the one or of the other. Shall I ſimply credit nature in things

naturall,

naturall, shall I in thinges artificiall relie my selfe on Art, neuer offering to make doubt, and in that which is aboue both art and nature refuse to belieue the Author of both, except hee acquaint me with his waies, and lay the secrete of his skill before me? Where God himselfe doth speake those things which either for height and sublimitie of matter, or else for secrecie of performance wee are not able to reach vnto, as we may bee ignorant without daunger, so it can bee no disgrace to confesse we are ignorant. Such as loue pietie will as much as in them lyeth know all things that God commandeth, but especially the duties of seruice which they owe to God. As for his darke and hidden workes, they preferre as becommeth them in such cases simplicitie of faith before that knowledge, which curiously sifting what it shoulde adore, and disputing too boldly of that which the wit of man cannot search, chilleth for the most part all warmth of zeale, and bringeth soundnes of beliefe manie times into great hazard. Let it therefore be sufficient for me presenting my selfe at the Lords Table to know what there I receiue from him, without searching or inquiring of the maner how Christ performeth his promise; let disputes and questions enemies to pietie, abatements of true deuotion and hitherto in this cause but ouer patiently heard let them take their rest; let curious and sharpe witted men beate their heades about what questions themselues will, the very letter of the word of Christ giueth plaine securitie that these misteries doe as nayles fasten vs to his verie Crosse, that by them we draw out, as touching efficacie force and vertue, euen the bloud of his goared side, in the wounds of our redeemer we there dip our tongues, wee are died red both within and without; our hunger is satisfied and our thirst for euer quenched, they are things wonderful which he feeleth, great which hee seeth and vnhard of which he vttereth whose soule is possest of this pascall Lambe and made ioyfull in the strength of this new Wine, this breade hath in it more then the substance which our eyes behold, this Cup hallowed with solemne benediction auaileth to the endlesse life and wel-fare both of soule and body, in that it serueth as well for a medicine to heale our infirmities and purge our sinnes as for a sacrifice of thanksgiuing, with touching it sanctifieth, it enlightneth with beliefe, it truely conformeth vs vnto the Image of Iesus Christ; what these elements are in themselues it skilleth not, it is enough that to me which take them they are the body & bloud of Christ, his promise in witnesse hereof sufficeth, his word he knoweth which way to accomplish, why should any cogitation possesse the minde of a faithful communicant but this, *O my God thou art true, O my soule thou art happie.* Thus therfore we see that howsoeuer mens opinions doe otherwise varie neuertheless touching Baptisme and the supper of the Lord we may with consent of the whole Christian world conclude they are necessarie, the one to initiate or begin, the other to consummate or make perfect our life in Christ.

Of faultes noted in ỹ forme of administring the holy Communion.

58 In administring the Sacrament of the body and bloud of Christ, the supposed faultes of the Church of England are not greatly materiall, and therefore it shall suffice to touch them in few words. *The first is that we doe not vse in a generalitie once for all to say to communicants* Take eate, and drinke, *but vnto euerie particular person* Eate thou, drinke thou, *which is according to the*

Popish manner and not the forme that our Sauiour did vse. Our second ouersight is by gesture. For in kneeling there hath beene superstition; sitting agreeth better to the action of a Supper; and our Sauiour vsing that which was most fit did himselfe not kneele. A third accusation is for not examining al Communicants whose knowledge in the misterie of the Gospell should that way be made manifest, a thing euerie where they say vsed in the Apostles times, because all things necessarie were vsed and this in their opinion, is necessarie, yea it is commaunded in as much as the [a] *Leuits are commaunded to prepare the people for the passouer, and examination is a part of their preparation, our Lords supper in place of the passouer. The fourth thing misliked is that against the Apostles* [b] *prohibition to haue any familiaritie at all with notorious offenders, Papists being not of the Church are admitted to our very communion before they haue by their Religions & gospellike behauiour purged themselues of that suspition of Poperie which their former life hath caused. They are Dogges, Swine, vncleane beasts, forreiners and strangers from the Church of God, and therefore ought not to be admitted though they offer themselues. We are fiftly condemned in as much as when there haue beene store of people to heare Sermon and seruice in the Church we suffer the Communion to be ministred to a few. It is not enough that our booke of Common praier hath godly exhortations to moone all thereunto which are present. For it should not suffer a few to communicate, it should by Ecclesiasticall Discipline and ciuill punishment prouide that such as would withdraw themselues might be brought to Communicate according both to the* [c] *law of God and the auncient Church Canons. In the sixt and last place commeth the enormitie of imparting this Sacrament priuatly vnto the sicke.* Thus farre accused we answere briefly to the [d] first that seeing God by sacraments doth apply in particular vnto euery mans person the grace which himself hath prouided for the benefit of all mankind, there is no cause why administring the sacraments we should forbeare to expresse that in our formes of speech which hee by his word and Gospell teacheth all to belieue. In the one Sacrament *I Baptise thee* displeaseth them not. If *Eate thou* in the other offend them, their phancies are no rules for Churches to follow. Whether Christ at his last Supper did speake generally once to all, or to euery one in particular is a thing vncertaine. His words are recorded in that forme which serueth best for the setting downe with historicall breuitie what was spoken, they are no manifest proofe that hee spake but once vnto all which did then Communicate, much lesse that wee in speaking vnto euery communicant seuerally doe amisse, although it were cleare that we herein doe otherwise then Christ did. Our imitation of him consisteth not in tying scrupulously our selues vnto his sillables, but rather in speaking by the heauenly direction of that inspired diuine wisedome which teacheth diuers waies to one ende, and doth therein controle their boldnes by whome any profitable way is censured as reproueable only vnder colour of some small difference from great examples going before. To do throughout euery the like circumstaunce the same which Christ did in this action were by following his footesteps in that sort to erre more from the purpose he

a 2. Chro. 35. 6.

b 1. Cor. 5. 11.

c Num. 9. 13. Can. 9. Apost. concil. 2. Bracar. ca. 83.

d T. C. l. 1. p. 166. Besides that it is good to leaue the Popish forme in those things which we may so conueniently do, it is best to come as neere the manner of celebration of the Supper which our Sauiour Christ vsed as may be. And if it be a good argument to proue that therefore we must rather say Take thou then Take yee because the Sacrament is an application of the benefits of Christ, it behoueth that the preacher should direct his admonitions particularly one after an other vnto all those which heare his Sermon, which is a thing absurde.

hee aimed at then wee now doe by not following them with so nice and seuere strictnesse. They little waigh with themselues how dull, how heauie & almost how without sense the greatest part of the common multitude euerie where is, who thinke it either vnmeete or vnnecessarie to put them euen man by man especially at that time in minde whereabout they are. It is true that in Sermons we doe not vse to repeate our sentences seuerally to euery particular hearer, a strange madnesse it were if we should. The softnes of Waxe may induce a wise man to set his stampe or image therein; it perswadeth no man that becausse Wooll hath the like qualitie it may therefore receiue the like impression. So the reason taken from the vse of Sacraments in that they are instruments of grace vnto euerie particular man may with good congruitie leade the Church to frame accordingly her words in administration of Sacraments, becausse they easily admit this forme, which being in Sermons a thing impossible without apparant ridiculous absurditie, agrement of Sacraments with Sermons in that which is aleaged as a reasonable proofe of conueniencie for the one prooueth not the same allegation impertinent becausse it doth not inforce the other to be administred in like sorte. For equall principles doe then auaile vnto equal conclusions when the matter whereunto wee apply them is equall and not else. [a] Our kneeling at communions is the gesture of pietie. If wee did there present our selues but to make some show or dumbe resemblance of a spirituall feast, it may bee that sitting were the fitter Ceremonie, but comming as receiuers of inestimable grace at the hands of God, what doth better beseeme our bodies at that hower then to bee sensible witnesses of minds vnfainedly humbled? Our Lorde himselfe did that which custome and long vsage had made fit; we that which fitnesse and great decencie hath made vsuall. The tryall of our selues before we eate of this bread and drinke of this Cup is by expresse commaundement euerie mans precise dutie. As for necessitie of calling others vnto accompt besides our selues, albeit we be not thereunto drawne by any great strength which is in their arguments who first presse vs with it as a thing necessarie by affirming that the Apostles did vse it, & then proue [b] the Apostles to haue vsed it by affirming it to bee necessarie; againe albeit we greatly muse how they can auouch that God did commaunde the Leuits to prepare their brethren against the feast of the Passouer and that the examination of them was a part of their preparation, when the place aleaged to this purpose doth but charge the Leuites saying *Make ready Laahhechem for your brethren*, to the end they may doe according to the word of the Lord by Moyses, Wherefore in the selfe same place it followeth how Lambs and Kids and Sheepe and Bullockes were deliuered vnto the Leuites, and that thus *the seruice was made ready*, it followeth likewise how the Leuites hauing in such sort prouided for the people, they made prouision for *themselues and for the Priests the sonnes of Aaron*, so that confidently from hence to conclude the necessitie of examination argueth their wonderfull great forwardnes in framing all things to serue their turne, neuertheless

[a] T.C.l.1.p. 165. Kneeling carieth a shew of worship, sitting agreeth better with the action of the Supper. Christ & his Apostles kneeled not.

[b] T.C.l.1. p. 164. All things necessarie were vsed in the Churches of God in ỹ Apostles times, but examination was a necessarie thing, therfore vsed. In the booke of Chronicles 2. Chro. 35.6. the Leuites were commaunded to prepare the people to the receiuing of the Passouer in place whereof we haue the Lords Supper. Now examination being a part of preparation it followeth that here is commaundement of the examination.

the examination of Communicants when neede requireth for the profitable vſe it may haue in ſuch caſes we reiect not. Our fault in admitting popiſh Communicants, is it in that wee are [a] forbidden to eate and therefore much more to Communicate with notorious malefactors? The name of a Papiſt is not giuen vnto any man for being a notorious malefactor. And the crime wherewith we are charged is ſuffering of Papiſts to communicate, ſo that be their life and conuerſation whatſoeuer in the ſight of men, their Popiſh opinions are in this caſe laid as barres and exceptions againſt them, yea thoſe opinions which they haue helde in former times [b] although they now both profeſſe by worde and offer to ſhow by fact the contrarie. All this doth not iuſtifie vs which ought not (they ſay) to admit them in any wiſe, till theyr goſpellike behauiour haue remooued all ſuſpition of poperie from them, becauſe Papiſts are *Dogges, Swine, beaſts, forriners and ſtrangers* from the houſe of God, in a word they are *not of the Church*. What the termes of goſpellike behauiour may include is obſcure and doubtfull. But of the *viſible Church* of Chriſt in this preſent world from which they ſeperate all Papiſts, we are thus perſwaded: *Church* is a word which Arte hath deuiſed thereby to ſeuer and diſtinguiſh that ſocietie of men which profeſſeth the true Religion from the reſt which profeſſe it not. There haue beene in the world from the verie firſt foundation thereof but three Religions, *Paganiſme* which liued in the blindnes of corrupt and depraued nature; *Iudaiſme* embracing the law which reformed Heathniſh impietie, and taught ſaluation to bee looked for through one whome God in the laſt daies would ſend and exalt to bee Lord of all, finally *Chriſtian beliefe* which yeeldeth obedience to the goſpel of Ieſus Chriſt, and acknowledgeth him the Sauiour whome God did promiſe. Seing then that *the Church* is a name which Arte hath giuen to *profeſſors of true Religion*, as they which will define a man are to paſſe by thoſe qualities wherein one man doth excell an other, and to take onely thoſe eſſentiall properties whereby a man doth differ from creatures of other kindes, ſo he that will teach what *the Church* is ſhall neuer rightly performe the worke where about he goeth, till *in matter of Religion* he touch that difference which ſeuereth the *Churches Religion* from theirs who are not the Church. *Religion* being therefore a matter partly of *contemplation* partly of *action*, we muſt define the Church which is a religious ſocietie by ſuch differences as doe properly explaine the eſſence of ſuch things, that is to ſay, by the obiect or matter where about the contemplations and actions of the Church are properly conuerſant. For ſo all knowledges and all vertues are defined. Whereupon becauſe the *onely obiect* which ſeperateth ours from other Religions is *Ieſus Chriſt*, in whome none but the Church doth belieue and whome none but the Church doth worſhip, wee find that accordingly the Apoſtles doe euerie where diſtinguiſh hereby the Church from Infidels and from Iewes, accompting *them which call vpon the name of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt to be his Church*. If we goe lower, wee ſhall but ad vnto this certaine caſuall and variable accidents, which are not properly of the being, but make onely for the happier and better being of the Church of God, either in deede, or in mens opinions and conceipts. This is the error of all Popiſh definitions that hitherto haue beene brought. They define not the

Church

a 1. *Cor.* 5. 11. T.C.l.1.p.167

b Although they would receiue the communion yet they ought to be kept backe vntil ſuch time as by their religious and goſpellike behauiour they haue purged themſelues of that ſuſpition of poperie which their former life and conuerſation hath cauſed to be conceiued. T. C.l.1.p.167.

Church by that which the Church eſſentially is, but by that wherein they imagine their own more perfect then the reſt are. Touching parts of eminencie and perfection, parts likewiſe of imperfection & defect in the Church of God, they are infinite, their degrees and differences no way poſſible to bee drawne vnto any certaine accompt. There is not the leaſt contention & variance, but it blemiſheth ſomewhat the vnitie that ought to be in the Church of Chriſt, which notwithſtanding may haue not onely without offence or breach of concord her manifold varieties in rites and Ceremonies of Religion, but alſo her ſtrifes and contentions many times and that about matters of no ſmall importance, yea her Schiſmes, factions and ſuch other euils wherunto the body of the Church is ſubiect, ſound and ſicke remaining both of the ſame body, as long as both parts retaine by outward profeſſion that vital ſubſtance of truth which maketh Chriſtian Religion to differ from theirs which acknowledge not our Lord Ieſus Chriſt the bleſſed ſauiour of mankind, giue no credit to his glorious Goſpell and haue his Sacraments the ſeales of eternall life in deriſion. Now the priuiledge of the viſible Church of God (for of that we ſpeake) is to bee herein like the Arke of Noah, that, for any thing we know to the contrarie, all without it are loſt ſheepe; yet in this was the Arke of Noah priueledged aboue the Church, that whereas none of them which were in the one could periſh, numbers in the other are caſt away, becauſe to eternal life our profeſſion is not enough. Many things exclude from the kingdome of God although from the Church they ſeparate not. In the Church ther ariſe ſundrie grieuous ſtormes by meanes whereof whole kingdomes and nations profeſſing Chriſt both haue beene heretofore and are at this preſent day deuided about Chriſt. During which diuiſions and contentions amongſt men albeit ech part doe iuſtifie it ſelfe, yet the one of neceſſitie muſt needes erre if there be any contradiction betweene them be it great or little, and what ſide ſoeuer it be that hath the truth, the ſame we muſt alſo acknowledge alone to hold *with the true Church in that point*, and conſequently reiect the other as an enemie *in that caſe fallen away from the true Church*. Wherefore of hypocrites and diſſemblers whoſe profeſſion at the firſt was but onely from the teeth outward, when they afterwardes tooke occaſion to oppugne certaine principall Articles of faith, the Apoſtles which defended the truth againſt them pronounce them *gon out* from the fellowſhip of ſound and ſincere belieuers, when as yet the Chriſtian Religion they had not vtterly caſt off. In like ſence and meaning throughout all ages *heretiques* haue iuſtly beene hated as branches cut off from the body of the true Vine, yet onely ſo farre foorth cut off as their hereſies haue extended. Both hereſie *and many other crimes* which *wholly ſeuer from God* doe ſeuer from the Church of God in *part onely*. The miſterie of pietie ſaith the Apoſtle is without peraduenture great, *God hath beene manifeſted in the fleſh, hath beene iuſtified in the ſpirit, hath beene ſeene of Angels, hath beene preached to nations, hath beene beliued on in the world, hath beene taken vp into glorie*. The Church a pillar and foundation of this truth, which no wher is knowne or profeſt but only within the Church, & they all of the Chruch that profeſſe it. In the meane while it cānot

Rom. 15. 5. 1. *Cor.* 1. 10.

1. *Ioh.* 2. 19.

1. *Tim.* 3. 14.

denied that many profeſſe this who are not therefore cleared ſimply from all either faultes or errors which make ſeparation betweene vs and the welſpring of our happines. Idolatrie ſeuered of olde the Iſraelites, iniquitie thoſe Scribes and Phariſies frō God, who notwithſtanding were a part of the ſeede of Abraham, a part of that verie ſeede which God did himſelfe acknowledge to be his Church. The Church of God may therefore containe both them which indeede are not his yet muſt bee reputed his by vs that know not their inward thoughts, and them whoſe apparent wickednes teſtifieth euen in the ſight of the whole world that God abhorreth them. For to this and no other purpoſe are ment thoſe parables which our Sauiour in the Goſpell hath concerning mixture of vice with vertue, light with darkneſſe, truth with error, as well an openly knowne and ſeene as a cunningly cloked mixture. That which ſeperateth therefore *vtterly*, that which cutteth off *cleane* from the viſible Church of Chriſt is plaine Apoſtaſie, *direct* deniall, vtter reiection of the whole Chriſtian faith as farre as the ſame is profeſſedly different from infidelitie. Heretiques as touching thoſe points of doctrine wherin they faile; ſchiſmatiques as touching the quarels for which or the duties wherein they deuide themſelues from their brethren; looſe licentious and wicked perſons as touching their ſeuerall offences or crimes haue all forſaken the true Church of God, the Church which is ſound and ſincere in the doctrine that they corrupt, the Church that keepeth the bonde of vnitie which they violate, the Church that walketh in the lawes of righteouſneſſe which they tranſgreſſe, this very true Church of Chriſt they haue left, how be it not altogether left nor forſaken ſimply the Church vppon the maine foundations whereof they continue built, notwithſtanding theſe breaches whereby they are *rent at the top* aſunder. Now becauſe for redreſſe of profeſſed errors and open Schiſmes it is and muſt be the Churches care that all may in outward conformitie be one, as the laudable politie of former ages euen ſo our owne to that ende and purpoſe hath eſtabliſhed diuers lawes, the moderate ſeueritie whereof is a meane both to ſtay the reſt and to reclaime ſuch as heretofore haue beene led awrie. But ſeeing that the offices which lawes require are alwaies definite, and when that they require is done they goe no farther, whereupon ſundrie ill affected perſons to ſaue themſelues from daunger of lawes pretend obedience, albeit inwardly they carrie ſtill the ſame hearts which they did before, by meanes whereof it falleth out that receiuing vnworthily the bleſſed Sacrament at our hands, they eate and drinke their owne damnation, it is for remedie of this miſchiefe [a] heere determined, that whome the lawe of the Realme doth puniſh vnleſſe they communicate, ſuch if they offer to obaye law, the Church notwithſtanding ſhould not admit without probation before had of their goſpellike behauiour. Wherein they firſt ſet no time howe long this ſuppoſed probation muſt continue; againe they nominate no certaine iudgement the verdict whereof ſhall approue mens behauiour to bee Goſpellike; and that which is moſt materiall, whereas they

[a] T. C. l. 1. p. 167. If y place of the fift to the Corinthians doe forbid that we ſhould haue any familiarity with notorious offenders it doth much more forbid that they ſhould be receiued to the Communion. And therefore Papiſts being ſuch as which are notoriouſly knowne to hold heretical opinions ought not to be admitted much leſſe compelled to the Supper. For ſeeing that our Sauiour Chriſt did inſtitute his ſupper amongſt his Diſciples and thoſe onely which were as Saint Paul ſpeaketh within, it is euident that the Papiſts being without & forreiners and ſtrangers from the Church of God ought not to be re-

they ſeeke to make it more hard for diſſemblers to be receiued into the Church then law and politie as yet hath doone, they make it in truth more eaſie for ſuch kinde of perſons to winde themſelues out of the law and to cõtinue the ſame they were. The lawe requireth at their handes that duty which in conſcience doth touch them neereſt, becauſe the greateſt difference betwene vs and them is the Sacrament of the body and bloud of Chriſt, whoſe name in the ſeruice of our Communion wee celebrate with due honour, which they in the errour of their Maſſe prophane. As therefore on our part to heare Maſſe were an open departure from that ſincere profeſſion wherein we ſtand, ſo if they on the other ſide receiue our Communion, they giue vs the ſtrongeſt pledge of fidelitie that man can demaunde. What their harts are God doth know. But if they which mind treacherie to God and man ſhall once apprehend this aduantage giuen them wherby they may ſatisfie law in pretending themſelues conformable (for what can law with reaſon or iuſtice require more?) And yet be ſure the Church will accept no ſuch offer, till their goſpellike behauiour be allowed, after that our owne ſimplicitie hath once thus fairely eaſed them from ſting of law, it is to be thought they wil learne the miſterie of goſpellike behauiour when leaſure ſerueth thē. And ſo while without any cauſe we feare to prophane Sacraments, wee ſhall not onely defeate the purpoſe of moſt wholeſome lawes, but looſe or wilfully hazard thoſe ſoules from which the likelieſt meanes of full and perfect recouerie are by our indiſcretion withheld. For neither doth God thus binde vs to diue into mens conſciences, nor can their fraude and deceipt hurt any man but themſelues, To him they ſeeme ſuch as they are, but of vs they muſt bee taken for ſuch as they ſeeme. In the eye of God they are againſt Chriſt that are not truely and ſincerely with him, in our eyes they muſt bee receiued as with Chriſt that are not to outward ſhow againſt him. The caſe of impœnitent and notorious ſinners is not like vnto theirs whoſe onely imperfection is error ſeuered from pertinacie, error in appearance content to ſubmit it ſelfe to better inſtruction, error ſo farre already cured as to craue at our hands that Sacrament the hatred and vtter refuſall whereof was the waightieſt point wherin heretofore they ſwarued and went aſtraie. In this caſe therefore they cannot reaſonably charge vs with remiſſe dealing, or with careleſſnes to whome we impart the miſteries of Chriſt, but they haue giuen vs manifeſt occaſion to thinke it requiſite that wee earneſtly aduiſe rather and exhort them to conſider as they ought their ſundry ouerlightes, firſt in equalling vndiſtinctly crimes with errors as touching

ceiued if they would offer themſelues: and that Miniſter that ſhall giue the Supper of the Lord to him which is knowne to be a Papiſt and which hath neuer made any cleare renouncing of poperie with which he hath beene defiled doth prophane the Table of the Lord, and doth giue the meate that is prepared for the children vnto dogs, and hee bringeth into the paſture which is prouided for the ſheepe, Swine and vncleane beaſts, contrary to the faith and truſt that ought to be in a ſteward of the Lords houſe as he is. For albeit that I doubt not but many of thoſe which are now *Papiſts* pertaine to the election of God, which God alſo in his good time will call to the knowledge of his truth: yet notwithſtanding they ought to bee vnto the Miniſter and vnto the Church touching the miniſtring of Sacraments as ſtraungers and as vncleane beaſtes. The miniſtring of the holy Sacramentes vnto them is a declaration and ſeale of Gods fauour and reconciliation with them and a plaine preaching partly that they bee waſhed already from their ſinnes, partly that they are of the houſhold of God and ſuch as the Lord will feede to eternall life, which is not lawfull to be done vnto thoſe which are not of the houſhold of faith. And therefore *I* conclude that the compelling of *Papiſts* vnto the communion and the diſmiſsing and letting of them goe when as they be to be puniſhed for their ſtubbernnes in poperie (with this condition if they will receiue the Communion) is verie vnlawfull, when as although they would receiue it, yet they ought to be kept backe till ſuch time as by their Religious and Goſpellike behauiour. &c.

ing force to make vncapable of this Sacrament; ſecondly in ſuffering indig-nation at the faultes of the Church of Rome to blinde and withholde their iudgements from ſeeing that which with all they ſhould acknowledge con-cerning ſo much neuertheleſſe ſtill due to the ſame Church as to be helde and reputed a part of the houſe of God, a limme of the viſible Church of Chriſt; thirdly in impoſing vpon the Church a burthen to enter farther into mens harts and to make a deeper ſearch of their conſciences then any law of God or reaſon of man inforceth; fourthly and laſtly in repelling vnder colour of longer tryall ſuch from the miſteries of heauenly grace as are both capa-ble thereof by the lawes of God for any thing we heare to the contrarie, and ſhould in diuers conſiderations bee cheriſhed according to the mercifull ex-amples and precepts whereby the Goſpell of Chriſt hath taught vs to-wards ſuch to ſhow compaſſion, to receiue them with lenitie and all meeke-nes, if any thing bee ſhaken in them to ſtrengthen it, not to quench with de-layes and ielouſies that feeble ſmoke of conformitie which ſeemeth to breath from them, but to builde whereſoeuer there is any foundation, to adde per-fection vnto ſclender beginnings, and that as by other offices of pietie euen ſo by this very foode of life which Chriſt hath left in his Church not onely for preſeruation of ſtrength but alſo for reliefe of weakneſſe. But to returne to our owne ſelues in whome the next thing ſeuerely reproued is the [a] pau-citie of communicants, if they require at Communions frequencie we wiſh the ſame, knowing how acceptable vnto God ſuch ſeruice is when multi-tudes chearefully concurre vnto it; if they encourage men thereunto, we al-ſo (themſelues acknowledge it) are not vtterly forgetfull to doe the like; if they require ſome publique coaction for remedie of that wherein by milder and ſofter meanes little good is done, they know our Lawes and Statutes pro-uided in that behalfe, whereunto whatſoeuer conuenient helpe may be ad-ded more by the wiſedome of man, what cauſe haue we giuen the world to thinke that wee are not ready to hearken to it, and to vſe any good meane of ſweete compulſion to haue this high and heauenly banquet largely furni-ſhed? Onely we cannot ſo farre yeelde as to iudge it conuenient that the ho-ly deſire of a competent number ſhould bee vnſatisfied, becauſe the greater part is careleſſe and vndiſpoſed to ioine with them. Men ſhould not (they ſay) be permitted a few by themſelues to Communicate when ſo many are gon away, becauſe this Sacrament is a token of our coniunction with our bre-thren, and therefore by communicating apart from them we make an appa-rent ſhow of diſtraction. I aske then on which ſide vnitie is broken, whether on theirs that depart or on theirs who being left behinde doe communicate. Firſt in the one it is not denied but that they may haue reaſonable cauſes of departure & that then euen they are deliuered from iuſt blame. Of ſuch kind of cauſes two are allowed, namely daunger of impairing health and neceſſa-rie buſineſſe requiring our preſence otherwhere. And may not a third cauſe which is *vnfitneſſe* at the preſent time detaine vs as lawfully backe as either of theſe two? True it is that we cannot hereby altogether excuſe our ſelues, for that we ought to preuent this and doe not. But if we haue committed a fault in not preparing our mindes before, ſhall wee therefore aggrauate the ſame with

[a] T. C. lib. 1. pag. 147.
2. *Chro.* 30. 13.
Pſal. 122. 1.
Luc. 14. 23.

with a worſe, the crime of vnworthie participation? He that abſtaineth doth want for the time that grace and comfort which religious communicants haue, but he that eateth and drinketh vnworthily receiueth death, that which is life to others turneth in him to poyſon. Notwithſtanding whatſoeuer bee the cauſe for which men abſtaine, were it reaſon that the fault of one parte ſhould any way abridge their benefite that are not faultie? There is in all the Scripture of God no one fillable which doth condemne communicating amongſt a few when the reſt are departed from them. [a] As for the laſt thing which is our imparting this Sacrament priuatly vnto the ſicke, whereas there haue beene of olde (they graunt) two kinds of neceſſitie wherein this Sacrament might be priuatly adminiſtred, of which two the one being erroniouſly imagined, and the other (they ſay) continuing no longer in vſe, there remaineth vnto vs no neceſſitie at all, for which that cuſtome ſhould be retained. The falſly ſurmiſed neceſſitie is that whereby ſome haue thought all ſuch excluded from poſſibilitie of ſaluation as did depart this life and neuer were made pertakers of the holy Euchariſt. The other caſe of neceſſitie was, when men, which had fallen in time of perſecution, and had afterwardes repented them, but were not as yet receiued againe vnto the fellowſhip of this Communion, did at the hower of their death requeſt it, that ſo they might reſt with greater quietnes and comfort of minde, being thereby aſſured of departure in vnitie of Chriſts Church, which vertuous deſire the fathers did thinke it great impietie not to ſatisfie. This was Serapions caſe of neceſſitie. Serapion a faithfull aged perſon and alwaies of very vpright life till feare of perſecution in the ende cauſed him to ſhrinke backe, after long ſorrow for his ſcandalous offence and ſute oftentimes made to be pardoned of the Church, fell at length into grieuous ſickneſſe, and being ready to yeeld vp the Ghoſt was then more inſtant then euer before to receiue the Sacrament. Which Sacrament was neceſſarie in this caſe, not that Serapion had beene depriued of euerlaſting life without it, but that his ende was thereby to him made the more comfortable. And do we thinke that all caſes of *ſuch neceſſitie* are cleane vaniſhed? Suppoſe that ſome haue by miſperſwaſion liued in Schiſme, withdrawne themſelues from holy and publike aſſemblies, hated the praiers, and loathed the Sacraments of the Church, falſly preſuming them to be fraught with impious and Antichriſtian corruptions, which error the God of mercy and truth opening at the length their eyes to ſee, they doe not onely repent them of the euill which they haue done but alſo in token thereof deſire to receiue comfort by that whereunto they haue offered diſgrace (which may be the caſe of many poore ſeduced ſoules euen at this daye) God forbid wee ſhoulde thinke that the Church doth ſinne in permitting the woundes of ſuch to be ſuppled with that oyle which this gracious Sacrament doth yeeld, and their bruiſed mindes not only neede but begge. There is nothing which the ſoule of man doth deſire in that laſt hower ſo much as comfort againſt the naturall terrors of death and other ſcruples of conſcience which commonly doe then moſt trouble and perplexe the weake, towards whome the verie law of God doth exact at our hands all the helpes that Chriſtian lenitie and indulgence can afforde. Our generall conſolation departing this life is the hope

[a] T.C.l.1.p. 146.

hope of that [a] glorious and blessed resurrection which the Apostle [b] S. Paul nameth ἐξανάστασιν, [c] to note that as all men shall haue their ἀνάστασιν and bee rayſed againe from the dead, ſo the iuſt ſhall bee taken vp and exalted aboue the reſt, whome the power of God doth but raiſe and not exalt. This life and this reſurrection our Lord Ieſus Chriſt is for all men as touching the ſufficiencie of that he hath done; but that which maketh vs pertakers thereof is our particular Communion with Chriſt, and this Sacrament a principall meane as well to ſtrengthen the bond as to multiply in vs the fruites of the ſame Communion, for which cauſe [d] Saint Cyprian termeth it a ioyfull ſolemnitie of expedite and ſpeedy reſurrection, [e] Ignatius a medicine which procureth immortalitie and preuenteth death; [f] Irenæus the nouriſhment of our bodies to eternall life and their preſeruatiue from corruption. Now becauſe that Sacrament, which at al times we may receiue vnto this effect is then moſt acceptable and moſt fruitfull, when any ſpeciall extraordinarie occaſion neerely and preſently vrging kindleth our deſires towards it, their ſeueritie, who cleaue vnto that alone which is generally fit to be done and ſo make all mens condition alike, may adde much affliction to diuers troubled and grieued mindes, of whoſe particular eſtate particular reſpect being had, according to the Charitable order of the Church wherein wee liue, there inſueth vnto God that glorie which his righteous Saints comforted in their greateſt diſtreſſes doe yeelde, and vnto them which haue their reaſonable petitions ſatisfied the ſame contentment tranquilitie and ioy that others before them by meanes of like ſatisfaction haue reaped, and wherein we all are or ſhould be deſirous finally to take our leaue of the world whenſoeuer our owne vncertaine time of moſt aſſured departure ſhall come. Concerning therefore both praiers and Sacraments together with our vſual and receiued forme of adminiſtring the ſame in the Church of England let thus much ſuffice.

a 1. Cor. 15.
b Phil. 3. 11
c Δι' ἃ τῶν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἁπάντων. Theophy. πάντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἀναστήσονται, μόνοι δὲ πιστοὶ ἀξιοῦνται τῶν ἀγαθῶν. Ammon Vide. 1. Theſ. 4. 17
d Maturata reſurrectionis lætabunda ſolemnia. Cyp. de ea. Dom. c. 10
e φάρμακον ἀθανασίας ἀντίδοτον τοῦ μὴ ἀποθανεῖν. Ignat. Epiſt. ad Epheſ.
f Irenæus l. 4. c. 34.
g Etſi nihil facile mutandum eſt ex ſolemnibus tamen vbi æquitas euidens poſcit ſubueniendum eſt. l. 183. ff. de reg. iur.

Of Feſtiuall daies and the natural cauſes of their conuenient inſtitution.

69 As the ſubſtance of God alone is infinite and hath *no kinde* of limitation, ſo likewiſe his continuance is from euerlaſting to euerlaſting and knoweth neither beginning nor ende. Which demonſtrable concluſion being preſuppoſed it followeth neceſſarily that beſides him all things are finite both in ſubſtance and in continuance. If in ſubſtance all things be finite, it cannot be but that there are boundes without the compaſſe whereof their ſubſtance doth not extend; if in continuance alſo limitted, they all haue, it cannot bee denied, their ſet and their certaine termes before which they had no being at all. This is the reaſon why firſt we doe moſt admire thoſe things which are greateſt, and ſecondly thoſe things which are ancienteſt, becauſe the one are leaſt diſtant from the infinite ſubſtance, the other from the infinite continuance of God. Out of this wee gather that onely God hath true immortalitie or eternitie, that is to ſay continuance wherein there groweth no difference by addition of hereafter vnto now, whereas the nobleſt and perfecteſt of all things beſides haue continually through continuance the time of former continuance lengthned, ſo that they could not heretofore be ſaid to haue continued ſo long as now, neither now ſo long as hereafter. Gods owne eternitie is the hand which leadeth Angels in the courſe of their perpetuitie; their perpetuitie the hand that draweth out cæleſtiall motion, the line of

which

which motion and the thread of time are ſpun together. Nowe as nature bringeth forth time with motion, ſo we by motion haue learned how to diuide time and by the ſmaller parts of time both to meaſure the greater and to know how long all things elſe endure. For time conſidered in it ſelfe is but the flux of that very inſtant wherein the motion of the heauen began, being coupled with other things it is the quantitie of their continuance meaſured by the diſtance of two inſtants. As the time of a man is a mans continuance from the inſtant of his firſt breath till the inſtant of his laſt gaſp. Hereupon ſome haue defined time to bee the meaſure of the motion of heauen, becauſe the firſt thing which time doth meaſure is that motion wherewith it began and by the helpe whereof it meaſureth other things, as when the Prophet Dauid ſaith that a mans continuance doth not commonly exceede threeſcore and ten yeares, he vſeth the helpe both of motion and number to meaſure time. They which make time an effect of motion, & motion to be in nature before time ought to haue conſidered with themſelues that albeit we ſhould deny as Meliſſus did all motion, we might notwithſtanding acknowledge time, becauſe time doth but ſignifie the quantitie of continuance, which continuance may bee in things that reſt and are neuer mooued. Beſides we may alſo conſider in reſt both that which is paſt, and that which is preſent, and that which is future, yea farther euen length and ſhortnes in euerie of theſe although we neuer had conceipt of motion. But to *define* without motion *how* long or *how* ſhort ſuch continuance is were impoſſible. So that herein we muſt of neceſsitie vſe the benefit of yeares, daies, howers, minutes, which all growe from cœleſtiall motion. Againe for as much as that motion is circular whereby we make our diuiſions of time, and the compaſſe of that circuit ſuch, that the heauens which are therein continually moued and keepe in their motions vniforme celeritie muſt needs touch often the ſame points, they cannot chooſe but bring vnto vs by equall diſtances frequent returnes of the ſame times. Furthermore whereas time is nothing but the meere quantitie of that continuance which all thinges haue that are not as God is without beginning, that which is proper vnto all quantities agreeth alſo to this kind, ſo that time doth but meaſure other things and neither worketh in them any reall effect nor is it ſelfe euer capable of any. And therfore when commonly we vſe to ſay that time doth eate or fret out all things, that time is the wiſeſt thing in the world becauſe it bringeth forth all knowledge, and that nothing is more fooliſh then time which neuer holdeth any thing long, but whatſoeuer one day learneth the ſame an other day forgetteth againe, that ſome men ſee proſperous and happie dayes, and that ſome mens dayes are miſerable, in all theſe and the like ſpeeches that which is vttered of the time is not verified of time it ſelfe, but agreeth vnto thoſe things which are in time and doe by meanes of ſo neere coniunction either lay their burthen vpon the backe, or ſet their Crowne vpon the head of time. Yea the very opportunities which we aſcribe to time do in truth cleaue to the things themſelues wherwith time is ioyned, as for time it neither cauſeth things nor opportunities of things, although it compriſe and containe both. All things whatſoeuer hauing their time, the workes of God haue alwaies that time which

[a] χρονος ἐστὶν ἐν ᾧ καιρὸς, καὶ καιρὸς ἐν ᾧ χρόνος οὐ πολύς. *Hippocr. lib. quæ Præceptiones inſcribitur.*

which is seasonablest and fittest for them. His workes are some ordinarie, some more rare, all worthy of obseruation, but not all of like necessitie to be often remembred, they all haue their times but they all doe not adde the same estimation and glory to the times wherein they are. For as God by being euerie where yet doth not giue vnto all places one and the same degree of holinesse, so neither one and the same dignitie to all times by working in al. For if al either places or times were in respect of God alike, wherfore was it said vnto Moyses by particular designation, *This very place wherein thou standest is holy grounde?* Why doth the Prophet Dauid choose out of all the daies of the yeare but one whereof hee speaketh by way of principall admiration, *This is the day which the Lord hath made?* No doubt as Gods extraordinarie presence hath hallowed and sanctified certaine places, so they are his extraordinarie workes that haue truely and worthily aduanced certaine times, for which cause they ought to bee with all men that honour God more holy then other dayes. The wise man therefore compareth herein not vnfitly the times of God with the persons of men. If any should aske how it commeth to passe that one day doth excell another seeing the light of all the dayes in the yeare proceedeth from one sunne, to this he answereth that *The knowledge of the Lord hath parted them a sunder, hee hath by them disposed the times and solemne feastes, some he hath chosen out and sanctified, some hee hath put among the dayes to number*: euen as Adam and all other men are of one substance all created of the earth, *but the Lord hath deuided them by great knowledge and made their wayes diuers, some he hath blessed and exalted, some hee hath sanctified and appropriated to himselfe, some he hath cursed, humbled and put them out of their dignitie.* So that the cause being naturall and necessarie for which there should be a difference in dayes, the solemne obseruation whereof declareth Religions thankfulnes towards him whose workes of principal reckoning we therby admire and honour, it commeth next to be considered what kinds of duties and seruices they are wherewith such times should be kept holy.

Exod. 3. 5.

Psal. 118, 24.

Eccles. 33. 7.

The manner of celebrating Festiual daies.

70 The sanctification of dayes and times is a token of that thankfulnesse and a part of that publique honour which we owe to God for admirable benefits, whereof it doth not suffice that wee keepe a secrete Kalender taking thereby our priuate occasions as we list our selues to thinke how much God hath done for all men, but the dayes which are chosen out to serue as publike memorials of such his mercies ought to be clothed with those outward robes of holinesse whereby their difference from other daies may be made sensible. But because time in it selfe as hath beene already prooued can receiue no alteration, the hallowing of Festiuall dayes must consist in the shape or countenance which we put vpon the affaires that are incident into those daies. This is the day which the Lord hath made saith the Prophet Dauid, *Let vs reioyce and be glad* in it. So that generally offices and duties of [a] religions *ioy* are that wherein the hallowing of Festiuall times consisteth. The most naturall testimonies of our reioycing in God are first his praises set foorth with cheerefull alacritie of mind, secondly our comfort and delight expressed by a [b] charitable largenesse of somewhat more then common bountie, thirdly

[a] *Grande videlicet officium locos & choros in publicum educere, sic atim epulari, ciuitatem taberna halitu obolefacere, sic lutum cogere, cateruatim currere ad iniurias, ad impudicitias, ad libidinis illecebras. Siccine exprimitur publicum gaudium per publicum dedecus. Tertul. Apolog. c. 35. Diesfestos Ma-*

thirdly ſequeſtration from ordinary labours, the toyles and cares whereof are not meete to bee companions of ſuch gladneſſe. Feſtiuall ſolemnitie therefore is nothing but the due mixture as it were of theſe three elements, praiſe and bountie, and reſt. Touching praiſe, for as much as the Iewes, who alone knew the way how to magnifie God aright, did commonly (as appeared by their wicked liues) more of cuſtome and for faſhion ſake execute the ſeruices of their Religion, then with hartie and true deuotion (which God eſpecially requireth) he therefore proteſteth againſt their Sabboths and ſolemne daies as being therewith much offended. *Eſay.1.13.* Plentifull and liberall expenſe is required in them that abounde, partly as a ſigne of their owne ioy in the goodneſſe of God towards them, and partly as a meane whereby to refreſh thoſe poore and needie, who being eſpecially at theſe times made pertakers of relaxation and ioy with others doe the more religiouſly bleſſe God, whoſe great mercies were a cauſe thereof, and the more contentedly indure the burthen of that hard eſtate wherein they continue. *Deut.16.14. Neh.8.9.* Reſt is the ende of all motion and the laſt perfection of all things that labour. Labours in vs are iorneyes, and euen in them which feele no wearineſſe by any worke yet they are but waies whereby to come vnto that which bringeth not happines till it doe bring reſt. For as long as any thing which we deſire is vnattained, we reſt not. Let vs not here take reſt for idleneſſe. They are idle whome the painefulnes of action cauſeth to auoide thoſe labours, whereunto both God and nature bindeth them: they reſt which either ceaſe from their worke when they haue brought it vnto perfection, or elſe giue ouer a meaner labour becauſe a worthier and better is to be vndertaken. God hath created nothing to be Idle or ill imployed. As therefore man doth conſiſt of different and diſtinct parts, euerie part indued with manifold habilities which all haue their ſeuerall ends and actions thereunto referred; ſo there is in this great varietie of duties which belong to men that dependencie and order, by meanes whereof the lower ſuſtaining alwaies the more excellent, and the higher perfecting the more baſe, they are in their times and ſeaſons continued with moſt exquiſite correſpondence, labours of bodily and daily toyle purchaſe freedome for actions of religious ioy, which benefite theſe actions requite with the gift of deſired reſt: a thing moſt natural and fit to accompanie the ſolemne Feſtiuall duties of honour which are done to God. For if thoſe principall workes of God, the memorie whereof wee vſe to celebrate at ſuch times bee but certaine taſtes and ſaies as it were of that finall benefite, wherein our perfect felicitie and bliſſe lyeth folded vp, ſeeing that the preſence of the one doth direct our cogitations thoughts and deſires towards the other, it giueth ſurely a kinde of life and addeth inwardly no ſmall delight to thoſe ſo comfortable expectations, when the very outward countenance of that we preſently doe repreſenteth after a ſorte that alſo whereunto wee tende, as Feſtiuall reſt doth that cæleſtiall eſtate whereof the verye

[a] heathens

ieſtati altiſſimæ dedicatos nullis ſolumus voluptatibus occupari. C. lib. 12. *tit.* 12. *l.* 1. Αντὶ τῆς παλαιᾶς πομπείας καὶ αἰσχρουργίας καὶ αἰσχρᾶς ἡμωδύνης σώφρονες ἑορτάζομεν πανηγύρεις, οὐ μίθυσι ἐχουσαι καὶ κῶμον καὶ γέλωτας, ἀλλ' ὕμνους θείους καὶ ἱερῶν λογίων ἀκροάσεις, καὶ προσευχὰς ἀξιεπαίνους κοσμουμένας δακρύοις. Theodoret *ad Gra. infidel. Ser.* 9.

[b] τῆς γὰρ αὐτῆς φύσεως ἔξιν εὐσεβῆ τε εἶναι καὶ φιλάνθρωπον. *Phio. lib. de Abraha.*

[a] heathens themselues which had not the meanes whereby to apprehende much did notwithstanding imagine that it needs must consist in rest, & haue therefore taught that aboue the higheſt moueable sphere there is nothing which feeleth alteration motion or change, but all things immutable, vnsubiect to passion, blest with eternall continuance in a life of the higheſt perfection and of that complete abundant sufficiencie within it selfe, which no possibilitie of want maime or defect can touch. Besides whereas ordinarie labors are both in themselues painefull, and base in comparison of Festiuall seruices done to God, doth not the naturall difference betweene them show that the one as it were by way of submission & homage should surrender themselues to the other wherewith they can neither easily concurre, becauſe painefulnes and ioy are opposite, nor decently, becauſe while the minde hath iust occasion to make her abode in the house of gladneſſe, the weede of ordinarie toyle and trauaile becommeth her not? Wherefore euen nature hath taught the heathens, and God the Iewes, and Christ vs, first that Festiuall solemnities are a part of the publique exercise of Religion; secondly that praise, liberalitie and rest are as naturall elements whereof solemnities consist. But these things the heathens conuerted to the honour of their falſe Gods, and as they failed in the ende it selfe, so neither could they discerne rightly what forme and measure Religion therein should obserue. Whereupon when the Israelites impiously followed so corrupt example, they are in euery degree noted to haue done amiſſe, their Hymnes or songs of praise were idolatrie, their bountie exceſſe, and their rest wantonneſſe. Therfore the law of God which appointed them daies of solemnitie taught them likewise in what maner the same should be celebrated. According to the patterne of which institution, Dauid eſtabliſhing the state of religion ordained praise to be giuen vnto God in the Sabboths monethes and appointed times, as their custome had beene alwaies before the Lord. Now besides the times which God himselfe in the law of Moyses particularly specifieth, there were through the wisedome of the Church certaine other deuiſed by occasion of like occurrents to those whereupon the former had risen, as namely that which Mardocheus and Ester did first celebrate in memorie of the Lords most wounderfull protection, when Haman had laide his ineuitable plot to mans thinking for the vtter extirpation of the Iewes euen in one day. This they call the feast of *Lots* becauſe Haman had cast their life and their death as it were vpon the hazard of a Lot. To this may bee added that other also of *Dedication* mentioned in the tenth of Saint Iohns Gospell, the institution whereof is declared in the Hiſtory of the Maccabies. But for as much as their law by the comming of Christ is changed, and wee thereunto no way bounde, Saint Paul although it were not his purpose to fauour inuectiues against the special sanctification of daies and times to the seruice of God and to the honour of Iesus Christ, doth notwithstanding bend his forces against that opinion which imposed on the Gentiles the yoke of Iewish legall obseruations, as if the whole world ought for euer and that vpon paine of condemnation to keepe & obserue the same. Such as in this perswasion hallowed those Iewish Sabbothes, the Apostles sharp-

[a] Οὐδ' ἐστὶν οὐδενὸς οὐδεμία μεταβολὴ τῶν ὑπὲρ ἐξωτάτω φερομένων φορὰν. ἀλλ' ἀναλλοίωτα καὶ ἀπαθῆ τὸν ἀρίστων ἔχοντα ζωὴν καὶ τὴν αὐταρκεστάτην διαπελεῖ τὸν ἅπαντα αἰῶνα. Arist.

1. Chro. 23. 30

Heſt. 9.

Ioh. 10.

1. Mac. 4

ſharply reproueth ſaying, [a] *Yee obſerue dayes and monethes and times and yeares, I am in feare of you leaſt I haue beſtowed vpon you labour in vaine.* Howbeit ſo farre off was [b] Tertullian from imagining how any man could poſſible hereupon call in queſtion ſuch daies as the Church of Chriſt doth obſerue, that the obſeruation of theſe daies he vſeth for an argument whereby to proue it coulde not bee the Apoſtles intent and meaning to condemne ſimply all obſeruing of ſuch times. Generally therefore touching feaſtes in the Church of Chriſt, they haue that profitable vſe whereof Saint Auguſtine ſpeaketh, *By Feſtiuall ſolemnities and ſet dayes we dedicate and ſanctifie to God the memorie of his benefites, leaſt vnthankfull forgetfulneſſe thereof ſhould creepe vpon vs in courſe of time.* And concerning particulars their Sabboth the Church hath chaunged into our Lords day, that as the one did continually bring to minde the former world finiſhed by creation, ſo the other might keepe vs in perpetuall remembrance of a farre better world begun by him which came to reſtore al things to make both heauen and earth new. For which cauſe they honored the laſt day wee the firſt in euery ſeuen throughout the yeare. The reſt of the daies and times which we celebrate haue relation all vnto one head. We begin therefore our Eccleſiaſticall yere with the glorious [c] Annuntiation of his birth by angelicall embaſſage. There being hereunto added his bleſſed Natiuitie it ſelfe, the miſtery of his legall [d] Circumciſion, the teſtification of his true incarnation by the purification of her which brought him into the world, his reſurrection, his aſcention into heauen, the admirable ſending downe of his Spirit vppon his choſen, and (which conſequently enſued) the notiſe of that incomprehenſible Trinitie thereby giuen to the Church of God; againe for as much as we know that Chriſt hath not onely beene manifeſted great in himſelfe, but great in other his Saints alſo, the dayes of whoſe departure out of the world are to the Church of Chriſt as the birth & Coronation daies of Kings or Emperours, therefore eſpeciall choyſe being made of the very flower of all occaſions in this kinde, there are annuall ſelected times to meditate of Chriſt glorified in them which had the honour to ſuffer for his ſake, before they had age and abilitie to know him; glorified in them which knowing him as Stephen had the ſight of that before death whereinto ſo acceptable death did leade; glorified in thoſe ſages of the Eaſt that came from farre to adore him and were conducted by ſtrange light; glorified in the ſecond Elias of the world ſent before him to prepare his way; glorified in euery of thoſe Apoſtles whome it pleaſed him to vſe as founders of his kingdome heere; glorified in the Angels as in Michael; glorified in all thoſe happie ſoules that are already poſſeſſed of heauen. Ouer and beſides which number not great, the reſt bee but foure other daies heretofore annexed to the feaſt of Eaſter and Pentecoſt by reaſon of generall Baptiſme vſuall at thoſe two feaſtes, which alſo is the cauſe why they had not as other dayes any proper name giuen them. Their firſt inſtitution was therefore through neceſſitie, and their preſent continuance is now for the greater honour of the principals whereupon they ſtill attend. If it be then demaunded whether we obſerue theſe times as being thervnto bounde by force of diuine law, or elſe by the onely poſitiue ordinances of the Church, I anſwere to this, that the verie law of nature it ſelfe which all

a *Gal.4.10.*

b *Si omnem in totum deuotionem temporum & dierum & menſium & annorum eraſit Apoſtolus, cur paſcha celebramus annuo circulo in menſe primo? Cur quinquagintâ exinde diebus in omni exultatione decurrimus? Lib. aduſ Pſych. Aug. de ciuit. Dei. lib. 10. c. 4*

c *Luc. 1. 26.*

d *Luc. 2.*

men confesse to be Gods law requireth in generall no lesse the sanctification of times then of places, persons & things vnto Gods honor. For which cause it hath pleased him heretofore as of the rest so of time likewise to exact some parts by way of perpetuall homage neuer to be dispensed withall nor remitted, againe to require some other parts of time with as strict exaction but for lesse continuance, and of the rest which were left arbitrarie to accept what the Church shall in due consideration consecrate voluntarily vnto like religious vses. Of the first kind amongst the Iewes was the Sabboth day; of the second those feastes which are appointed by the law of Moyses; the feast of dedication inuented by the Church standeth in the number of the last kind. The morall law requiring therefore a seauenth part throughout the age of the whole world to be that way imployed, although with vs the day be changed in regarde of a new reuolution begunne by our Sauiour Christ, yet the same proportion of time continueth which was before, because in reference to the benefit of creation and now much more of renouation thereunto added by him which was Prince of the world to come, wee are bound to accompt the sanctification of one day in seuen a dutie which Gods immutable law doth exact for euer. The rest they say we ought to abolish, because the continuance of them doth nourish wicked superstition in the minds of men, besides they are all abused by Papists the enemies of God, yea certaine of them as Easter and Pentecost euen by the Iewes.

Exceptions against our keeping of other festiuall daies besides the Sabboth.

71 Touching Iewes, their Easter and Pentecost haue with ours as much affinitie, as Phillip the Apostle with Phillip the Macedonian king. As for *imitation of Papists* and the *breeding of superstition*, they are now become such common gueststhat no man can thinke it discourteous to let them go as they came. The next is a rare obseruation and straunge. You shall finde if you marke it (as it doth deserue to bee noted well) that many thousands there are who if they haue vertuously during those times behaued themselues if their deuotion and zeale in prayer haue beene feruent, their attention to the word of God such as all Christian men should yeeld, imagine that herein they haue performed a good dutie, which notwithstandinge to thinke is a very daungerous error, in as much as the Apostle Saint Paule hath taught that wee ought not to keepe our Easter as the Iewes did for certaine dayes, but in the vnleauened bread of sinceritie and of truth to feast continually, whereas this restraint of Easter to a certaine number of dayes causeth vs to rest for a short space in that neere consideration of our duties which should be extended throughout the course of our whole liues, and so pulleth out of our minds the doctrine of Christs Gospell ere we be aware

T.C.l.1.p.151 If they had bene neuer abused neither by the Papists nor by the Iewes, as they haue beene and are dayly yet such making of holy daies is neuer without some great daunger of bringing in some euil and corrupt opinions into the mindes of men. I wil vse an example in one and that the chiefe of holy daies and most generally and of longest time obserued in the Church, which is the feast of Easter, which was kept of some more dayes of some fewer. How many thousands are there I will not say of the ignorant Papists, but of those also which professe the Gospell which when they haue celebrated those daies with diligent heede taken vnto their life, and with some earnest deuotion in praying and hearing the word of God, doe not by and by thinke that they haue well celebrated the feast of Easter, and yet haue they thus notably deceiued themselues. For Saint Paul teacheth. 1. Cor. 5. 8. that the celebrating of the Feast of the Christians Easter is not as the Iewes was for certaine daies, but sheweth that we must keepe this feast all the dayes of our life in the vnleauened bread of sincerities and of truth. By which wee see that the obseruing of the Feast of Easter for certaine daies in the yeare doth pull out of our mindes erre euer we be aware the doctrine of the Gospell and causeth vs to rest in that neare consideration of our duties for the space of a few daies which should be extended to all our life.

ware. The doctrine of the Goſpell which here they meane or ſhould meane is that Chriſt hauing finiſhed the law there is no Iewiſh paſcall ſolemnitie nor abſtinence from ſower bread now required at our hands, there is no leauen which wee are bound to caſt out but malice ſinne and wickedneſſe, no bread but the foode of ſincere truth wherewith we are tyed to celebrate our paſſouer. And ſeeing no time of ſinne is graunted vs, neither any intermiſſion of ſound beliefe, it followeth that this kinde of feaſting ought to indure alwaies. But how are ſtanding feaſtuall ſolemnities againſt this? That which the Goſpell of Chriſt requireth is the perpetuitie of vertuous duties: not perpetuitie of exerciſe or action, but diſpoſition perpetuall, and practiſe as oft as times and opportunities require. Iuſt, valiant, liberall, temperate and holy men are they which can whenſoeuer they will, and will whenſoeuer they ought execute what their ſeuerall perfections import. If vertues did alwaies ceaſe to be when they ceaſe to worke, there ſhould be nothing more pernicious to vertue then ſleepe: neither were it poſſible that men as Zacharie and Elizabeth ſhould in all the commaundements of God walke vnreproueable, or that the Chaine of our conuerſation ſhould containe ſo many linkes of diuine vertues as the Apoſtles in diuers places haue reckoned vp, if in the exerciſe of ech vertue perpetuall continuance were exacted at our hands. Seeing therefore all things are done in time, and many offices are not poſſible at one and the ſame time to be diſcharged, duties of all ſortes muſt haue neceſſarily their ſeuerall ſucceſsions and ſeaſons, in which reſpect the Schoolemen haue well and ſoundly determined that Gods affirmatiue lawes and precepts, the lawes that inioyne any actuall dutie as praier, almes, and the like doe binde vs *ad ſemper velle*, but not *ad ſemper agere*, wee are tyed to iterate and reſume them when neede is, howbeit not to continue them without any intermiſſion. Feaſtes whether God himſelfe haue ordained them, or the Church by that authoritie which God hath giuen, they are of Religion ſuch publique ſeruices as neither can nor ought to bee continued otherwiſe then onely by iteration. Which iteration is a moſt effectuall meane to bring vnto full maturitie and growth thoſe ſeedes of godlineſſe that theſe verie men themſelues doe graunt to bee ſowne in the hearts of many thouſands during the while that ſuch feaſtes are preſent. The conſtant habit of well doing is not gotten without the cuſtome of doing well, neither can vertue bee made perfect but by the manifold workes of vertue often practiſed. Before the powers of our minds be brought vnto ſome perfection our firſt aſſayes and offers towardes vertue muſt needes be rawe, yet commendable becauſe they tend vnto ripeneſſe. For which cauſe the wiſedome of God hath commended eſpecially this circumſtance amongſt others in ſolemne feaſtes, that to children and nouices in religion they miniſter the firſt occaſions to aske and inquire of God. Wherupon if there follow but ſo much pietie as hath beene mentioned, let the Church learne to further imbecillitie with praier, *preſerue Lord theſe good and gracious beginnings that they ſuddainly drie not vp like the morning dew but may proſper and grow as the trees which riuers of waters keepe alwayes flouriſhing*; let all mens acclamations bee *Grace Grace vnto it* as to that firſt layde corner ſtone in Zerubabels buildinges. For who hath deſpiſed the daie of thoſe

things which are ſmall? Or how dare we take vpon vs to condemne that very thing which voluntarily wee graunt maketh vs of nothing ſomewhat, ſeeing all we pretend againſt it is onely that as yet this ſomewhat is not much? The dayes of ſolemnitie which are but few cannot chooſe but ſoone finiſh that outward exerciſe of godlines which properly apertaineth to ſuch times, howbeit mens inward diſpoſition to vertue they both augment for the preſent and by their often returnes bring alſo the ſame at the length vnto that perfection which we moſt deſire. So that although by their neceſſarie ſhort continuance they abridge the preſent exerciſe of pietie in ſome kind, yet becauſe by repetition they enlarge, ſtrengthen and confirme the habites of all vertue, it remaineth that wee honour, obſerue and keepe them as ordinances many wayes ſingularly profitable in Gods Church. This exception being taken againſt holy dayes for that they reſtraine the praiſes of God vnto certaine times, an other followeth condemning reſtraint of men from their ordinarie trades and labours at thoſe times. [a] It is not they ſay in the power of the Church to commaunde reſt becauſe God hath left it to all men at liberty that if they thinke good to beſtow ſixe whole dayes in labour they may, neither is it more lawfull for the Church to abridge any man of that libertie which God hath graunted, then to take away the yoke which God hath laide vpon them and to countermande what hee doth expreſly inioyne. They denie not but in times of publique calamitie, that men may the better aſſemble themſelues to faſt & pray, the Church *becauſe it hath receiued commaundement* frō God to proclaime a prohibition frō ordinary works, ſtandeth bound to doe it, as the Iewes afflicted did in Babylon. But without ſome expreſſe commandement from God there is no power they ſay vnder heauen which may preſume by any decree to reſtraine the libertie that God hath giuen. Which opinion, albeit applied here no farther then to this preſent cauſe, ſhaketh vniuerſallye the fabricke of gouernement, tendeth to Anarchie and meere confuſion, diſſolueth families,

a T.C l.1.p. 152. I confeſſe that it is in the power of the Church to appoint ſo many dayes in the weeke or in the yeare (in the which the congregation ſhal aſſemble to heare the word of God & receiue the Sacraments & offer vp praiers vnto God) as it ſhall thinke good according to thoſe rules which are before alleaged. But that it hath power to make ſo many *holy dayes* as we haue wherin men are commaunded to ceaſe from their daily vocations of plowing and exerciſing their handy crafts, that I denie to be in the power of the Church. For proofe whereof *I* will take the fourth Commaundement and no other interpretation of it then M. Doct. alloweth of, which is that God licenſeth and leaueth it at the libertie of euery man to worke ſixe dayes in the weeke, ſo that he reſt the ſeuenth day. Seeing therefore that the Lord hath left it to all men at libertie that they might labour if they thinke good ſixe dayes, *I* ſay the Church nor no man can take this libertie away from them and driue them to a neceſſarie reſt of the body. And if it be lawfull to abridge the libertie of the Church in this point, and in ſteade that the Lord ſaith ſixe dayes thou maieſt labour if thou wilt to ſay thou ſhalt not labour ſixe dayes: *I* doe not ſee why the Church may not as well whereas the Lord ſaith thou ſhalt reſt the ſeuenth day commaunde that thou ſhalt not reſt the ſeuenth day. For if the Church may reſtraine the libertie which God hath giuen them it may take away the yoke alſo which God hath put vpon them. And whereas you ſay that notwithſtanding this fourth Commaundement the *Iewes* had certaine other feaſtes which they obſerued, indeede the Lord which gaue this generall law might make as many exceptions as he thought good and ſo long as hee thought good. But it followeth not becauſe the Lord did it that therefore the Church may doe it vnleſſe it hath commaundement and authoritie from God ſo to doe. As when there is any generall plague or iudgement of God either vpon the Church or comming towards it, the Lord commandeth in ſuch a caſe *Ioel*, 2. 15. that they ſhould ſanctifie a general faſt and proclaime *Ghnatſarah* which ſignifieth a prohibition or forbidding of ordinarie workes and is the ſame Hebrue word wherewith thoſe feaſtes dayes are noted in the law wherein they ſhould reſt. The reaſon of which commaundement of the Lord was thar they abſtained that day as much as might bee conueniently from meate, ſo they might abſtaine from their dayly workes to the ende they might beſtow the whole day in hearing the worde of God and humbling themſelues in the congregation confeſſing their faultes and deſiring the Lord to turn away from his fearce wrath. *In* this caſe the Church hauing commaundement to make a holy day may and ought to doe it, as the Church which was in Babylon did during the time of their captiuitie: but where it is deſtitute of a commaundement it may not preſume by any decree to reſtraine that libertie which the Lord hath giuen.

lies, dissipateth Colleges, Corporations, armies, ouerthroweth kingdomes Churches and whatsoeuer is nowe through the prouidence of God by authoritie and power vpheld. For whereas God hath forepriſed things of the greateſt waight, and hath therein preciſely defined as well that which euery man muſt performe, as that which no man may attempt, leauing all ſortes of men in the reſt either to be guided by their owne good diſcretion if they bee free from ſubiection to others, or elſe to bee ordered by ſuch commaundements and lawes as proceede from thoſe ſuperiours vnder whome they liue, the patrons of libertie haue heere made ſolemne proclamation that all ſuch lawes and commaundements are voide, in as much as euery man is left to the freedome of his owne minde in ſuch things as are not either exacted or prohibited by the law of God, and becauſe only in theſe things the poſitiue precepts of men haue place, which precepts cannot poſſibly bee giuen without ſome Abridgement of their libertie to whome they are giuen, therfore if the Father commaund the Sonne, or the husband the wife, or the Lord the ſeruant, or the leader the Souldier, or the Prince the ſubiect to goe or ſtand, ſleepe or wake at ſuch times as God himſelfe in particular commandeth neither, they are to ſtand in defence of the freedome which God hath graunted and to doe as themſelues liſt, knowing that men may as lawfully command them things vtterly forbidden by the law of God, as tye them to any thing which the law of God leaueth free. The plaine contradictorie whereunto is vnfallibly certaine. Thoſe things which the law of God leaueth arbitrarie and at libertie are all ſubiect vnto poſitiue lawes of men which lawes for the common benefite abridge particular mens libertie in ſuch things as farre as the rules of equitie will ſuffer. This wee muſt either maintaine or elſe ouerturne the world and make euery man his owne commaunder. Seeing then that labour and reſt vppon any one day of the ſixe throughout the yeare are graunted free by the law of God, how exempt wee them from the force and power of Eccleſiaſticall law, except we depriue the world of power to make any ordinance or law at all? Beſides is it probable that God ſhould not onely allow but commaunde concurrencie of reſt with extraordinarie occaſions of dolefull euents befalling peraduenture ſome one certaine Church, or not extending vnto many, and not as much as permit or licence the like when pietie triumphant with ioy and gladneſſe maketh ſolemne commemoration of Gods moſt rare and vnwoonted mercies *ſuch eſpecially as the whole race of mankind* doth or might participate? Of vacation from labour in times of ſorrow the onely cauſe is for that the generall publique prayers of the whole Church and our owne priuate buſineſſes cannot both be followed at once: whereas of reſt in the famous ſolemnities of publique ioy there is both this conſideration the ſame, and alſo farther a kind of natural repugnancie which maketh labours (as hath beene prooued) much more vnfit to accompanie Feſtiuall praiſes of God then offices of humiliation and griefe. Againe if we ſift what they bring for proofe and approbation of reſt with faſting, doth it not in all reſpectes as fully warrant and as ſtrictly commaunde reſt whenſoeuer the Church hath equall reaſon by feaſtes and gladſome ſolemnities to teſtifie publique thankfulnes towards God? I would know ſome cauſe, why

thoſe

Ioel.2.15. those words of the Prophet Ioel, *Sanctifie a faſt, call a ſolemne aſſembly*, which words were vttered to the Iewes in miſerie and great diſtreſſe, ſhould more binde the Church to doe at all times after the like in their like perplexities, then the words of Moyſes to the ſame people in a time of ioyfull deliuerance Exod.13.3. from miſerie *Remember this day*, may warrant any annuall celebration of benefites no leſſe importing the good of men; and alſo iuſtifie as touching the manner and forme thereof what circumſtance ſo euer we imitate onely in reſpect of naturall fitneſſe or decencie without any Iewiſh regarde to ceremonies ſuch as were properly theirs and are not by vs expedient to be continued. According to the rule of which generall directions taken from the law of God no leſſe in the one then the other the practiſe of the Church commended vnto vs in holy Scripture doth not onely make for the iuſtification of blacke and diſmoll dayes (as one of the Fathers termeth them) but plainely offereth it ſelfe to bee followed by ſuch ordinances (if occaſion require) as that which Mardocheus did ſometime deuiſe, Heſter what lay in her power helpe forward, and the reſt of the Iewes eſtabliſh for perpetuitie, namely that the foureteenth and fifteenth daies of the month *Adar* ſhould be euery yeare kept throughout all generations as dayes of feaſting and ioy, wherein they would reſt from bodily labour, and what by gifts of charitie beſtowed vpon the poore, what by other liberall ſignes of amitie and loue, all teſtifie their thankfull mindes towads God, which almoſt beyond poſſibilitie had deliuered them all when they all were as men dead. But this decree they [a] ſay was diuine not Eccleſiaſticall, as may appeare in that there is an other decree in another booke of Scriprure which decree is plaine not to haue proceeded from the Churches authoritie but from the mouth of the Prophet onely, and as a poore ſimple man ſometime was fully perſwaded that if Pontius Pilat had not bene a Saint the Apoſtles woulde neuer haue ſuffered his name to ſtande in the Creede, ſo theſe men haue a ſtrong opinion that becauſe the booke of Heſter is canonicall the decree of Heſter cannot be poſſibly Eccleſiaſticall. If it were, they aske how the Iewes could bind themſelues alwayes to keepe it, ſeeing Eccleſiaſtical lawes are mutable? As though the purpoſes of men might neuer intend conſtancie in that the nature whereof is ſubiect to alteration. Doth the Scripture it ſelfe make mention of any diuine commaundement? Is the Scripture witneſſe of more then onely that Mardocheus was the author of this cuſtome, that by letters written to his bretheren the Iewes throughout all prouinces vnder

a T.C.l.3.p. 193. The example out of Heſter is no ſufficient warrant for theſe feaſts in queſtion. For firſt as in other caſes ſo in this caſe of dayes, the eſtate of Chriſtians vnder the Goſpell ought not to bee ſo ceremonious as was theirs vnder the law. Secondly that which was done there was done by a ſpecial direction of the ſpirit of God either through the miniſterie of the Prophets which they had or by ſome other extraordinarie meanes which is not to bee followed by vs. This may appeare by an other place. Zach. 8. where the Iewes changed their faſts into feaſtes onely by the mouth of the Lord through the miniſterie of the Prophet. For further proofe whereof firſt I take the 18. verſe, where it appeareth that this was an order to endure alwayes euen as long as the other feaſts dayes which were inſtituted by the Lord himſelfe. So that what abuſes ſoeuer were of that feaſt yet as a perpetuall decree of God it ought to haue remained, whereas our Churches can make no ſuch decree, which may not vpon chaunge of times and other circumſtances be altered. For the other proofe hereof I take the laſt verſe. For the Prophet contenteth not himſelfe with that, that he had rehearſed the decree, as hee doth ſometimes the decree of prophane Kings, but addeth preciſely that as ſoone as euer the decree was made it was regiſtred in this booke of Heſter which is one of the bookes of the canonicall Scripture, declaring thereby in what eſteeme they had it. If it had beene of no further authoritie then our decrees or then a Cannon of one of the councels, it had beene preſumption to haue brought it into the Librarie of the holy Ghoſt. The ſumme of my aunſwere is that this decree was diuine and not Eccleſiaſticall onely.

vnder Darius the King of Perſia hee gaue them charge to celebrate yearely thoſe two dayes for perpetuall remembrance of Gods miraculous deliuerance and mercie, that the Iewes hereupon vndertooke to doe it, and made it with generall conſent an order for perpetuitie, that Heſter ſecondly by her letters confirmed the ſame which Mardocheus had before decreed, and that finally the ordinance was written to remaine for euer vpon recorde? Did not the Iewes in Prouinces abroade obſerue at the firſt the foureteenth day, the Iewes in Suſis the fifteenth? Were they not all reduced to an vniforme order by meanes of thoſe two decrees, and ſo euery where three dayes kept, the firſt with faſting in memorie of daunger, the reſt in token of deliuerance as feſtiuall and ioyfull dayes? Was not the firſt of theſe three afterwards the day of ſorrow and heauines abrogated, when the ſame Church ſaw it meete that a better day, a day in memorie of like deliueraunce out of the bloudie hands of Nicanor ſhould ſucceede in the roome thereof? But for as much as there is no ende of anſwering fruitleſſe oppoſitions, let it ſuffice men of ſober mindes to knowe that the law both of God and nature alloweth generally dayes of reſt and feſtiuall ſollemnitie to be obſerued by way of thankfull and ioyfull remembrance if ſuch miraculous fauours bee ſhewed towards mankinde as require the ſame; that ſuch graces God hath beſtowed vppon his Church as well in later as in former times, that in ſome particulars when they haue fallen out himſelfe hath demaunded his owne honour, and in the reſt hath left it to the wiſedome of the Church directed by thoſe precedents and enlightned by other meanes alwaies to iudge when the like is requiſite. About queſtions therefore concerning dayes and times our manner is not to ſtand at bay with the C[illegible]rch of God demaunding wherefore the memorie of [a] Paul ſhould bee rath[illegible]r kept then the memorie of [b] Daniel; wee are content to imagine it may bee perhappes true that the leaſt in the kingdome of Chriſt is greater then the greateſt of all the Prophets of God that haue gon before; we neuer yet ſaw cauſe to diſpaire but that the [c] ſimpleſt of the people might bee taught the right conſtruction of as great myſteries as the [d] name of a Saints day doth comprehend, although the times of the yeare goe on in their wonted courſe; we had rather glorifie and bleſſe God for the fruite we daily behold reaped by ſuch ordinances as his gratious ſpirit maketh the ripe wiſedome of this nationall Church to bring foorth, then vainely boſt of our owne peculiar and priuate inuentions, as if the skill of [e] profitable regiment had left her publike habitation to dwell in retired manner with ſome fewe men of one liuerie; we make not our childiſh [f] appeales ſometimes from our owne to forraine Churches, ſometime from both vnto Churches ancienter then both are, in effect alwayes from all others to our owne ſelues, but as becometh them that follow with all humilitie the wayes of peace, wee honour reuerence and obey in the very next de-

2. *Mac.* 15. 36

1. *Mac.* 4. 59.

a *Commemoratio Apoſtolica paſſionis totius Chriſtianitatis magiſtra a cunctis iure celebratur. Cod. l.* 3. *tit.* 12. *l.* 7.

b T.C.l. 1. p. 153. For ſo much as the old people did neuer keepe any feaſt or holy day for remembrance either of Moyſes, &c.

c T.C.l. 1. p. 153. The people when it is called S. Pauls day, or the bleſſed Virgin Maryes day can vnderſtand nothing therby but that they are inſtituted to the honour of Saint Paul or the Virgin Mary, vnleſſe they bee otherwiſe taught. And if you ſay let them ſo be taught, *I* haue anſwered that the teaching in this land cannot by any order which is yet taken come to the moſt part of thoſe which haue drunke this poyſon, &c.

d *Scilicet ignorant nos nec Chriſtum vnquam relinquere qui pro totius ſeruandorum mundi ſalute paſſus eſt, nec alium quem piam colere poſſe. Nam hunc quidem tanquam filium Dei adoramus, martyres vero tanquam Diſcipulos & imitatores Domini digne propter inſuperabilem in regem ipſorum ac praceptorem beneuolentiam diligimus quorum & nos conſortes & diſcipulos fieri optamus. Euſe. hiſt. Eccleſi. lib. 4. cap. 15.*

e T.C.l. 1. p. 153. As for all the commodities, &c.

f T.C.l. 1. p. 154

gree

gree vnto God the voice of the Church of God wherin we liue. They whose wits are too glorious to fall to so low an ebbe, they which haue risen and swollen so high that the wals of ordinarie riuers are vnable to keepe them in, they whose wanton contentions in the cause whereof wee haue spoken doe make all where they goe a Sea, euen they at their highest flote are constrained both to see and [a] graunt, that what their fancie will not yeelde to like their iudgement cannot with reason condemn. Such is euermore the finall victorie of all truth that they which haue not the hearts to loue her acknowledge that to hate her they haue no cause. Touching those festiuall dayes therefore which we now obserue, their number being no way felt [b] discommodious to the commen-wealth, and their grounds such as hitherto hath beene shewed, what remaineth but to keepe them throughout all generations holy, seuered by manifest notes of difference from other times, adorned with that which most may betoken true vertuous and cœlestiall ioye? To which intent because surcease from labour is necessarie, yet not so necessarie no not on the Sabboth or seauenth day it selfe, but that rarer occasions in mens particular affaires subiect to manifest detriment vnlesse they bee presently followed may with verie good conscience draw them sometimes aside from the ordinarie rule, considering the fauourable dispensation which our Lord and Sauiour groundeth on this axiome, *Man was not made for the Sabboth but the Sabboth ordained for man* so far forth as concerneth Ceremonies annexed to the principall sanctification thereof, howsoeuer the rigor of the law of Moyses may bee thought to import the contrarie, if wee regarde with what seueritie the violation of Sabboths hath beene sometime punished, a thing perhaps the more requisite at that instant both because the Iewes by reason of their long aboade in a place of continuall seruile toyle could not suddainely be wained and drawne vnto contrarie offices without some strong impression of terror, and also for that there is nothing more needfull then to punish with extremitie the first transgressions of those lawes that require a more exact obseruation for many ages to come; therefore as the Iewes superstitiously addicted to their Sabboths rest for a long time, not without danger to themselues and [c] obliquie to their verie law, did afterwards perceiue and amend wisely their former error, not doubting that bodily labours are made by [d] necessitie veniall, though otherwise, especially on that day, rest be more conuenient, so at all times the voluntarie scandalous contempt of that rest from labour wherewith publiquely God is serued we cannot too [e] seuerely correct and bridle. The Emperour [f] Constantine hauing withouer great facilitie licensed Sundaies labours in countrie villages, vnder that pretence whereof there may iustly no doubt sometime consideration be had, namely least any thing which God by his prouidence hath bestowed shoulde miscarrie not being taken in due time, *Leo* which afterwards saw that this ground would not beare so generall and large indulgence

[a] T.C.l.1.p. 154. We condemne not the church of England neither in this nor in other things which are meete to be reformed, For it is one thing to mislike another thing to condemn, & it is one thing to condemne something in the Church and an other thing to condemne the Church for it.

[b] πολλὰς μὲν θυσίας πολλὰς δὲ καὶ ἑορτὰς ἐπαυσε. τὸ γὰρ πλεῖστον τοῦ χρόνου εἰς ἀνθρώπους ἀναλίσκεσθαι καὶ τῷ δημοσίῳ ξημία οὐκ ἐλαχίστη ἐγίγνετο. *De Claudio dictum apud Dion. l. 60. Marc. 2. 27. Num. 15. 32.*

[c] *Hi Gaeare consueti sunt septima die, & neq; arma portare in pradictis diebus neq; terra culturam contingere, neq; alterius cuiuspiam curam habere patiuntur, sed in templis extendentes manus adorare vsq; ad Vesperam solits sunt. Ingrediente vero in ciuitatem Ptolomaeo Lago cum exercitu & multis hominibus, cum custodire debuerint ciuitatem, ipsis stultitiam obseruantibus prouincia quidem Dominum suscepit amarissimum, lex vero manifesta ta est malam habere solennitatē. Agatharchid. apud Ioseph. l. 1. contra Appion. Vide & Dion. lib. 37.*

[d] 1. Mac. 2. 40.

[e] Neh. 13. 15.

[f] Cod. l. 3. tit. 12. l. 3.

as had beene graunted, doth by a contrarie Edict both reuerſe and ſeuerely cenſure his predeceſſors remiſnes ſaying, [a] *We ordaine according to the true meaning of the holy Ghoſt and of the Apoſtles thereby directed, that on the ſacred daye wherein our owne integritie was reſtored all doe reſt and ſurceaſe labour, that neither husbandman nor other on that day put their hands to forbidden workes. For if the Iewes did ſo much reuerence their Sabboth which was but a ſhadow of ours, are not wee which inhabit the light and truth of grace bound to honour that day which the Lorde himſelfe hath honoured and hath therein deliuered vs both from diſhonour and from death? are we not bound to keepe it ſingular and inuiolable, well contenting our ſelues with ſo liberall a graunt of the reſt and not incroching vpon that one which God hath choſen to his owne honour? Were it not rechleſſe neglect of Religion to make that very day common and to thinke wee may doe with it as with the reſt?* Imperiall lawes which had ſuch care of hallowing eſpecially our Lords day did not omit to prouide that [b] other feſtiuall times might be kept with vacation from labour, whether they were dayes appointed on the ſuddaine as extraordinarie occaſions fell out, or dayes which were celebrated yearely for politique and ciuill conſiderations, or finally ſuch dayes as Chriſtian Religion hath ordained in Gods Church. The ioy that ſetteth aſide labour diſperſeth thoſe things which labour gathereth. For gladneſſe doth alwaies riſe from a kind of fruition and happineſſe, which happineſſe baniſheth the cogitation of all want, it needeth nothing but onely the beſtowing of that it hath, in as much as the greateſt felicitie that felicitie hath is to ſpread and enlarge it ſelfe, it commeth hereby to paſſe that the firſt effect of ioyfulnes is to reſt, becauſe it ſeeketh no more; the next, becauſe it aboundeth, to giue. The roote of both is the glorious preſence of that ioy of minde which riſeth from the manifold conſiderations of Gods vnſpeakable mercie, into which conſiderations we are led by occaſion of ſacred times. For how could the Iewiſh congregations of old be put in mind by their weekely Sabboths what the world reaped through his goodneſſe which did of nothing create the world; by their yearely Paſſouer what farwell they tooke of the lande of Egypt; by their Pentecoſt what ordinances lawes and ſtatutes their Fathers receiued at the hands of God; by their feaſt of Tabernacles with what protection they iorneyed from place to place through ſo many feares and hazards during the tedious time of fortie yeares trauaile in the wilderneſſe; by their annuall ſolemnitie of Lottes, how neere the whole ſeede of Iſraell was vnto vtter extirpation, when it pleaſed that great God which guideth all thinges in heauen and earth ſo to change the counſels and purpoſes of men, that the ſame hand which had ſigned a decree in the opinion both of them that graunted and of them that procured it, irreuocable, for the generall maſſacre of man woman and childe, became the buckler of their preſeruation that no one haire of their heads might be toucht the ſame dayes which had beene ſet for the powring out of ſo much innocent bloud were made the dayes of their execution whoſe malice had contriued the plot thereof, and the ſelfe ſame perſons that ſhould haue indured whatſoeuer violence and rage could offer were imployed in the iuſt reuenge of crueltie to giue vnto bloud thirſtie men the taſt of their owne cup; or how can the Church of Chriſt now endure to be ſo much called on and preached vnto

[a] *Leo conſti. 5.*

[b] *C. lib. 3. tit. 12. Dies feſtos.*

vnto by that which euery [a] Dominicall day throughout the yeare, that which yeare by yeare ſo many feſtiuall times, [b] if not commaunded by the Apoſtles themſelues whoſe care at that time was of greater things, yet inſtituted either by ſuch [c] vniuerſall authoritie as no man, or at the leaſt ſuch as wee with no reaſon may deſpiſe, doe as ſometime the holy Angels did from heauen ſing [d] *Glorie bee vnto God on high, peace on earth, towardes men goodwill* (for this in effect is the very ſong that all Chriſtian feaſtes do apply as their ſeuerall occaſions require) how ſhoulde the dayes and times continually thus inculcate what God hath done, and we refuſe to agniſe the benefit of ſuch remembrances, that very benefite which cauſed Moyſes to acknowledge thoſe guides of day and night the ſunne and Moone which enlighten the world not more profitable to nature by giuing all things life, then they are to the Church of God by occaſion of the vſe they haue in regarde of the appointed feſtiuall times? That which the head of all Phyloſophers hath ſaid of women, if they be good the halfe of the commonwealth is happie wherein they are, the ſame we may fitly apply to times, well to celebrate theſe Religious and ſacred daies is to ſpend the flower of our time happily. They are the ſplendour and outward dignitie of our Religion, forcible witneſſes of ancient truth, prouocations to the exerciſe of of all pietie, ſhadowes of our endleſſe felicitie in heauen, on earth euerlaſting recordes and memorials, wherein they which cannot be drawne to hearken vnto that we teach, may onely by looking vpon that we doe, in a maner reade whatſoeuer we belieue.

a *Mat.28.1 Marc.16.1 Luc.24.1 Ioh.20.1 1.Cor.16.2 Apoc.1.10*

b *Apoſtolis propoſitum fuit non vt leges de feſtis diebus celebrandis ſancirent, ſed vt recte viuendi rationis & pietatis nobis authores eſſent. Socrat. hiſt. lib. 5. c. 21.*

c *Quæ toto terrarum orbe ſeruantur vel ab ipſis Apoſtolis vel conciliis generalibus quorum eſt ſaluberrima in eccleſia authoritas ſtatuta eſſe intelligere licet: ſicuti quod Dominj paſſio & Reſurrectio & in cælum Aſcenſus & Aduentus ſp. ſancti anniuerſaria ſolennitate celebrantur Aug. Ep. 118*

d *Luc.2.14.*

Of daies appointed aswel for ordinarie as for extraordinarie faſtes in the Church of God.

72 The matching of contrarie things together is a kind of illuſtration to both. Hauing therefore ſpoken thus much of Feſtiuall dayes, the next that offer themſelues to hand are daies of penſiue humiliation & ſorrow. Faſtings are either of mens owne free and voluntarie accord as their particular deuotion doth moue them thereunto, or elſe they are publiquely inioyned in the Church and required at the hands of all men. There are which altogether diſallow not the former kind, and the latter they greatly commend, ſo that it bee vpon extraordinarie occaſions onely, and after one certaine manner exerciſed. But yearely or weekely faſtes ſuch as ours in the Church of England they alow no farther then as the temporall ſtate of the lande doth require the ſame for the maintenance of ſea-faring men and preſeruation of Cattle, becauſe the decay of the one and the waſt of the other coulde not well be preuented but by a politique order appointing ſome ſuch vſuall change of Diet as ours is. Wee are there-

a *T. C. l. 1. p. 30* I wil not enter now to diſcuſſe whether it were well done to faſt in all places according to the cuſtome of the place. You oppoſe Ambroſe and Auguſtine. I could oppoſe Ignatius and Tertullian, whereof the one ſayth it is nefas, a deteſtable thing to faſt vpon the Lords day, the other that it is to kill the Lord. Tertul. de Coron. mil. Ignat. Ep. ad Philippen. And although Ambroſe and Auguſtine being priuate men at Rome would haue ſo done, yet it followeth not that if they had bene Cittizens and Miniſters there that they would haue done it. And if they had done ſo yet it followeth not but they would haue ſpoken againſt that appointment of dayes and νομοθεσίαν of faſting whereof Euſebius ſaith that Montanus was the firſt author. I ſpeake of that which they ought to haue done. For otherwiſe I know they both thought corruptly of faſting, when as the one ſaith it was remedie or reward to faſt other dayes, but in Lent not to faſt was ſinne: and the other aſketh, what ſaluation we can obtaine if we blot not out our ſinnes by faſting, ſeeing that the Scripture ſaith that faſting and almes doth deliuer from ſinne, and therefore calleth them new teachers that ſhut out the merit of faſting. Aug. de temp. 62. Serm. Ambro. l. 10. Ep.

therfore the rather to make it manifeſt in al mens eyes, that ſet times of faſting appointed in ſpirituall conſiderations to bee kept by all ſortes of men tooke not their beginning either from Montanus or any other whoſe hereſies may preiudice the credit and due eſtimation thereof, but haue their ground in the law of nature, are allowable in Gods ſight, were in all ages heeretofore, and may till the worlds ende bee obſerued not without ſingular vſe and benefite.

Much hurt hath growne to the Church of God through a falſe imagination that faſting ſtandeth men in no ſteade for any ſpirituall reſpect, but onely to take downe the frankneſſe of nature and to tame the wildnes of fleſh. Whereupon the world being bolde to ſurfit doth now bluſh to faſt, ſuppoſing that men when they faſt, doe rather bewray a diſeaſe, then exerciſe a vertue. I much wonder what they who are thus perſwaded doe thinke, what conceipt they haue concerning the faſts of the Patriarkes, the Prophets, the Apoſtles, our Lord Ieſus Chriſt himſelfe. The affections of *ioy* and *griefe* are ſo knit vnto all the actions of mans life, that whatſoeuer we can doe or may bee done vnto vs, the ſequell thereof is continually the one or the other affection. Wherefore conſidering that they which grieue and ioy as they ought cannot poſſibly otherwiſe liue then as they ſhould, the Church of Chriſt, the moſt abſolute and perfect Schoole of all vertue, hath by the ſpeciall direction of Gods good ſpirite hitherto alwaies inured men from their infancie partly with daies of feſtiuall exerciſe for the framing of the one affection, and partly with times of a contrarie ſort for the perfecting of the other. Howbeit ouer and beſides this, wee muſt note that as reſting ſo faſting likewiſe attendeth ſometimes no leſſe vpon the actions of the higher, then vppon the affections of the lower part of the minde. Faſting ſaith Tertullian is a worke of reuerence towards God. The end thereof ſometimes eleuation of minde; ſometime the purpoſe thereof cleane contrarie. The cauſe why Moyſes in the mount did ſo long faſt was meere diuine ſpeculation, the cauſe why Dauid, [a] humiliation. Our life is [b] a mixture of good with euill. When wee are partakers of good things we ioy, neither can wee but grieue at the contrarie. If that befall vs which maketh glad, our feſtiuall ſolemnities declare our reioycing to be in him whoſe meere vndeſerued mercie is the author of all happines; if any thing be either imminent or preſent which wee ſhun, our watchings, faſtings, cryes and teares are vnfained teſtimonies, that our ſelues we condemne as the onely cauſes of our owne miſerie, and doe all acknowledge him no leſſe inclinable then able to ſaue. And becauſe as the memorie of the one though paſt renueth gladneſſe; ſo the other called againe to minde doth make the wound of our iuſt remorſe to bleede anew, which wound needeth often touching the more, for that wee are generally more apt to Kalender Saints then ſinners dayes, therefore there is in the Church a care not to iterate the one alone but to haue frequent repetition of the other. Neuer to ſeeke after God ſauing onely when either the crib or the whip doth conſtraine were brutiſh ſeruilitie: and a great derogation to the worth of that which is moſt predominant in man, if ſometime it had not a kinde of voluntarie acceſſe to God and of conference as it were with God, all theſe inferior conſiderations laide aſide. In which ſequeſtration for as much as [c] higher cogitations do naturally

[a] *Tert. de ieiun.* Neq; enim tibi tempus in periculo: Semper inedia maiorũ ſequela eſt

[b] Μιᾶς δ' ὑπολαζόντων τῶν ἀκραίων ἡ ἀμιγὴς λύπης χαρὰ ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ καταζάσειεν ἐπὶ τῷ γλυκύ, ἀλλ' ἐπεκέχραται ἐξ ἀμφοῖν. οὐ γὰρ εἴασεν ὁ πατὴρ τὰ ἀνθρώπων γένος λυπῆις ἡδυπαθείας ἀνιάτους ἀμφιβόλῳ, παρέμιξε δὲ ἡ τῆς ἀμείνονος φύσεως, ἐυδιάσους πολὺ ἡ γαλεωτάσαι τῷ ψυχῷ δίκησαι. *Philo. lib. de Abrah.*

[c] *Ioh. 4. 34.*

T

naturally drowne and burie all inferiour cares, the minde may as well forget naturall both foode and ſleepe by being carried aboue it ſelfe with ſerious and heauenly meditation, as by being caſt downe with heauineſſe, drowned and ſwallowed vp of ſorrow. Albeit therefore concerning Iewiſh abſtinence from certaine kinds of meates as being vncleane the Apoſtle doth teach that [a] the kingdome of heauen is not meate nor drinke, that foode commendeth vs not vnto God whether we take it or abſtaine from it, that if we eate we are not thereby the more acceptable in his ſight, nor the leſſe if we eate not; his purpoſe notwithſtanding was farre from any intent to derogate from that faſting which is no ſuch ſcrupulous abſtinence as onely refuſeth ſome kinds of meates and drinkes leaſt they make him vncleane that taſteth them, but an abſtinence whereby we either interrupt or otherwiſe abridge the care of our bodily ſuſtenance, to ſhow by this kinde of outward exerciſe the ſerious intention of our minds fixed on heauenlier and better deſires, the earneſt hunger and thirſt whereof depriueth the body of thoſe vſuall contentmentes, which otherwiſe are not denied vnto it. Theſe being in nature the firſt cauſes that induce faſting, the next thing which followeth to be conſidered is the auncient practiſe thereof amongſt the Iewes. Touching whoſe priuat voluntarie faſtes the precept which our Sauiour gaue them was, *When yee faſt looke not ſower as hypocrites. For they diſfigure their faces that they might ſeeme vnto men to faſt. Verily I ſay vnto you they haue their reward. When thou faſteſt, anoint thy head, and waſh thy face, that thou ſeeme not vnto men to faſt, but vnto the Father which is in ſecrete and thy Father which ſeeth in ſecrete will reward thee openly.* Our Lord and Sauiour would not teach the manner of doing; much leſſe propoſe a rewarde for doing that, which were not both holy and acceptable in Gods ſight. The Phariſes weekly bounde themſelues vnto double faſtes, neither are they for this reproued. Often faſting which was a vertue in Iohns Diſciples could not in them of it ſelfe be a vice, and therefore not the oftnes of their faſting, but their hypocriſie therein was blamed. Of [b] publique inioyned faſts vpon cauſes extraordinarie the examples in Scripture are ſo frequent that they neede no particular rehearſall. Publique extraordinarie faſtings were ſometimes for [c] one onely day, ſometimes for [d] three, ſome times for [e] ſeuen. Touching faſts not appointed for any ſuch extraordinarie cauſes but either yearely or monethly or weekly obſerued and kept, firſt vppon the [f] ninth day of that moneth the tenth whereof was the feaſt of expiation, they were commaunded of God that euery ſoule yeare by yeare ſhould afflict it ſelfe. Their yearely faſts euery fourth moneth in regarde of the Cittie of Ieruſalem entred by the enemie, euerye fift in memorie of the ouerthrow of their temple, euery ſeauenth for the treacherous deſtruction and death of Godolias the very laſt ſtay which they had to leane vnto in their greateſt miſerie, euery tenth in remembrance of the time when ſiege beganne firſt to be laide againſt them, all theſe not commaunded of God himſelfe but ordained by a publique conſtitution of their owne, the Prophet [g] Zacharie expreſly toucheth. That Sainr Ierome following the tradition of the Hebrewes doth make the firſt a memoriall of the breaking of thoſe 12. Tables when Moyſes deſcended from mount Sina; the ſecond a memoriall as well of Gods indig-

nation

a Rom. 14. 17.

Mat. 6. 16.
b 2. Chro 20.
Ier. 36.
Ezr. 8.
1. Sam. 7.
c Iud. 20. 26.
d 2. Mac. 13. 12
e 1. Sam. 31. 13.
1. Chro. 10. 12.
f Leuit. 23.
Leuit. 16.
Philo de huius feſti ſeiunio ita loquitur.
Οὐ σῖτον, οὐ πολὺν ἐξεῖ προσενήνεκται καθαρᾶις ὅπως διανοίαις μεθ' ἑνὸς ἐνοχλοῦντος μηδ' ἐμποδίζοντος σωματικοῦ πάθους ἀτοῖα φιλεῖ συμβαίνειν ἐκ πλησμονῆς ἑορτάζωσιν ἱλαρευόμενοι τὸν πατέρα τῶν πατρὸς ἀοράτοις ψυχαῖς δι' ὧν ἀμνηστοῦσιν μὲν παλαιῶν ἁμαρτημάτων κτῆσιν δὲ οὐκ ἀπόλαυσιν γέννων ἀγαθῶν εἰσὶ θάσιν ἀιτοῦσ. p. 447.

g Zach. 8. 16.
Exod. 32.
Num. 14.

nation condemning them to fortie yeres trauaile in the deſert as of his wrath in permitting Chaldeans to waſt, burne and deſtroy their Cittie; the laſt a memorial of heauie tydings brought out of Iurie to Ezechiel and the reſt which liued as Captiues in forraine parts, the difference is not of any moment, conſidering that each time of ſorrow is naturally euermore a regiſter of all ſuch grieuous euents as haue happened either in or neere about the ſame time. To theſe I might adde [a] ſundrie other faſtes aboue twentie in number ordained amongſt them by like occaſions and obſerued in like manner, beſides their weekely abſtinence mundayes and thurſdayes throughout the whole yeare. When men faſted it was not alwaies after one and the ſame ſorte, but eyther by depriuing themſelues wholly of all foode during the time that their faſtes continued, or by abating both the quantitie and kind of diet. We haue of the one a plaine example in the Niniuites faſting, and as plaine a precedent for the other in the Prophet Daniel, *I was* (ſaith he) *in heauineſſe for three weekes of dayes, I ate no pleaſant breade neither taſted fleſh nor wine.* Their tables when they gaue themſelues to faſting had not that vſuall furniture of ſuch diſhes as doe chearish bloud with bloud, but [b] for foode they had bread, for ſuppage ſalt, and for ſawce herbes. Whereunto the Apoſtle may be thought to allude saying, *One believeth he may eate all things, another which is weake* (& maketh a conſcience of keeping thoſe cuſtomes which the Iewes obſerue) *eateth hearbes.* This anſtere repaſt they tooke in the euening after abſtinence the whole day. For to forfeit a noones meale and then to recompence themſelues at night was not their vſe. Nor did they euer accuſtome themſelues on Sabbothes or feſtiuall dayes to faſt. And yet it may be a queſtion whether in ſome ſort they did not alwaies faſt the Sabboth. Their faſtings were partly in token of penitencie, humiliation, griefe and ſorrow, partly in ſigne of deuotion and reuerence towards God. Which ſecond conſideration (I dare not peremptorily and boldly affirme any thing) might induce to abſtaine till noone, as their maner was on faſting daies to doe till night. May it not verie well be thought that hereunto the ſacred [c] Scripture doth giue ſome ſecrete kinde of teſtimonie? Ioſephus is plaine that the ſixt houre (the day they deuided into twelue) was woont on the Sabboth alwaies to call them home vnto meate. Neither is it improbable but that the [d] heathens did therefore ſo often vpbraide them with faſting on that day. Beſides they which found ſo great faulte with our Lords Diſciples, for rubbing a few eares of Corne in their hands on the Sabboth day, are not vnlikely to haue aimed alſo at the ſame marke. For neither was the bodily paine ſo great that it ſhould offend them in that reſpect, and the very manner of defence which our Sauiour there vſeth is more direct & literall to iuſtifie the breach of the Iewiſh cuſtome in faſting then in working at that time. Finally the Apoſtles afterwards themſelues when God firſt gaue them the gift of tongues, whereas ſome in diſdaine and ſpite termed grace drunkenneſſe, it being then the day of Pentecoſt and but onely a fourth part of the day ſpent, they vſe this as an argument againſt the other cauill, *Theſe men*, ſayth Peter, *are not drunke as you ſuppoſe ſince as yet the third hower of the day is not ouerpaſt.* Howbeit leauing this in ſuſpence as a thing not altogether certainely knowne and to come from Iewes to Chriſtians, we finde that of priuate

[a] *Vide Riber. l. 5. c. 21.*

Dan. 10. 2. 3

[b] *Puram & ſine animalibus cænam. Apul. in Aſclep. in fine. Paſtum & potum pura noſſe non ventris ſcilicet ſed animæ cauſa. Tertul. de panit Vide Phil. lib de vita contempl. Rom. 14. 2. Hieron. lib. 2 contr. Iouinian. Iudith. 8. 6. R. Moſ. in Miſne Tora. lib 3. qui eſt de tempor. c. 1. de Sab. & ca. de iejun.*

[c] *Nehe. 8. 3. 12. Hora (exta qua ſabbatis noſtros ad prandium vocare ſolet ſuperuenit. Ioſ. lib. de vita ſua.*

[d] *Sabbata Iudæorum a Moſe in omne annum ieiunio dicata. Iuſtin. lib. 36. Ne Iudæus quidem mi Tiberi tam libenter Sabbati ieiunium ſeruat quã ego hodie ſeruo. Sueto. in Octau. cap. 76. Act. 2. 15.*

uate voluntarie faſtings the Apoſtle Saint Paule ſpeaketh a more then once.
a 1.Cor.7.5. 2.Cor.6.5.11. 27. Co.4.4.

And (ſaith Tertullian) they are ſometime commaunded throughout the Church *ex aliqua ſollicitudinis Eccleſiaſticæ cauſa*, the care and feare of the Church ſo requiring. It doth not appeare that the Apoſtles ordained any ſet and certaine dayes to be generally kept of all. Notwithſtanding for as much as Chriſt had foreſignified that when himſelfe ſhould be taken from them his abſence would ſoone make them apt to faſt, it ſeemeth that euen as the firſt feſtiual day appointed to be kept of the Church was the day of our Lords returne from the deade, ſo the firſt ſorrowfull and mourning daye was that which we now obſerue in memorie of his departure out of this world. And becauſe there could be no abatement of griefe, till they ſaw him rayſed whoſe death was the occaſion of their heauines, therefore the day hee lay in the ſepulcher hath beene alſo kept and obſerued as a weeping day. The cuſtome of faſting theſe two daies before Eaſter is vndoubtedly moſt ancient, in ſo much that Ignatius not thinking him a Catholique Chriſtian man which did not abhorre and (as the ſtate of the Church was then) auoide faſting on the Iewes Sabboth, doth notwithſtanding except for euer that one Sabboth or Saturday which falleth out to bee the Eaſter-eue, as with vs it alwaies doth and did ſometimes alſo with them which kept at that time their Eaſter the 14. day of March as the cuſtome of the Iewes was. It came afterward to bee an order that euen as the day of Chriſts reſurrection, ſo the other two in memorie of his death and burial were weekely. But this when Saint Ambroſe liued had not as yet taken place throughout all Churches, no not in Milan where himſelfe was Biſhop. And for that cauſe he ſaith that although at Rome hee obſerued the Saturdayes faſt, becauſe ſuch was then the cuſtome in Rome, neuertheleſſe in his owne Church at home he did otherwiſe. The Churches which did not obſerue that day had another in ſteade thereof which was the Wedneſday, for that when they iudged it meete to haue weekely a day of humiliation beſides that whereon our Sauiour ſuffered death, it ſeemed beſt to make their choice of that day eſpecially whereon the Iewes are thought to haue firſt contriued their treaſon together with Iudas againſt Chriſt. So that the inſtituting and ordaining both of theſe and all other times of like exerciſe is as the Church ſhal iudge expedient for mens good. And concerning euerie Chriſtian mans dutie heerein, ſurely that which Auguſtine and Ambroſe are before alleaged to haue done is ſuch as all men fauouring equitie muſt needes allow, and follow if they affect peace. As for their ſpecified errors, I will not in this place diſpute whether voluntarie faſting with a vertuous purpoſe of minde be any medicinable remedie of euill or a dutie acceptable vnto God and in the world to come euen rewardable as other offices are which proceede from Chriſtian pietie; whether wilfully to breake and deſpiſe the wholeſome lawes of the Church herein be a thing which offendeth God; whether truely it may not bee ſaid that penitent bothweeping and faſting are meanes to blot out ſinne, meanes wherby through Gods vnſpeakable and vndeſerued mercie wee obtaine or procure to our ſelues pardon, which attainment vnto any gracious benefite by him beſtowed the Phraſe of antiquitie vſeth to expreſſe by the name of merite; but if either S. Auguſtine

Ignat. Ep. ad Philip.

or

or Saint Ambroſe haue taught any wrong opinion, ſeeing they which reproue them are not altogether free from error, I hope they will thinke it no error in vs ſo to cenſure mens ſmaller faultes that their vertues be not thereby generally preiudiced. And if in Churches abroad, where we are not ſubiect to power or iuriſdiction, diſcretion ſhould teach vs for peace and quietneſſe ſake to frame our ſelues to other mens example, is it meete that at home where our freedome is leſſe our boldnes ſhould bee more? Is it our dutie to oppugne, in the Churches whereof we are Miniſters, the rites and cuſtomes, which in forraine Churches pietie and modeſtie did teach vs as ſtraungers not to oppugne, but to keep without ſhew of contradiction or diſlike? Why oppoſe they the name of a Miniſter in this caſe vnto the ſtate of a priuate man? Doth their order exempt them from obedience to lawes? That which their office and place requireth is to ſhow themſelues paternes of reuerend ſubiection, not authors and maiſters of contempt towardes ordinances the ſtrength whereof when they ſeeke to weaken they doe but in truth diſcouer to the world their own imbecillities which a great deale wiſelier they might conceale. But the practiſe of the Church of Chriſt wee ſhall by ſo much the better both vnderſtand and loue, if to that which hitherto hath beene ſpoken there bee ſomewhat added for more particular declaration how heretiques haue partly abuſed faſtes and partly bent themſelues againſt the lawfull vſe thereof in the Church of God. Whereas therefore Ignatius hath ſaid if any keepe Sundaies or Saturdaies faſt (one only Saturday in the yeare excepted) that man is no better then a murderer of Chriſt, the cauſe of ſuch his earneſtnes at that time was the impietie of certaine heretiques, which thought[a] that this world being corruptible could not bee made but by a very euill author. And therefore as the Iewes did by the feſtiuall ſolemnitie of their Sabboth reioyce in the God that created the world as in the author of all goodneſſe, ſo thoſe heretiques in hatred of the maker of the world ſorrowed wept and faſted on that day as being the birth day of all euill. And as Chriſtian men of ſound beliefe did ſollemnize the Sunday, in ioyfull memorie of Chriſts reſurrection, ſo likewiſe at the ſelfe ſame time ſuch heretiques as denied his reſurrection did the contrarie to them which held it, when the one ſort reioyced the other faſted. Againſt thoſe heretiques which haue vrged perpetuall abſtinence from certaine meates as being in their very nature vncleane, the Church hath ſtill bent her ſelfe as an enemie; Saint Paul giuing charge to take heede of them which vnder any ſuch opinion ſhould vtterly forbid the vſe of meates or drinkes. The Apoſtles themſelues forbad ſome, as the order taken at Ieruſalem declareth. But the cauſe of their ſo doing we all know. Againe when Tertullian together with ſuch as were his followers beganne to Montanize, and pretending to perfect the ſeueritie of Chriſtian diſcipline brought in ſundrie vnaccuſtomed dayes of faſting, continued their faſtes a great deale longer and made them more rigorous then the vſe af the Church had beene, the mindes of men being ſomewhat mooued at ſo great and ſo ſuddaine noueltie, the cauſe was preſently inquired into. After notize taken how the Montaniſts held theſe additions to bee ſupplements of the Goſpell

Εἴ τις κυριακὴν μίαν ἢ σάββατον νηστεύει πλὴν ἓνὸς σαββάτου, οὗτος κατηγόρους ἑαυτοῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐστί. Ignat. Epiſt. ad Philip.

[a] Vide Irenæ. l. 1. c. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. Epiph. hæreſ. 21. 22. 23 24. 27. 28 & 41. 42.

Vide Canon apoſt. 55.

whereunto the Spirite of prophecie did now meane to put as it were the laſt hand, and was therefore newly deſcended vpon Montanus, whoſe orders all Chriſtian men were no leſſe to obey then the lawes of the Apoſtles themſelues, this abſtinence the Church abhorred likewiſe and that iuſtly. Whervpon Tertullian proclayming euen open warre to the Church maintained Montaniſme, wrote a Booke in defence of the new faſt, and entituled the ſame, A Treatiſe of faſting againſt the opinion of the Carnall ſort. In which Treatiſe neuertheleſſe becauſe ſo much is ſound and good, as doth either generally concerne the vſe, or in particular declare the cuſtome of the Churches faſting in thoſe times, men are not to reiect whatſoeuer is alleaged out of that booke for confirmation of the truth. His error diſcloſeth it ſelfe in thoſe places where he defendeth his faſts to be duties neceſſarie for the whole Church of Chriſt to obſerue as commaunded by the holy Ghoſt, and that with the ſame authoritie from whence all other Apoſtolicall ordinances came, both being the lawes of God himſelfe without any other diſtinction or difference, ſauing onely that hee which before had declared his will by Paul and Peter, did now farther reueale the ſame by Montanus alſo. *Againſt vs ye pretend*, ſaith Tertullian, *that the publique orders which Chriſtianitie is bound to keepe were deliuered at the firſt, and that no new thing is to be added thereunto. Stand if you can vpon this point, For behold I chalenge you for faſting more then at Eaſter your ſelues. But in fine ye anſwere, that theſe things are to be done as eſtabliſhed by the voluntarie appoinment of men, and not by vertue or force of any diuine commaundement. Well then* (he addeth) *Ye haue remooued your firſt footing, and gon beyond that which was deliuered by doing more then was at the firſt impoſed vppon you. You ſay you muſt doe that which your owne iudgements haue allowed, wee require your obedience to that which God himſelfe doth inſtitute. Is it not ſtraunge that men to their owne will ſhould yeelde that which to Gods commaundement they will not graunt? Shall the pleaſure of men preuaile more with you then the power of God himſelfe?* Theſe places of Tertullian for faſting haue worthily beene put to ſilence. And as worthily Aerius condemned for oppoſition againſt faſting. The one endeuoured to bring in ſuch faſts as the Church ought not to receiue, the other to ouerthrow ſuch as already it had receiued and did obſerue; the one was plauſible vnto many by ſeeming to hate carnall looſenes and ryotous exceſſe much more then the reſt of the world did, the other drew hearers by pretending the maintenance of Chriſtian libertie; the one thought his cauſe very ſtrongly vpheld by making inuectiue declamations with a pale and a withered countenance againſt the Church, by filling the eares of his ſtarued hearers with ſpeach ſutable to ſuch mens humors, and by telling them no doubt to their merueilous contentment and liking, *Our new prophecies are refuſed, they are deſpiſed. Is it becauſe Montanus doth preach ſome other God, or diſſolue the Goſpell of Ieſus Chriſt, or ouerthrow any Canon of faith and hope? No our crime is, we teach that men ought to faſt more often then marrie, the beſt feaſtmaker is with them the perfecteſt Saint, they are aſſuredly meere Spirit and therefore theſe our corporall deuotions pleaſe them not*, thus the one for Montanus and his ſuperſtition. The other in a cleane contrarie tune againſt the Religion of the Church, *Theſe ſet faſts away with them for they are Iewiſh and bring men vnder the yoke of ſeruitude, if I will faſt let me chooſe my time*

Epiph. hær. 75.

time that Chriſtian libertie be not abridged: Hereupon their glorie was to faſt eſpecially vpon the Sunday becauſe the order of the Church was on that day not to faſt. *On Church-faſting dayes and ſpecially the weeke before Eaſter when with vs* (ſaith Epiphanius) *cuſtome admitteth nothing but lying downe vpon the earth, abſtinence from fleſhly delightes and pleaſures, ſorrowfulneſſe, drie and vnſauerie diet, prayer, watching, faſting, all the medicines which holy affections can miniſter, they are vp betimes to take in of the ſtrongeſt for the belly, and when their vaines are well ſwolne they make themſelues mirth with laughter at this our ſeruice wherein we are perſwaded we pleaſe God.* By this of Epiphanius it doth appeare not onely what faſtings the Church of Chriſt in thoſe times vſed, but alſo what other partes of Diſcipline were together therewith in force according to the ancient vſe & cuſtome of bringing all men at certaine times to a due conſideration and an open humiliation of themſelues. Two kinds ther were of publike penitencie, the one belonging to notorious offenders whoſe open wickednes had bene ſcandalous; the other appertaining to the whole Church and vnto euery ſeuerall perſon whome the ſame containeth. It will be anſwered that touching this latter kind it may be exerciſed wel enough by men in priuate. No doubt but penitencie is as prayer a thing acceptable vnto God be it in publique or in ſecret. Howbeit as in the one if men were wholly left to their owne voluntarie meditations in their cloſets and not drawne by lawes and orders vnto the open aſſemblies of the Church that there they may ioyne with others in praier, it may be ſoone coniectured what Chriſtian deuotion that way wold come vnto in a ſhort time: euen ſo in the other we are by ſufficient experience taught howe little it booteth to tell men of waſhing away their ſinnes with teares of repentance and ſo to leaue them altogether vnto themſelues. O Lord what heapes of grieuous tranſgreſſions haue we committed, the beſt the perfecteſt the moſt righteous amongſt vs all, and yet cleane paſſe them ouer vnſorrowed for and vnrepented of, onely becauſe the Church hath forgotten vtterly how to beſtow her woonted times of Diſcipline, wherin the puplique example of al was vnto euery particular perſon a moſt effectuall meane to put them often in mind and euen in a manner to draw them to that which now we all quite and cleane forget as if penitencie were no part of a Chriſtian mans dutie. Againe beſides our priuate offences which ought not thus looſly to be ouerſlipt, ſuppoſe we the body and corporation of the Church ſo iuſt, that at no time it needeth to ſhow it ſelfe openly caſt downe in regard of thoſe faults and tranſgreſſions, which though they doe not properly belong vnto any one, had notwithſtanding a ſpeciall ſacrifice appointed for them in the law of Moyſes, and being common to the whole ſocietie which containeth all, muſt needes ſo farre concerne euery man in particular, as at ſome time in ſolemne manner to require acknowledgment with more then daily and ordinarie teſtifications of griefe. There could not hereunto a fitter preamble bee deuiſed then that memorable commination ſet downe in the Booke of common Prayer, if our practiſe in the reſt were ſutable. The head already ſo well drawne doth but wiſh a proportionable body. And by the Preface to that very part of the Engliſh Liturgie it may appeare how at the firſt ſetting downe thereof no leſſe was intended. For ſo we are to interpret

the meaning of thoſe wordes wherein reſtitution of the primitiue Church-diſcipline is greatly wiſhed for touching the manner of publique penance in time of Lent. Wherewith ſome being not much acquainted, but hauing framed in their minds the conceipt of a new Diſcipline farre vnlike vnto that of olde, they make themſelues beleeue it is vndoubtedly this their Diſcipline which at the firſt was ſo much deſired. They haue long pretended that the whole Scripture is plaine for them. If now the Communion booke make for them too (I well thinke the one doth as much as the other) it may be hoped that being found ſuch a welwiller vnto their cauſe, they will more fauour it then they haue done. Hauing therefore hitherto ſpoken both of feſtiuall daies & ſo much of ſolemne faſts as may reaſonably ſerue to ſhow the ground thereof in the law of nature, the practiſe partly oppointed and partly allowed of God in the Iewiſh Church, the like continued in the Church of Chriſt, together with the ſiniſter oppoſitions either of Heretiques erroniouſly abuſing the ſame, or of others thereat quarelling without cauſe, wee will onely collect the chiefeſt pointes as wel of reſemblance as of difference betweene them, and ſo end. Firſt in this they agree, that becauſe nature is the generall roote of both, therefore both haue beene alwaies common to the Church with infidels and heathen men. Secondly they alſo heerein accorde that as oft as ioy is the cauſe of the one and grief the welſpring of the other, they are [a] incompatible. A third degree of affinitie betweene them is that neither being acceptable to God of it ſelfe, but both tokens of that which is acceptable, their approbation with him muſt neceſſarily depend on that which they ought to importe and ſignifie, ſo that if herein the minde diſpoſe not it ſelfe aright, whether we [b] reſt or [c] faſt wee offend. A fourth thing common vnto them is, that the greateſt part of the world hath alwaies groſly and palpably offended in both; infidels becauſe they did all in relation to falſe Gods; godleſſe ſenſual and careleſſe minds for that there is in them no conſtant true and ſincere affection towards thoſe things which are pretended by ſuch exerciſe; yea certaine flattering ouerſightes there are, wherewith ſundry, and they not of the worſt ſort, may be eaſily in theſe caſes led awry, euen through aboundance of loue and liking to that which muſt be embraced by all meanes, but with caution, in as much as the very admiration of Saints, whether we celebrate their glorie or follow them in humilitie, whether we laugh or weepe, mourne or reioyce with them, is (as in all things the affection of loue) apt to deceiue, and doth therefore neede the more to bee directed by a watchfull guide, ſeeing there is manifeſtly both waies euen in them whome we honor that which we are to obſerue and ſhun. The beſt haue not ſtill beene ſufficiently mindfull that Gods very Angels in heauen are but Angels, and that bodily exerciſe conſidered [d] in it ſelfe is no great matter. Finally ſeeing that both are ordinances well deuiſed for the good of man and yet not man created purpoſely for them as for [e] other offices of vertue whereunto Gods immutable law for euer tyeth, it is but equitie to wiſh or admoniſh that where by vniforme order they are not as yet receiued the example of [f] Victors extremitie in the one, and of [g] Iohns Diſciples curioſitie in the other be not followed; yea wher they are appointed by law that notwithſtanding [h] we auoid Iudaiſme,

a *Con. Laod. ca. 51. 52. Genat Natalitia martyrum in Quadrageſima celebrari.*
b *Eſay. 1. 13.*
c *Eſay. 58. 3.*
d *1. Tim. 4. 8*
e *Eccleſ. 12. 13. Eſay. 58. 6. 7. Rom. 14. 17. Iac. 1. 27. Heb. 12. 14. Eph. 2. 4.*
f *Euſeb. Eccleſ. hiſt. l. 5. c. 23.*
g *Mat. 9. 14*
h *Col. 2. 16.*

me, and as in feſtiuall dayes mens neceſſities for matter of labour, ſo in times of faſting regard bee had to their imbecillities, leaſt they ſhould ſuffer harme doing good. Thus therefore we ſee how theſe two cuſtomes are in diuers reſpects equall. But of faſting the vſe and exercise though leſſe pleaſant is by ſo much more requiſite then the other, as griefe of neceſſitie is a more familiar gueſt then the contrarie paſſion of minde, albeit gladneſſe to all men be naturally more welcome. For firſt we our ſelues do many moe things amiſſe then wel, and the fruit of our owne ill doing is remorſe becauſe nature is conſcious to it ſelfe that it ſhould doe the contrarie. Againe for as much as the world ouer abounderh with malice, and few are delighted in doing good vnto other men, there is no man ſo ſeldome croſt as pleaſured at the handes of others, whereupon it cannot be choſen but euery mans woes moſt double in that reſpect the number and meaſure of his delights. Beſides concerning the verie choyce which oftentimes we are to make, our corrupt inclination well conſidered, there is cauſe why our Sauiour ſhould accompt them happieſt that do moſt mourne, and why Salomon might iudge it better to frequent mourning then feaſting houſes, not better ſimply and in it ſelfe (for then woulde nature that way incline) but in regard of vs and our common weakneſſe better. Iob was not ignorant that his Childrens banquers though tending to amitie needed ſacrifice. Neither doth any of vs all neede to bee taught that in things which delight wee [a] eaſily ſwarue from mediocritie and are not eaſily led by a right direct line. On the other ſide the ſoares and diſeaſes of minde which inordinate pleaſure breedeth are by dolour & griefe cured. For which cauſe as all offences vſe to ſeduce by pleaſing, ſo all puniſhments endeuour by vexing to reforme tranſgreſſions. We are of our owne accord apt enough to giue intertainment to things delectable, but patiently to lacke what fleſh and bloud doth deſire, and by vertue to forbeare what by nature wee couet this no man attaineth vnto but with labour and long practiſe. From hence it ryſeth that in former ages abſtinence and faſting more then ordinarie was alwaies a ſpeciall branch of their praiſe in whome it coulde bee obſerued and knowne, were they ſuch as continually gaue themſelues to auſtere life; or men that tooke often occaſions in priuate vertuous reſpects to lay Salomons counſell aſide [b] *Eate thy bread with ioy*, and to be followers of Dauids example which ſayth [c] *I humbled my ſoule with faſting*; or but they who otherwiſe worthie of no great commendation haue made of hunger ſome their gaine, ſome their Phyſicke, ſome their art that by maſtering ſenſuall appetites without conſtraint they might grow able to indure hardnes whenſoeuer need ſhould require. For the body accuſtomed to emptines pineth not away ſo ſoone as hauing ſtill vſed to fill it ſelfe. Many ſingular effectes there are which ſhoulde make faſting euen in publike conſiderations the rather to bee accepted. For I preſume we are not altogether without experiēce how great their aduantage is in martial enterpriſes that lead armies of men trained in a Schoole of abſtinence. It is therefore noted at this day in ſome that patience of hunger and thirſt hath giuen them many victories; in others that becauſe if they want ther is no man able to rule them, nor they in plentie to moderate themſelues, hee which can either bring them to hunger or ouercharge them is ſure to make them

Matt. 6. 4.

Eccleſ. 7. 4.

Iob. 1. 5.

[a] Ἐν πᾶσι δὲ μάλιστα φυλακτέον τὸ ὑπὸ χάριν ἡδονὴν ἄγεσθαι. Οὐ γὰρ ἀδίκως κρίνομεν αὐτῷ *Ariſt. Lib. 2. c. 13.*

[b] *Eccleſ. 9. 7.*

[c] *Pſal. 35. 13.*

them their owne ouerthrow. What nation soeuer doth feele these daungerous inconueniences may know that slouth and fulnes in peaceable times at home is the cause thereof, and the remedie a strict obseruation of that part of Christian Discipline which teacheth men in practise of Ghostly warfare against themselues those things that afterwards may helpe them iustly assaulting or standing in lawfull defence of themselues against others. The verye purpose of the Church of God both in the number and in the order of her fasts hath beene not only to preserue thereby throughout all ages the remembrance of miseries heeretofore sustained and of the causes in our selues out of which they haue arisen, that men considering the one might feare the other the more, but farther also to temper the mind least contrarie affections comming in place should make it too profuse and dissolute, in which respect it seemeth that fasts haue beene set as vihers of festiuall dayes for preuention of those disorders as much as might bee, wherein notwithstanding the worlde alwaies will deserue, [a] as it hath done, blame, because such euils being not possible to bee rooted out, the most we can doe is in keeping them low; and (which is chiefly the fruite we looke for) to create in the minds of men a loue towards frugall and seuere life to vndermine the pallaces of wantonnesse, to plant parcimonie as nature where ryotousnes hath beene studie, to harden whome pleasure would melt, and to helpe the tumors which alwaies fulnes breedeth, that children as it were in the Wooll of their infancie died with hardnesse may neuer afterwards change colour; that the poore whose perpetuall fasts are necessitie, may with better contentment endure the hunger which vertue causeth others so often to choose and by aduise of Religion it selfe so far to esteeme aboue the contrarie; that they which for the most part doe leade sensuall and easie liues, they which as the Prophet Dauid describeth them, are not plagued like other men, may by the publike spectacle of all be still put in minde what themselues are; finally that euery man may be euery mans daily guide and example as well by fasting to declare humilitie as by praise to expresse ioy in the sight of God, although it haue herein befallen the Church as sometimes Dauid, so that the speech of the one may bee truely the voice of the other, *My soule fasted, and euen that was also turned to my reproofe.*

[a] *Valde absurdum est nimia saturitate velle honorare martyrem quem scias Deo placuisse ieiunijs.* Hieron. Ep. ad Eustath.

Psal. 73. 5.

Psal. 69. 10.

The celebration of Matrimonie. T. C. l. 1. p. 199

73 In this world there can be no societie durable otherwise then only by propagation. Albeit therefore single life bee a thing more angelicall and diuine, yet sith the replenishing first of earth with blessed inhabitants and then of heauen with Saints euerlastingly praising God did depend vpon coniunction of man and woman, hee which made althings complete and perfect saw it could not be good to leaue men without any helper vnto the fore alleaged ende: In things which some farder end doth cause to bee desired choice seeketh rather proportion then absolute perfection of goodnesse. So that woman being created for mans sake to bee his helper in regarde of the end before mentioned, namely the hauing and the bringing vp of children, whereunto it was not possible they could concurre vnlesse there were subalternation betweene them, which subalternation is naturally grounded vpon inequality, because things equal in euery respect are neuer willingly directed

one

one by another, woman therefore was euen in her firſt eſtate framed by nature not onely after in time but inferiour in excellencie alſo vnto man, howbeit in ſo due and ſweete proportion as being preſented before our eyes, might be ſooner perceiued then defined. And euen herein doth lie the reaſon why that kind of loue which is the perfecteſt ground of wedlocke is ſeldome able to yeeld any reaſon of it ſelfe. Now that which is borne of man muſt be nouriſhed with far more trauaile as being of greater price in nature and of ſlower pace to perfection then the offspring of any other creature beſides. Man and woman being therefore to ioyne themſelues for ſuch a purpoſe they were of neceſſitie to bee linked with ſome ſtraight & inſoluble knot. The bond of wedlocke hath bene alwaies more or leſſe eſteemed of as a thing religious and ſacred. The title which the verie heathens themſelues do thereunto oftentimes giue is [a] *Holy*. Thoſe rytes and orders which were inſtituted in the ſolemnization of mariage, the Hebrues terme by the name of conſiugall [b] *ſanctifications*. Amongſt our ſelues becauſe ſundrie things appertaining vnto the publike order of Matrimonie are called in queſtion by ſuch as know not from whence thoſe cuſtomes did firſt grow, to ſhew briefly ſome true and ſufficient reaſon of them ſhall not be ſuperfluous, although we doe not hereby intend to yeelde ſo farre vnto enemies of all Church orders ſauing their owne, as though euery thing were vnlawfull the true cauſe and reaſon whereof at the firſt might hardly perhaps be now rendered. Wherefore to beginne with the times wherein the libertie of mariage is reſtrained. *There is* ſaith Salomon *a time for all things*, a time to laugh and a time to mourne. That duties belonging vnto mariage and offices appertaining to penance are things vnſutable and vnfit to be matched together, the Prophets & Apoſtles themſelues doe witneſſe. Vpon which ground as we might right well thinke it meruelous abſurd to ſee in a Church a wedding on the day of a publique faſt, ſo likewiſe in the ſelfe ſame conſideration our predeceſſors thought it not amiſſe to take away the common libertie of mariages during the time which was appointed for preparation vnto, and for exerciſe of general humiliation by faſting & praying, weeping for ſins. As for the deliuering vp of the woman either by her Father or by ſome other, we muſt note that in ancient times [c] all women which had not husbands nor fathers to gouerne them had their tutors [d] without whoſe authoritie there was no act which they did warrantable. And for this cauſe they were in mariage deliuered vnto their husbands by others. Which cuſtome retained hath ſtill this vſe that it putteth we men in mind of a dutie whereunto the verie imbecillitie of their nature and ſex doth binde them, namely to be alwaies directed, guided and ordered by others, although our poſitiue lawes doe not tie them now as pupils. The cuſtome of laying downe mony ſeemeth to haue beene deriued from the Saxons whoſe manner was to buy their wiues. But ſeeing there is not any great cauſe wherefore the memorie of that cuſtome ſhould remaine it skilleth not much although we ſuffer it to lye dead euen as we ſee it in a manner alreadie worne out. The ring hath beene alwaies vſed as an eſpeciall pledge of faith and fidelitie. Nothing more fit to ſerue as a token of our purpoſed endleſſe continuance in that which we neuer ought to reuoke. This is the cauſe wherefore

[a] τοὺς ἱεροὺς γάμους. Dionyſ. Halicar. ant. l. 2.

[b] *Kidduſchim in Rituali Heb. de benedictionibus nuptiarum.*

Ioel. 2. 16. 1. Cor. 7. 5.

[c] *Mulieres antiquo iure tutelam perpetuam continebat. Recedebant vero a tutoris poteſtate quia in manum conuenirent Boet. in topic. Cic.*

[d] *Nullam nè priuatam quidem rem feminas ſine auctore agere maiores noſtri voluerūt. Liu. lib. 44.* The reaſon yeelded by Tully this *Propter infirmitatem conſilij. Cic. pro Mur. Vide leges Saxonum tit. 6. & 17*

fore the heathens themselues did in such cases vse the ring, whereunto Tertullian alluding saith, that in ancient times [a] *No woman was permitted to weare Golde sauing only vpon one finger, which her husband had fastned vnto himselfe with that Ring which was vsually giuen for assurance of future mariage*. The cause why the Christians vse it, as some of the Fathers thinke, is [b] either to testifie mutuall loue or rather to serue for a pledge of coniunction in hart and minde agreed vpon betweene them. But what rite and custome is there so harmelesse wherein the wit of man bending it selfe to derision may not easily finde out somewhat to scorne and iest at? He that should haue beheld the Iewes when they stoode with [c] a foure cornerd garment spread ouer the heads of espoused couples while their espousals were in making, he that should haue beheld their [d] praying ouer a Cup and their deliuering the same at the mariage feast with set formes of benediction as the order amongst them was, might being lewdly affected take thereat as iust occasion of scornefull cauill as at the vse of the Ring in wedlocke among Christians. But of all things the most hardly taken is the vttering those words *With my body I thee worship*, in which words when once they are vnderstood there will appeare as little cause as in the rest for any wise man to be offended. First therefore in as much as vnlawfull copulation doth pollute and [e] dishonour both parties, this protestation that we doe worship and honour another with our bodies may import a deniall of al such lets and impediments to our knowledge as might cause any staine blemish or disgrace that way, which kind of cõstruction being probable would easily approue that speech to a peaceable and quiet minde. Secondly in that the Apostle doth so expresly affirme that parties married haue not any longer intire power ouer themselues, but each hath interest in others person, it cannot be thought an absurd construction to say that worshipping with the body is the imparting of that interest in the body vnto an other which none before had saue onely our selues. But if this were the naturall meaning the words should perhaps bee as requisite to be vsed on the one side as on the other, and therefore a third sense there is which I rather rely vpon. Apparent it is that the ancient difference betweene a lawfull wife and a Concubine was onely [f] in the different purpose of man betaking himselfe to the one or the other. If his purpose were only fellowship there grew to the woman by this meane no worship at all but the contrarie. In professing that his intent was to adde by his person honour and worship vnto hers, he tooke her plainly and clearely to wife. This is it which the Ciuill law doth meane when it maketh a wife to differ from a Concubine in [g] dignitie; a wife to bee taken where [h] coniugall honour and affection doth goe before. The worship that grew vnto her being taken with declaration of this intent was that her children became by this meane legitimate and free; her selfe was made a mother ouer his family; last of all shee receiued such aduancement of state as things annexed vnto his person might augment her with, yea a right of participation was thereby giuen her both in him and euen in all things which were his. This doth somewhat the more plainely appeare by adding also that other clause *with all my worldly goods I thee endow*. The former branch hauing granted the principall, the latter graunteth that which is annexed thereunto. To end

[a] *Aurum nulla norat praeter Gnico digito quẽ sponsus oppignerasset pro nube annulo. Tertul. Apologet. cap. 6*

[b] *Isidor. de Eccles. offic. lib. 2. ca. 19.*

[c] *Elias Thesb. in dict. Hhuppha*

[d] *In Rtual. de benedict. nuptiarum.*

[e] *Rom. 1. 24. 1. Cor. 7. 4.*

[f] *l. penult. D. de concub.*

[g] *l. Item legato. §. penult. D. de legat. 3.*

[h] *l. donationes D. de donationibus.*

end the publique ſolemnitie of marriage with receiuing the bleſſed Sacrament is a cuſtome ſo religious and ſo holy, that if the Church of England be blameable in this reſpect it is not for ſuffering it to be ſo much but rather for not prouiding that it may be more put in vre. The lawes of Romulus concerning mariage are therefore extolled aboue the reſt amongſt the heathens which were before, in that they eſtabliſhed the vſe of certaine ſpeciall ſolemnities, whereby the minds of men were drawne to make the greater conſcience of wedlocke, and to eſteeme the bond therof a thing which could not be without impietie diſſolued. If there be any thing in Chriſtian Religion ſtrong and effectuall to like purpoſe it is the ſacrament of the holy Euchariſt, in regard of the force wherof Tertullian breaketh out into theſe words concerning matrimonie therewith ſealed; *Vnde ſufficiam ad enarrandam felicitatem eius Matrimonij quod eccleſia conciliat & confirmat oblatio? I know not which way I ſhould be able to ſhow the happines of that wedlocke the knot whereof the Church doth faſten and the Sacrament of the Church confirme.* Touching marriage therefore let thus much bee ſufficient.

οὗτος ὁ νόμος πάσῃ τε γυναικὶ ἀνδρὶ συζευγνυμένῃ γαμικὰς οὔσας μεδεμίαν ἰσχύουσιν ἑτέραν ἀποδοχὴν πρὸς ἓν τὸν τοῦ γαμικοῦ ζυγοῦ τρόπον, ᾧ τοὺς ἄνδρας εἰς ἀναστροφὴν καὶ ἀναφαίρετον κοινωνίαν τῆς γυναικὸς ἀγαγεῖν. *Dion. Hal. Antiq. lib. 2.*

Tertul. lib. 2. ad Vxorem.

74 The fruit of mariage is birth, and the companion of birth trauaile, the griefe whereof being ſo extreame, and the daunger alwaies ſo great, dare we open our mouthes againſt the things that are holy and preſume to cenſure it as a fault in the Church of Chriſt, that women after their deliuerance do publikely ſhow their thankfull mindes vnto God? But behold what reaſon there is againſt it. Forſooth *if there ſhould be ſollemne and expreſſe giuing of thankes in the Church for euerie benefit either equall or greater then this which any ſingular perſon in the Church doth receiue, wee ſhould not onely haue no preaching of the word nor miniſtring of the Sacraments but we ſhould not haue ſo much leiſure as to doe any corporall or bodily worke, but ſhould be like thoſe Maſsilian heretiques which doe nothing elſe but pray.* Surely better a great deale to be like vnto thoſe heretiques which doe nothing elſe but pray, then thoſe which doe nothing elſe but quarell. Their heades it might happily trouble ſomewhat more then as yet they are aware of to find out ſo many benefits greater then this or equiualent therevnto for which if ſo bee our lawes did require ſolemne and expreſſe thankeſgiuing in the Church the ſame were like to proue a thing ſo greatly comberſome as is pretended. But if there bee ſuch ſtore of mercies euen inceſtimable powred euery day vpon thouſands (as indeede the earth is ful of the bleſſings of the Lord which are day by day renewed without number and aboue meaſure) ſhall it not be lawfull to cauſe ſolemne thankes to bee giuen vnto God for any benefit, then which greater or whereunto equall are receiued, no law binding men in regard therof to performe the like dutie? Suppoſe that ſome bond there bee which tieth vs at certaine times to mention publiquely the names of ſundry our benefactors. Some of them it may be are ſuch that a day would ſcarcely ſerue to reckon vp together with them the Catalogue of ſo many men beſides as we are either more or equally beholden vnto. Becauſe no law requireth this impoſſible labour at our hands, ſhall we therefore condemne that law whereby the other being poſſible and alſo dutifull is inioyned

Churching of women, T.C. l. 1. p. 150

ned vs? So much wee owe to the Lord of heauen that we can neuer ſufficiently praiſe him nor giue him thankes for halfe thoſe benefits for which this ſacrifice were moſt due. Howbeit God forbid we ſhould ceaſe performing this dutie when publique order doth draw vs vnto it, when it may be ſo eaſily done, when it hath beene ſo long executed by deuout and vertuous people, God forbid that being ſo many waies prouoked in this caſe vnto ſo good a dutie, we ſhould omit it, onely becauſe there are other caſes of like nature wherein wee cannot ſo conueniently or at leaſt wiſe doe not performe the ſame moſt vertuous office of pietie. Wherein we truſt that as the action it ſelfe pleaſeth God ſo the order and manner thereof is not ſuch as may iuſtly offend any. It is but an ouerflowing of gall which cauſeth the womans abſence from the Church during the time of her lying in to bee traduced and interpreted as though ſhe were ſo long iudged *vnholy* and were thereby ſhut out or ſequeſtred from the houſe of God according to the ancient Leuiticall law. Whereas the very Cannon law it ſelfe doth not ſo hold, but directly [a] profeſſeth the contrarie, ſhee is not barred from thence in ſuch ſort as they interpret it, nor in reſpect of any vnholineſſe forbidden entrance into the Church, although her abſtaining from publike aſſemblies, and her abode in ſeperation for the time bee [b] moſt conuenient. To ſcoffe at the manner of attire then which ther could be nothing deuiſed for ſuch a time more graue and decent, to make it a token of ſome follie committed for which they are loath to ſhow their faces, argueth that great diuines are ſometime more merrie then wiſe. As for the women themſelues God accepting the ſeruice which they faithfully offer vnto him, it is no great diſgrace though they ſuffer pleaſant witted men a little to intermingle with zeale ſcorne. The name of *oblations* applyed not only here to thoſe ſmall and petite payments which yet are a part of the Miniſters right, but alſo generally giuen vnto all ſuch allowances as ſerue for their needfull maintenance is both ancient and conuenient. For as the life of the Cleargie is ſpent in the ſeruice of God, ſo it is ſuſtained with his reuenew. Nothing therefore more proper then to giue the name of oblations to ſuch paymentes in token that wee offer vnto him whatſoeuer his miniſters receiue.

[a] *Diſt. 5. c. hac qua. In lege præcipiebatur vt mulier ſi maſculum pareret 40. ſi fœminam 80. diebus a templi ceſſaret ingreſſu. Nunc autem ſtatim poſt partum Eccleſiam ingredi non prohibetur.*

[b] *Leo conſt. 17. Quod profecto non tam propter muliebrem immunditiem quam ob alias cauſas in ſuperna legis ratione reconditas & Deteri prohibitum eſſe lege & gratia tempus traditionis loco ſuſcepiſſe puto. Ex eſtimo ſiquidem ſacram legem id præcripſiſſe quo poteruam eorum qui intemperanter viuerent concupiſcentiam caſtigaret, quemadmodum & alia multa per alia præcepta ordinantur & præſcribantur quo indomitum quorundam in mulieres ſtimulus retundatur. Quin & hæc prouidentia quæ legem conſtituit voluntas eſt, vt partus a deprauatione liberi ſint. Quia enim quicquid natura ſuperuacaneum eſt idem corruptiuum eſt & inutile, quod hic ſanguis ſuperfluus ſit, quæ illi ol nxiæ eſſent in immunditie ad id temporis viuere illa lex iubet, quo ipſo etiam nominis ſono laſciuus concupiſcentia ad temperantiam redigatur, ne ex inutili & corrupta mater id ipſum animani coagmentetur.*

Of the rites of Buriall. *T.C.l.3.p.236*

75 But to leaue this, there is a dutie which the Church doth owe to the faithfull departed, wherein for as much as the Church of England is ſaide to do thoſe things which are though *not vnlawfull* yet *inconuenient*, becauſe it appointeth a preſcript forme of ſeruice at Burials, ſuffereth mourning apparrell to bee worne, and permitteth funerall Sermons, a word or two concerning this point will be neceſſarie, although it be needleſſe to dwell long vppon it. The end of funerall duties is firſt to ſhow that loue towardes the partie deceaſed which nature requireth; then to doe him that honor which is fit both gene-

generally for man and particularly for the qualitie of his perſon; laſt of all to teſtifie the care which the Church hath to comfort the liuing, and the hope which we all haue concerning the reſurrection of the dead. For ſignification of loue towardes them that are departed mourning is not denied to bee a thing conuenient. As in truth the Scripture euerie where doth approoue lamentation made vnto this end. The Iewes by our Sauiours teares therefore gathered in this caſe that his loue towardes Lazarus was great. And that as mourning at ſuch times is fit, ſo likewiſe that there may be a kind of attire ſutable to a ſorrowfull affection and conuenient for mourners to weare howe plainely doth Dauids example ſhow, who being in heauineſſe went vp to the mount with his head couered and all the people that were with him in like ſort? White garments being fit to vſe at mariage feaſtes and ſuch other times of ioy, whereunto Salomon alluding when hee requireth continuall chearefulnes of minde ſpeaketh in this ſort *Let thy garments be alwaies white*; what doth hinder the contrarie from being now as conuenient in griefe as this heretofore in gladneſſe hath beene? *If there be no ſorrow* they ſay *it is hypocriticall to pretend it, and if there be to prouoke it* by wearing ſuch attire *is daungerous*. Nay if there be, to ſhow it is naturall, and if there bee not yet the ſignes are meete to ſhow what ſhould bee, eſpecially ſith it doth not come oftentimes to paſſe that men are faine to haue their mourning gownes pulde of their backes for feare of killing themſelues with ſorrow that way nouriſhed. The honour generally due vnto all men maketh a decent interring of them to be conuenient euen for verie humanities ſake. And therefore ſo much as is mentioned in the Buriall of the widowes Sonne the carrying of him forth vpon a Beare and the accompanying of him to the earth, hath beene vſed euen amongſt infidels, all men accompting it a verie extreame deſtitution not to haue at the leaſt this honour done them. Some mans eſtate may require a great deale more according as the faſhion of the Countrie where hee dieth doth afford. And vnto this appertained the ancient vſe of the Iewes to embalme the corpes with ſweete odours, and to adorne the Sepulchers of certaine. In regard of the qualitie of men it hath beene iudged fit to commend them vnto the world at their death amongſt the heathen in funeral orations, amongſt the Iewes in * ſacred Poemes; and why not in funerall Sermons alſo amongſt Chriſtians? Vs it ſufficeth that the knowne benefit hereof doth counteruaile milions of ſuch inconueniences as are therin ſurmiſed, although they were not ſurmiſed onely but found therein. The life and the death of Saints is precious in Gods ſight. Let it not ſeeme odious in our eyes if both the one and the other be ſpoken of then eſpecially when the preſent occaſion doth make mens mindes the more capable of ſuch ſpeech. The care no doubt of the liuing both to liue and to die well muſt needs be ſomewhat increaſed, when they know that their departure ſhal not be folded vp in ſilence but the eares of many be made acquainted with it. Moreouer whē they heare how mercifully God hath delt with their brethren in their laſt need, beſides the praiſe which they giue to God and the ioye which they haue or ſhould haue by reaſon of their fellowſhip and communion with Saints, is not their hope alſo much confirmed againſt the day of their owne diſſolution? Againe

Iob.11.36.

2.Sam.15.30.

Eccleſ.9.8.

Luc.7.12.

Pſal.79.3.
Iob.19.40.
Math.23.27.
* *2.Sam.1.19.*

the ſound of theſe things doth not ſo paſſe the eares of them that are moſt looſe and diſſolute in life but it cauſeth them one time or other to wiſh, O that I might die the death of the righteous and that my end might be like his. Thus much peculiar good there doth grow at thoſe times by ſpeech concerning the dead, beſides the benefit of publique inſtruction common vnto funerall with other Sermons. For the comfort of them whoſe mindes are through naturall affection penſiue in ſuch caſes no man can iuſtly miſlike the cuſtome which the Iewes had to end their burials with funerall banquets, in reference whereunto the Prophet Ieremie ſpake concerning the people whome God had appointed vnto a grieuous manner of deſtruction, ſaying that men ſhould not *giue them the cup of conſolation to drinke for their Father or for their Mother*, becauſe it ſhould not be now with thē as in peaceable times with others, who bringing their anceſtors vnto the graue with weeping eyes haue notwithſtanding meanes wherewith to bee recomforted. *Giue wine* ſaith *Salomon vnto them that haue griefe of hart*. Surely he that miniſtreth vnto them [a] comfortable ſpeech doth much more then giue them wine. But the greateſt thing of all other about this dutie of Chriſtian buriall is an outwarde teſtification of the hope which wee haue touching the reſurrection of the dead. For which purpoſe let any man of reaſonable iudgment examine whether it bee more conuenient for a companie of men as it were in a dumme ſhow to bring a corſe to the place of buriall there to leaue it couered with earth and ſo ende, or elſe to haue the exequies deuoutly performed with ſollemne recital of ſuch lectures Pſalmes and praiers as are purpoſely framed for the ſtirring vp of mens minds vnto a careful conſideration of their eſtate both here and hereafter. Whereas therefore it is obiected that neither the people of God vnder the law, nor the Church in the Apoſtles times did vſe anye forme of ſeruice in buriall of their dead and therefore that this order is taken vp without any good example or precedent followed therein, firſt while the world doth ſtand they ſhall neuer be able to prooue that all things which either the one or the other did vſe at burials are ſet downe in holy Scripture, which doth not any where of purpoſe deliuer the whole manner and forme thereof, but toucheth only ſomtime one thing and ſometime an other which was in vſe as ſpeciall occaſions require any of them to be either mentioned or inſinuated. Againe if it might bee prooued that no ſuch thing was vſuall amongſt them, hath Chriſt ſo depriued his Church of iudgement that what rites and orders ſoeuer the later ages thereof haue deuiſed the ſame muſt needs bee inconuenient? Furthermore that the Iewes before our Sauiours comming had any ſuch forme of ſeruice although in Scripture it bee not affirmed, yet neither is it there denied (for the forbidding of Prieſtes to bee preſent at burials letteth not but that others might diſcharge that dutie ſeing all were not Prieſtes which had roomes of publique function in their Synagogues) and if any man be of opinion, that they had no ſuch forme of ſeruice, thus much there is to make the contrary more probable. The Iewes at this day haue as appeareth in their forme of funerall praiers & in certaine of their funerall Sermons publiſhed, neither are they ſo affected towards Chriſtians, as to borrow that order from vs, beſides that the forme therof is ſuch as hath

Iere. 16.7.

Prou. 31.6. a 1 Chro. 19.2. Iob. 2.11.

in

in it sundry things which the very words of the Scripture it selfe doe seeme to allude vnto, as namely after departure from the Sepulcher vnto the house whence the dead was brought it sheweth the manner of their buriall feast, & a consolatorie forme of praiers appointed for the master of the Synagogue ther eat to vtter, albeit I may not deny but it hath also some things which are not perhaps so auncient as the lawe and the Prophets. But whatsoeuer the Iewes custome was before the dayes of our Sauiour Christ, hath it once at any time beene heard of that either Church or Christian man of sound beliefe did euer iudge this a thing vnmeete vndecent vnfit for Christianitie, till these miserable dayes wherin vnder the colour of remoouing superstitions abuses the most effectual meanes both to testifie and to strengthen true Religion are plucked at and in some places euen pulled vp by the very rootes? Take away this which was ordained to show at burials the peculiar hope of the Church of God concerning the dead, and in the manner of those dumme funerals what one thing is ther wherby the world may perceiue we are Christiā men?

Of the nature of that ministerie which serueth for performance of diuine duties in the Church of God, and how happines not eternal only but also temporall both depend vpon it.

76 I come now vnto that function which vndertaketh the publike ministerie of holy things according to the lawes of Christian religion. And because the nature of things consisting, as this doth, in action is knowne by the obiect whereabout they are conuersant, and by the end or scope whereunto they are referred, we must know that the obiect of this function is both God and men; God in that he is publikely worshipped of his Church, and men in that they are capable of happines by meanes which Christian Discipline appointeth. So that the summe of our whole labour in this kinde is to honour God and to saue men. For whether wee seuerally take and consider men one by one, or else gather them into one societie and body, as it hath beene before declared that euery mans Religion is in him the welspring of all other sound and sincere vertues from whence both here in some sort and hereafter more abundantly their full ioy and felicitie aryseth, because while they liue they are blest of God and when they die their workes follow them: so at this present we must againe call to minde how the very worldly peace and prosperitie, the secular happines, the temporall and naturall good estate both of all men and of all Dominions hangeth chiefly vpon Religion and doth euermore giue plaine testimonie that as well in this as in other considerations the Priest is a piller of that common-wealth wherein he faithfully serueth God. For if these assertions be true, first that nothing can bee inioyed in this present world against his will which hath made all things; secondly that albeit God doth sometime permit the impious to *haue*, yet impietie permitteth thē not to *inioy* no not temporall blessings on earth; thirdly that God hath appointed those blessings to attend as handmaides vpon religion; and fourthly that without the worke of the ministerie Religion by no meanes can possibly continue, the vse and benefit of that sacred function euen towards al mens worldly happines must needes bee graunted. Now the [a] first being a theoreme both vnderstoode and confest of all, to labour in proofe thereof were superfluous. The seconde perhappes may bee called in question except it be perfectly vnder-

Si creaturæ Dei merito & dispensatio Dei summum. Quis enim magis diligit quam ille qui fecit? Quis autem ordinatius regit quam is qui & fecit & diligit? Quis vero sapientius & fortius ordinare & regere alia potest quam qui & faciendo præuidit, & prouisa perfecit? Quapropter omnem potestatem a Deo esse omnēq; ordinationem & qui non legerunt sentiunt, & qui legerunt cognoscunt. Paul. Oros. hist. aduers. Pagan. lib. 2.

vnderstoode. By good things temporall therefore we meane length of daies, health of body, store of friends and welwillers, quietnes, prosperous successe of those things wee take in hand, riches with fit opportunities to vse them during life, reputation following vs both aliue and dead, children or such as in steade of children we wish to leaue successors and partakers of our happines. These things are naturally euery mans desire, because they are good. And on whome God bestoweth the same, them we confesse he graciously blesseth. Of earthly blessings the meaneste is wealth, reputation the chiefest. For which cause we esteeme the gaine of honour an ample recompence for the losse of all other worldly benefits. But for as much as in all this there is no certaine perpetuitie of goodnesse, nature hath taught to affect these things not for their owne sake but with reference and relation to somewhat independently good, as is the exercise of vertue and speculation of truth. None whose desires are rightly ordered would wish to liue to breath and moue without performance of those actions which are beseeming mans excellencie. Wherefore hauing not how to imploy it, wee wax wearie euen of life it selfe. Health is precious because sickenesse doth breede that paine which disableth action. Againe why doe men delight so much in the multitude of friends but for that the actions of life being many doe neede many helping handes to further them? Betweene troublesome and quiet dayes we should marke no difference if the one did not hinder and interrupt the other vphold our libertie of action. Furthermore if those things we doe, succeede, it reioyceth vs not so much for the benefit we thereby reape as in that *it probably argueth our actions to haue beene orderly and welguided. As for riches to him which hath and doth nothing with them they are a contumely. Honour is commonly presumed a signe of more then ordinary vertue and merit, by meanes whereof when ambitious minds thirst after it, their endeuours are testimonies how much it is in the eye of nature to possesse that body the very shadow whereof is set at so high a rate. Finally such is the pleasure and comfort which we take in doing that when life forsaketh vs, still our desires to continue action and to worke though not by our selues yet by them whome we leaue behinde vs, causeth vs prouidently to resigne into other mens hands the helpes we haue gathered for that purpose, deuising also the best we can to make them perpetuall. It appeareth therefore how all the parts of temporal felicitie are only good in relation to that which vseth them as instruments, and that they are no such good as wherein a right desire doth euer stay or rest it selfe. Now temporall blessings are inioyed of those, which haue them, know them, *esteeme them according to that they are in their owne nature.* Wherefore of the wicked whome God doth hate his vsuall and ordinarie speeches are, that bloud-thirstie and deceitefull men shall not liue out halfe their dayes; that God shall cause a pestilence to cleaue vnto the wicked, and shall strike them with consuming griefe, with feauers burning diseases and soares which are past cure; that when the impious are fallen, all men shal treade them downe and none shew countenance of loue towards them as much as by pitying them in their miserie; that the sinnes of the vngodly shall bereue them of peace; that all counsels complots and practises against God shall

Οὗτοι τὰ χείρματ' ἴσμεν κἀκτήσιν τοιοῦτοι, τὰ παῖδων δ' ἐχθρὸς ἐπιμελοῦμεθα. *Eurip. Phœniss.*

Ὑβριζόμεθα γὰρ τὸν εὐτυχοῦντα πάντ' ἀτίμως ἀχρήματος. *Eurip. Heracl.*

Psal. 55. 23.

Deut. 28. 22.

ſhal come to nothing; that the lot & inheritance of the vniuſt is beggerie; that the name of vnrighteous perſons ſhall putrifie, and the poſteritie of robbers ſtarue. If any thinke that iniquitie and peace, ſinne and proſperitie can dwell together they erre, becauſe they diſtinguiſh not aright betweene the matter, and that which giueth it the forme of happineſſe, betweene poſſeſſion and fruition, betweene the hauing and the inioying of good things. The impious cannot enioy that they haue, partly becauſe they receiue it not as at Gods hands, which onely conſideration maketh temporall bleſſings comfortable, and partly becauſe through error placing it aboue things of farre more price and worth they turne that to poyſon which might be foode, they make their proſperitie their owne ſnare, in the neſt of their higheſt growth they lay fooliſhly thoſe Egges out of which their wofull ouerthrow is afterwards hatcht. Heereby it commeth to paſſe that wiſe & iudicious men obſeruing the vaine behauiours of ſuch as are ryſen to vnwoonted greatnes haue thereby beene able to prognoſticate their ruine. So that in very truth no impious or wicked man doth proſper on earth but either ſooner or later the world may perceiue eaſily how at ſuch time as others thought them moſt fortunate they had but onely the good eſtate which fat Oxen haue aboue leane, when they appeared to grow their climing was towards ruine. The groſſe and beſtial conceipt of them which want vnderſtanding is onely that the fulleſt bellies are happieſt. Therefore the greateſt felicitie they wiſh to the common wealth wherein they liue is that it may but abound and ſtand, that they which are riotous may haue to powre out without ſtint, that the poore may ſleepe and the rich feede them, that nothing vnpleaſant may be commaunded, nothing forbidden men which themſelues haue a luſt to follow, that Kings may prouide for the eaſe of their ſubiects and not be too curious about their maners, that wantonnes exceſſe and lewdneſſe of life may bee left free, and that no faulte may be capitall beſides diſlike of things ſetled in ſo good termes. But bee it farre from the iuſt to dwell either in or neere to the tents of theſe ſo miſerable felicities. Now whereas wee thirdly affirme that Religion and the feare of God as well induceth ſecular proſperitie as euerlaſting bliſſe in the world to come, this alſo is true. For otherwiſe godlineſſe coulde not bee ſaid to haue the promiſſes of both liues, to bee that ample reuenew wherein there is alwaies ſufficiencie, and to carrie with it a generall diſcharge of want, euen ſo generall that Dauid himſelfe ſhould proteſt hee neuer ſaw the iuſt forſaken. Howbeit to this we muſt adde certaine ſpeciall limitations: as firſt that wee doe not forget how craſed and diſeaſed mindes (whereof our heauenly Phyſitian muſt iudge) receiue often times moſt benefit by being depriued of thoſe things which are to others beneficially giuen, as appeareth in that which the wiſe man hath noted concerning them whoſe liues God mercifully doth abridge leaſt wickedneſſe ſhould alter their vnderſtanding; againe that the meaſure of our outward proſperitie bee taken by proportion with that which euery mans eſtate in this preſent life requireth. External habilities are inſtruments of action. It contenteth wiſe artificers to haue their inſtruments proportionable to their worke rather fit for vſe then huge and goodly to pleaſe the eye. Seeing then the actions of a ſeruant do not need that which

Prou.10.

Prou.16.18. Ante ruinam elatio.

φιλέ ει ὁ θεὸς πάντα τὰ ἰσο-ῤῥόπα χω-λύειν. ἐν γὰρ ἁ ῥοπὴ ἀλλον μέγα ἢ ἑαυτόν.

Herodot. lib. 7.

may be neceſſarie for men of calling and place in the world, neither men of inferiour condition many things which greater perſonages can hardly want, ſurely they are bleſſed in worldly reſpects that haue wherewith to performe [a] ſufficiently what their ſtation and place asketh though they haue no more. For by reaſon of mans imbecillitie and proneneſſe to elation of mind, [b] too high a flow of proſperitie is daungerous, too low an ebbe againe as daungerous, for that the vertue of patience is rare, and the hand of neceſſitie ſtronger, then ordinarie vertue is able to withſtand. Salomons diſcreete and moderate deſire we all know, *Giue me O Lord neither riches nor penurie.* [c] Men ouer high exalted either in honour or in power or in nobilitie or in wealth; they likewiſe that are as much on the contrarie hand ſunke either with beggerie or through deiection or by baſenes doe not eaſily giue eare to reaſon, but the one exceeding apt vnto outrages and the other vnto pettie miſchiefes. For greatnes delighteth to ſhow it ſelfe by effects of power, and baſeneſſe to help it ſelfe with ſhifts of mallice. For which cauſe a moderate indifferent temper betweene fulneſſe of bread and emptines hath beene euermore thought and found (all circumſtances duly conſidered) the ſafeſt & happieſt for all eſtates, euen for kings and Princes themſelues. Againe we are not to looke that theſe things ſhould alwaies concurre no not in them which are accompted happy, neither that the courſe of mens liues or of publique affaires ſhould continually be drawne out as an euen thred (for that the nature of things will not ſuffer) but a iuſt ſuruey being made, as thoſe particular men are worthily reputed good whoſe vertues be great and their faults tolerable, ſo him we may regiſter for a man fortunate, and that for a proſperous or happie ſtate, which hauing flouriſhed doth not afterwards feele any tragicall alteration ſuch as might cauſe them to be a ſpectacle of miſerie to others. Beſides whereas true felicitie conſiſteth in the higheſt operations of that nobler part of man which ſhoweth ſometime greateſt perfection not in vſing the benefits which delight nature but in ſuffering what nature can hardlieſt endure, ther is no cauſe why either the loſſe of good if it tend to the purchaſe of better, or why any miſerie the iſſue whereof is their greater praiſe & honor that haue ſuſtained it ſhould be thought to impeach that temporall happineſſe wherwith Religion we ſay is accompanied, but yet in ſuch meaſure, as the ſeuerall degrees of men may require by a competent eſtimation, and vnleſſe the contrarie doe more aduance, as it hath done thoſe moſt heroicall Saints whome afflictions haue made glorious. In a word not to whome no calamitie falleth, but whome neither miſerie nor proſperitie is able to mooue from a right mind them wee may truely pronounce fortunate, and whatſoeuer doth outwardly happen without that precedent improbitie for which it appereth in the eyes of ſound and vnpartiall iudges to haue proceeded from diuine reuenge, it paſſeth in the number of humaine caſualties whereunto we are all alike ſubiect. No miſerie is reckoned more then common or humaine if God ſo diſpoſe that wee paſſe thorow it and come ſafe to ſhore, euen as contrariwiſe men doe not vſe to thinke thoſe flouriſhing daies happie which do end with teares. It ſtandeth therefore with theſe cautions firme and true, yea ratified by all mens vnfained confeſsions drawne from the verie heart of experience that whether

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[a] Ἐπεὶ τάχ' ἀρκοῦνθ' ἱκανὰ τοῖς γε σώφροσιν. Eurip. *Phœniſ.*

[b] πανδύστηνον ὃ λογισμὸς ἴσως, ἀλλ' οὖν ἀσφαλεστέρων, ἢ σὺν ἀπειρεσίαις ὀλβοῦσι καὶ πλούτοις. *Greg. Naz. Apoleg. 3.* They may ſeeme happily the moſt deiect but they are the wiſeſt for their owne ſaftie which feare clyming no leſſe then faling.

[c] *Ariſt. Polit. l. 4. Cap. 11.*

we compare men of note in the world with others of like degree and ſtate, or elſe the ſame men with themſelues; whether we conferre one Dominion with another or elſe the different times of one and the ſame Dominion, the manifeſt ods betweene their very outward condition as long as they ſtedfaſtly were obſerued to honour God and their ſucceſſe being fallen from him, are remonſtrances more then ſufficient howe all our welfare euen on earth dependeth wholly vpon our Religion. Heathens were ignorant of true Religion. Yet ſuch as that little was which they knew, it much impaired or bettered alwaies their worldly affaires, as their loue and zeale towards it did waine or grow. Of the Iewes did not euen their moſt malicious and mortall aduerſaries all acknowledge that to ſtriue againſt them it was in vaine as long as their amitie which God continued, that nothing could weaken them but Apoſtaſie? In the whole courſe of their owne proceedings did they euer finde it otherwiſe, but that during their faith and fidelitie towards God euery man of them was in warre as a thouſand ſtrong, and as much as a grand Senate for counſell in peaceable deliberations; contrariwiſe that if they ſwarued, as they often did, their woonted courage and magnanimitie forſooke them vtterly, their ſouldiers and militarie men trembled at the ſight of the naked ſword, when they entred into mutuall conference, and ſat in counſell for their owne good, that which children might haue ſeene their graueſt Senators could not diſcerne, their Prophets ſaw darkeneſſe in ſteade of viſions, the wiſe and prudent were as men bewitcht, euen that which they knew) being ſuch as might ſtand them in ſteade) they had not the grace to vtter, or if any thing were well propoſed it tooke no place it entered not into the mindes of the reſt to approoue and follow it, but as men confounded with ſtraunge and vnuſuall amazements of ſpirit they attempted tumultuouſly they ſaw not what, and by the iſſues of all tempts they found no certaine concluſion but this, *God and heauen are ſtrong againſt vs in all we doe.* The cauſe whereof was ſecrete feare which tooke hart and courage from them, and the cauſe of their feare an inward giltineſſe that they al had offered God ſuch apparent wrongs as were not pardonable. But it may bee the caſe is now altogether changed, and that in Chriſtian Religion there is not the like force towards temporall felicitie. Search the ancient records of time, looke what hath happened by the ſpace of theſe ſixteene hundred yeares, ſee if all things to this effect be not luculent and cleare, yea all things ſo manifeſt that for euidence and proofe herein we neede not by vncertaine darke coniectures ſurmiſe any to haue beene plagued of God for contempt, or bleſt in the courſe of faithfull obedience towards true Religion, more then onely them whome wee find in that reſpect on the one ſide guiltie by their owne confeſſions, and happie on the other ſide by all mens acknowledgment, who beholding the proſperous eſtate of ſuch as are good and vertuous impute boldly the ſame to Gods moſt eſpeciall fauour, but cannot in like manner pronounce that whome he afflicteth aboue others with them he hath cauſe to be more offended. For vertue is alwaies plaine to be ſeene rareneſſe cauſeth it to be obſerued and goodnes to be honoured with admiration. As for iniquitie and ſinne it lyeth many times hid, and becauſe we bee all offenders it becommeth vs not to encline

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towards hard and ſeuere ſentences touching others, vnleſſe their notorious wickedneſſe did ſenſibly before proclaime that which afterwardes came to paſſe. Wherfore the ſumme of euery Chriſtian mans dutie is to labour by all meanes towards that which other men ſeeing in vs may iuſtifie, and what we our ſelues muſt accuſe, if we fall into it, that by all meanes wee can to auoide, conſidering eſpecially that as hitherto vpon the Church, there neuer yet fell tempeſtuous ſtorme the vapors whereof were not firſt noted to ryſe from coldneſſe in affection and from backwardnes in duties of ſeruice towardes God, ſo if that which the teares of antiquitie haue vttered concerning this point ſhould bee here ſet downe it were aſſuredly enough to ſoften and to mollifie an hart of ſteele. On the contrarie part although we confeſſe with Saint Auguſtine moſt willingly, that the chiefeſt happines for which we haue ſome Chriſtian Kings in ſo great admiration aboue the reſt is not becauſe of their long raigne, their calme and quiet departure out of this preſent life, the ſetled eſtabliſhment of their owne fleſh and bloud ſucceeding them in royaltie and power, the glorious ouerthrow of forraine enemies, or the wiſe preuention of inward daungers and of ſecret attempts at home, all which ſolaces and comforts of this our vnquiet life it pleaſeth God oftentimes to beſtow on them which haue no ſocietie or part in the ioyes of heauen, giuing thereby to vnderſtand that theſe in compariſon are toyes and trifles farre vnder the value and price of that which is to be looked for at his hands, but in truth the reaſon wherfore we moſt extoll their felicitie is if ſo be they haue vertuouſly raigned, if honour haue not filled their hearts with pride, if the exerciſe of their power haue beene ſeruice and attendance vpon the Maieſtie of the moſt high, if they haue feared him as their owne inferiours and ſubiects haue feared them, if they haue loued neither pompe nor pleaſure more then heauen, if reuenge haue ſlowly proceeded from them and mercie willingly offered it ſelfe, if ſo they haue tempered rigour with lenitie that neither extreame ſeueritie might vtterly cut them off in whome ther was manifeſt hope of amendment, nor yet the eaſines of pardoning offences imbolden offenders, if knowing that whatſoeuer they doe their potencie may beare it out they haue bene ſo much the more carefull not to doe any thing but that which is commendable in the beſt rather then vſuall with greateſt perſonages, if the true knowledge of themſelues haue humbled them in Gods ſight no leſſe then God in the eyes of men hath raiſed them vp, I ſay albeit wee reckon ſuch to be the happieſt of them that are mightieſt in the world, and albeit thoſe things alone are happineſſe, neuertheleſſe, conſidering what force there is euen in outward bleſſings to comfort the mindes of the beſt diſpoſed and to giue them the greater ioy when Religion and peace, heauenly and earthly happines are wreathed in one crowne, as to the worthieſt of Chriſtian princes it hath by the prouidence of the almightie hitherto befallen, let it not ſeeme vnto any man a needleſſe and ſuperfluous waſt of labour that there hath beene thus much ſpoken to declare how in them eſpecially it hath beene ſo obſerued, and withall vniuerſally noted euen from the higheſt to the very meaneſt how this peculiar benefit this ſingular grace and preemnience Religion hath, that either it gardeth as an heauenly ſhield from all calamities or elſe conducteth

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vs safe thorow them, and permitteth them not to be miseries; it either giueth honours promotions and wealth, or else more benefit by wanting them then if wee had them at will; it either filleth our houses with plentie of all good things or maketh a Sallet of greene herbes more sweete then all the sacrifices of the vngodly. Our fourth proposition before set downe was that Religion without the helpe of spirituall ministerie is vnable to plant it selfe, the fruits thereof not possible to grow of their owne accord. Which last assertion is herein as the first that it needeth no farther confirmation. If it did I could easily declare how all things which are of God he hath by wonderfull arte and wisedome sodered as it were together with the glue of mutuall assistance, appointing the lowest to receiue from the neerest to themselues what the influence of the highest yeeldeth. And therefore the Church being the most absolute of all his workes was in reason to be also ordered with like harmonie, that what he worketh might no lesse in grace then in nature be effected by hands and instruments duely subordinated vnto the power of his owne spirit. A thing both needfull for the humiliation of man which would not willingly be debter to any but to himselfe, and of no small effect to nourish that diuine loue which now maketh each embrace other not as men but as Angels of God. Ministeriall actions tending immediatly vnto Gods honour and mans happinesse are either as contemplation which helpeth forward the principall worke of the ministerie, or else they are parts of that principall worke of administration it selfe, which worke consisteth in doing the seruice of Gods house and in applying vnto men the Soueraigne medicines of grace already spoken of. The more largely to the end it might thereby appeare that we owe to the guides of our soules euen as much as our soules are worth, although the debt of our temporall blessings should bee stricken off.

Luc. 12. 42. 1. *Cor.* 4. 1. *Tit.* 1. 7. 1 *Pet.* 4. 10. *Eph.* 3. 2. [a] ἀχρὶ παντὸς μαλ προσοφειλέτις. *Epist. ad Phil.*

Of power giuen vnto men to execute that heauenly office; of the gift of the holy Ghost in ordination; & whether conueniently the power of order may be sought or sued for.

77 The ministerie of things diuine is a function which as God did himselfe institute so neither may men vndertake the same but by authoritie and power giuen them in lawfull manner. That God which is no way deficient or wanting vnto man in necessaries, and hath therefore giuen vs the light of his heauenly truth, because without that inestimable benefit we must needes haue wandred in darkenesse to our endlesse perdition and woe, hath in the like aboundance of mercies ordained certaine to attend vpon the due execution of requisite parts and offices therein prescribed for the good of the whole world, which men thereunto assigned doe holde their authoritie from him whether they bee such as himselfe immediatly or as the Church in his name inuesteth, it being neither possible for al nor for euery man without distinction conuenient to take vppon him a charge of so great importance. They are therefore ministers of God not only by way of subordination as Princes and ciuill Magistrates whose execution of iudgement and iustice the supreame hand of diuine prouidence doth vpholde, but ministers of God as from whome their authoritie is deriued and not from men. For in that they are Christs Embassadours and his labourers, who should giue them their commission but he whose most inward affaires they menage? Is not God alone the father of Spirits? Are not soules the purchase of Iesus Christ? What Angell in heauen could haue said to man as our Lord did vnto Peter *Feede my sheepe*

Preach? Baptiſe: Doe this in remembrance of me? Whoſe ſins yee retaine they are retained, and their offences in heauen pardoned whoſe faultes you ſhall on earth forgiue? What thinke wee? Are theſe terreſtriall ſounds, or elſe are they voices vttered out of the clouds aboue? The power of the miniſterie of God tranſlateth out of darknes into glorie, it rayſeth men from the earth and bringeth God himſelfe downe from heauen, by bleſſing viſible elements it maketh them inuiſible grace, it giueth daily the holy Ghoſt, it hath to diſpoſe of that fleſh which was giuen for the life of the world and that bloud which was powred out to redeeme ſoules, when it powreth malediction vpon the heads of the wicked they periſh, when it reuoketh the ſame they reuiue. O wretched blindneſſe if we admire not ſo great power, more wretched if wee conſider it aright and notwithſtanding imagine that any but God can beſtow it. To whome Chriſt hath imparted power both ouer that miſticall body which is the ſocietie of ſoules, and ouer that naturall which is himſelfe for the knitting of both in one (a worke which antiquitie doth call the making of Chriſts body) the ſame power is in ſuch not amiſſe both termed a kind of marke or character and acknowledged to be indeleble. Miniſteriall power is a marke of ſeparation, becauſe it ſcuereth them that haue it from other men and maketh them a ſpeciall *order* conſecrated vnto the ſeruice of the moſt high in things wherewith others may not meddle. Their difference therefore from other men is in that they are a diſtinct *order*. So Tertullian calleth them. And Saint Paul himſelfe diuiding the body of the Church of Chriſt into two moieties nameth the one part λαϊκους which is as much as to ſay the order of the Laitie, the oppoſite part whereunto we in like ſort terme the order of Gods Cleargie, and the ſpirituall power which hee hath giuen them the power of their *order*, ſo farre forth as the ſame conſiſteth in the bare execution of holy things called properly the affaires of God. For of the power of their iuriſdiction ouer mens perſons wee are to ſpeake in the bookes following. They which haue once receiued this power may not thinke to put it off and on like a cloke as the weather ſerueth, to take it reiect and reſume it as oft as themſelues liſt, of which prophane and impious contempt theſe later times haue yeelded as of al other kinds of iniquitie and Apoſtaſie ſtrange examples, but let them know which put their hands vnto this plough that once conſecrated vnto God, they are made his peculiar inheritance for euer. Suſpenſions may ſtop, and degradations vtterly cut off the vſe or exercise of power before giuen: but voluntarily it is not in the power of man to ſeparate and pull a ſunder what God by his authoritie coupleth. So that although there may be through miſdeſert degradation as there may be cauſe of iuſt ſeparation after matrimonie; yet if (as ſometime it doth) reſtitution to former dignitie or reconciliation after breach doe happen, neither doth the one nor the other euer iterate the firſt knot. Much leſſe is it neceſſarie which ſome haue vrged concerning the reordination of ſuch as others in times more corrupt did conſecrate heretofore. Which errour already queld by Saint Ierome doth not now require any other refutation. Examples I graunt there are which make for reſtraint of thoſe men from admittance againe into roomes of ſpirituall function, whoſe fall by hereſie or want of conſtancie in profeſſing the Chriſtian faith hath beene

Tertul. de Adhuort caſtit.

Heb. 2. 17.

Mat. 19.

beene once a diſgrace to their calling. Neuertheleſſe as there is no law which bindeth, ſo there is no cauſe that ſhould alwaies leade to ſhow one and the ſame ſeueritie towards perſons culpable. Goodneſſe of nature it ſelfe more inclineth to clemencie then rigour. And we in other mens offences doe behold the plaine image of our owne imbecillitie. Beſides alſo, them that wander out of the way [a] it cannot be vnexpedient to win with al hopes of fauour, leaſt ſtrictneſſe vſed towards ſuch as reclaime themſelues ſhould make others more obſtinate in error. Wherfore [b] after that the Church of Alexandria had ſomewhat recouered it ſelfe from the tempeſts and ſtormes of Arrianiſme, being in conſultation about the reeſtabliſhment of that which by long diſturbance had bene greatly decayed and hindered, the ferventer ſort gaue quicke ſentence that touching them which were of the Cleargie and had ſtained themſelues with hereſie there ſhould bee none ſo receiued into the Church againe as to continue in the order of the Cleargie. The reſt which conſidered how many mens caſes it did concerne thought it much more ſafe and conſonant to bend ſomewhat downe towards them which were falleu, to ſhow ſeueritie vpon a few of the chiefeſt leaders and to offer to the reſt a friendly reconciliation without any other demaunde ſauing onely the abiuration of their error, as in the Goſpell that waſtfull young man which returned home to his Fathers houſe was with ioy both admitted and honoured, his elder brother hardly thought of for repining thereat neither commended ſo much for his owne fidelitie & vertue as blamed for not embracing him freely whoſe vnexpected recouerie ought to haue blotted out all remembrance of miſdemeanors and faultes paſt. But of this ſufficient. A thing much ſtumbled at in the maner of giuing orders is our vſing thoſe memorable words of our Lord and Sauiour Chriſt, *Receiue the holy Ghoſt.* The holy Ghoſt they ſay wee cannot giue, and therefore we [c] *fooliſhly* bid men receiue it. Wiſe men for their authorities ſake muſt haue leaue to beſoole them whome they are able to make wiſe by better inſtruction. Notwithſtanding if it may pleaſe their wiſdome as well to heare what fooles can ſay is to controll that which they do, thus we haue hard ſome wiſe men teach, namely that the [d] *Holy Ghoſt* may be vſed to ſignifie not the perſon alone but the guifts of the holy Ghoſt, and we know that ſpirituall gifts are not onely habilities to doe things miraculous, as to ſpeake with tongues which were neuer taught vs, to cure diſeaſes without art, and ſuch like, but alſo that the very authoritie and power which is giuen men in the Church to bee Miniſters of holy things this is contained within the number of thoſe gifts whereof the holy Ghoſt is author, and therefore hee which giueth this power may ſay without abſurditie or folly *Receiue the holy Ghoſt* ſuch power as the ſpirit of Chriſt hath indued his Church withall, ſuch power as neither Prince nor potentate, King nor Cæſar on earth can giue. So that if men alone had deuiſed this forme of ſpeech therby to expreſſe the heauenly welſpring of that power which Eccleſiaſticall ordinations doe beſtow, it is not ſo fooliſh but that wiſe men might beare with it. If then our Lord and Sauior himſelfe haue vſed the ſelfe ſame forme of words and that in the ſelfe ſame kind of action, although there be but the leaſt ſhew of probabilitie, yea or any poſſibilitie that his meaning might be the ſame which

[a] *In rit. tabulis cautum eſt, vt idem iuris eſſet ſanatibus quod fortibus, id eſt bonis & qui nunquam defecerunt a populo Romano Feſt. in Ver. Samnites*

[b] *Ruffin. hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 1. ca. 28*

[c] *Papiſticum quidam ritus ſtulte quidem ab illis & ſine vllo ſcripturæ fundamento inſtitutus & a diſciplina noſtra autoritbus (pace illorum dixerim) non magno primum iudicio acceptus minime adhuc in Eccleſia noſtra retinetur Eccleſiaſt. diſci. p. 53.*

[d] *Eccleſi. diſcip. fol. 52. p. 2. lin. 8*

ours is, it ſhould teach ſober and graue men not to bee too venturous in condemning that of folly which is not impoſſible to haue in it more profoundnes of wiſedome then fleſh and bloud ſhould preſume to controll. Our Sauiour after his reſurrection from the dead gaue his Apoſtles their commiſſion ſaying, *All power is giuen me in heauen and in earth, Go therfore and teach all nations Baptiſing them in the name of the Father and the Sonne and the holy Ghoſt, teaching them to obſerue all things whatſoeuer I haue commaunded you.* In ſumme *As my father ſent me, ſo ſend I you.* Whereunto Saint Iohn doth ad farther that *hauing thus ſpoken hee breathed on them and ſaid, Receiue the holy Ghoſt*, By which words hee muſt of likelihood vnderſtand ſome gift of the Spirit which was preſently at that time beſtowed vpon them as both the ſpeech of actuall deliuerie in ſayinge *Receiue*, and the viſible ſigne thereof his breathing did ſhowe. Abſurde it were to imagine our Sauiour did both to the eare and alſo to the verye eye expreſſe a reall donation, and they at that time receiue nothing. It reſteth then that we ſearch what eſpeciall grace they did at that time receiue. Touching miraculous power of the Spirit, moſt apparent it is that as then they receiued it not, but the promiſe thereof was to bee ſhortly after performed. The wordes of Saint Luke concerning that power are therefore ſet downe with ſignification of the time to come, *Behold I will ſend* the promiſe of my Father vpon you, but tarrie you in the Cittie of Ieruſalem vntill ye be indued with power from on high. Wherefore vndoubtedly it was ſome other effect of the ſpirit, the holy Ghoſt in ſome other kinde which our Sauiour did then beſtow. What other likelier then that which himſelfe doth mention as it ſhould ſeeme of purpoſe to take away all ambiguous conſtructions and to declare that the holy Ghoſt which he then gaue was an holy and a Ghoſtly authoritie, authoritie ouer the ſoules of men, authoritie a part whereof conſiſteth in power to remit and retaine ſinnes? Receiue the holy Ghoſt, *Whoſe ſinnes ſoeuer ye remit they are remitted, whoſe ſinnes ye retaine they are retained.* Whereas therefore the other Euangeliſts had ſet downe that Chriſt did before his ſuffering promiſe to giue his Apoſtles the Keyes of the kingdome of heauen, and beeing ryſen from the dead promiſe moreouer at that time a miraculous power of the holy Ghoſt, Saint Iohn addeth that he alſo inueſted them euen then with the power of the holy Ghoſt for caſtigation & relaxation of ſin wherin was fully accompliſhed that which the promiſe of the Keyes did import. Seing therefore that the ſame power is now giuen, why ſhould the ſame forme of words expreſſing it be thought foliſh? The cauſe why we breath not as Chriſt did on them vnto whome he imparted power is for that neither Spirit nor ſpiritual authoritie may be thoght to proceede from vs which are but delegates or aſſignes to giue men poſſeſſion of his graces. Now beſids that the power & authority deliuered with thoſe words is it ſelf χάρισμα a gratious donatiō which the ſpirit of god doth beſtow we may moſt aſſuredly perſwade our ſelues that the hand which impoſeth vpon vs the function of our miniſterie doth vnder the ſame form of wordes ſo tie it ſelfe thereunto, that he which [a] receiueth the burthen is thereby for euer warranted to haue the Spirit with him and in him for his aſsiſtance, aide countenance & ſupport in whatſoeuer he faithfully doth to diſcharge dutie,

Mat. 28. 18.

Ioh. 20. 21.

Luc. 24. 49.

Ioh. 20. 23.

[a] *Etſi neceſſarium eſt trepidare de merito, religioſum eſt tamen gaudere de dono: quoniam qui mihi oneris eſt autor ipſe fiet adminiſtrationis adiutor, & ne magnitudine gratiæ ſuccumbat infirmus, dabit virtutem qui contulit dignitatē.* Leo. Ser. 1. in Anniuerſ. die A. τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἔδωκε τῷ ἡμᾶς εἰς τὴν διακονίαν τούτων Gre. Na

know-

Knowing therfore that when we take ordination we alſo receiue the preſence of the holy Ghoſt partly to guide direct and ſtrengthen vs in all our wayes, and partly to aſſume vnto it ſelfe for the more authoritie thoſe actions that appertaine to our place and calling, can our eares admit ſuch a ſpeech vttered in the reuerend performance of that ſollemnitie, or can we at any time renew the memorie and enter into ſerious cogitation thereof but with much admiration and ioy? Remoue what theſe fooliſh words doe imply, & what hath the miniſterie of God beſides wherein to glory? Whereas now for as much as the holy Ghoſt which our Sauior in his firſt ordinations gaue doth no leſſe concurre with ſpirituall vocations throughout all ages then the Spirit which God deriued from Moſes to them that aſſiſted him in his gouerment did deſcend from them to their ſucceſſors in like authoritie & place, we haue for the leaſt and meaneſt duties performed by vertue of miniſteriall power that to dignifie grace and authoriſe them which no other offices on earth can challenge. Whether we preach, pray, Baptiſe, communicate, con emne, giue abſolution, or whatſoeuer, as diſpoſers of Gods myſteries, our words, iudgments, acts and deeds, are not ours but the holy Ghoſts. Enough if vnfainedly and in hart we did belieue it, enough to baniſh whatſoeuer may iuſtly bee thought corrupt, either in beſtowing, or in vſing, or in eſteeming the ſame otherwiſe then is meete. For prophanely to beſtow, or looſly to vſe, or vilely to eſteeme of the holy Ghoſt we all in ſhew and profeſſion abhorre. Now because the miniſterie is an office of dignitie and honour, ſome are doubtfull whether any man may ſeeke for it without offence, or to ſpeake more properly doubtful they are not but rather bold to accuſe our Diſcipline in this reſpect as not only permitting but requiring alſo ambitious ſutes and other oblique waies or meanes whereby to obtaine it. Againſt this they pleade that our Sauiour did ſtay till his Father ſent him, and the Apoſtles till hee them; that the ancient Biſhops in the Church of Chriſt were examples and patterns of the ſame modeſtie. Whereupon in the end they inferre, *Let vs therefore at the length amend that cuſtom of repairing from all parts vnto the Biſhop at the day of ordination, and of ſeeking to obtaine orders, let the cuſtome of bringing commendatorie letters bee remooued; let men keepe themſelues at home expecting there the voice of God and the authoritie of ſuch as may call them to vndertak charge.* Thus ſeuerely they cenſure and controle ambition, if it be ambition which they take vpon them to reprehend. For of that there is cauſe to doubt. Ambition as wee vnderſtand it hath beene accompted a vice which ſeeketh after honours inordinately. Ambitious minds eſteeming it their greateſt happineſſe to be admired reuerenced and adored aboue others vſe all meanes lawful and vnlawfull which may bring them to high roomes. But as for the power of order conſidered by it ſelfe & as in this caſe it muſt be conſidered, ſuch reputation it hath in the eye of this preſent world, that they which affect it rather neede encouragement to beare contempt then deſerue blame as men that carrie aſpiring mindes. The worke whereunto this power ſerueth is commended, and the deſire thereof allowed by the Apoſtle for good. Neuertheleſſe becauſe the burthen thereof is heauie and the charge great, it commeth ma-

Num. 11.

Author libel. & diſcip. Eccleſiaſt

1. *Tim.* 3. 1.

ny times to passe that the minds euen of vertuous men are drawn into cleane contrarie affections, some in humilitie declining that by reason of hardnesse which others in regard of goodnes onely doe with feruent alacritie couet. So that there is not the least degree in this seruice but it may bee both * in reuerence shunned, & of very deuotion longed for. If then the desire therof may be holy religious & good, may not the profession of that desire be so likwise? Wee are not to thinke it so long good as it is dissembled and euill if once we begin to opē it. And allowing that it may be opened without ambition, what offence I beseech you is there in opening it there wher it may be furthered & satisfied in case they to whome it appertaineth thinke meete? In vaine are those desires allowed the accomplishment whereof it is not lawfull for men to seeke. Power therefore of Ecclesiasticall order may be desired, the desire thereof may be professed, they which professe themselues that way inclined may endeuour to bring their desires to effect, and in all this no necessitie of euill. Is it the bringing of testimoniall letters wherein so great obliquitie consisteth? What more simple, more plaine, more harmeleſſe, more agreeable with the law of common humanitie then that men wher they are not known vse for their easier accesse the credit of such as can best giue testimonie of thē? Letters of any other construction our Church Discipline alloweth not, and these to allow is neither to require ambicious suings nor to approue any indirect or vnlawfull act. The Prophet Esay receiuing his message at the hands of God and his charge by heauenly vision heard the voice of the Lord saying *Whome shall I send? Who shall goe for vs?* Whereunto he recordeth his owne answere, *Then I said, Here Lord I am, send me.* Which in effect is the rule and Canon whereby touching this point the very order of the Church is framed. The appointment of times for sollemne ordination is but the publique demaund of the Church in the name of the Lord himselfe, *Whome shall I sende, who shall goe for vs?* The confluence of men whose inclinations are bent that way is but the answere thereunto, whereby the labours of sundrie beeing offred, the Church hath freedome to take whome her agentes in such case thinke meete and requisite. As for the example of our Sauiour Christ who tooke not to himselfe this honour to bee made our high Priest, but receiued the same from him which saide; *Thou art a Priest for euer after the order of Melchisedec*, his waighting and not attempting to execute the office till God saw conuenient time may serue in reproofe of vsurped honours, for as much as wee ought not of our owne accorde to assume dignities whereunto wee are not called as Christ was. But yet it should bee withall considered that a proude vsurpation without any orderly calling is one thing, and an other the bare declaration of willingnesse to obtaine admittaunce, which willingnesse of minde I suppose did not want in him whose aunswere was to the voyce of his heauenly calling, *Beholde I am come to doe thy will*. And had it beene for him as it is for vs expedient to receiue his

* τῶν παλαι-
ῶν τοὺς εὐδοκι-
μωτάτους ἀναοχο-
πῶν τύχοι σκω ὄρους πώποτε εἰς ἐπιτυχίαν ἢ σε-
σπτάν ἢ χάρις σεσυλέλο τοὺς μὲν ἐξαπις σροθύμως τῇ κλίσει
τοὺς δὲ ἀναζαλλομένους τὸ χάρισμα, ἐξ ὑστέρων μεμπλω οὔτε
τῶν ὑποχαρησάντων πλὼ δηλίαν, οὔτε τῶν ὀρμησάντων πλὼ σρο-
θυμίαν. οἱ μὲ γὰρ τῆς διακονίας τὸ μέγεθος ἐυλαζήθησαν, οἱ δὲ πὸ
κλῶ ωπὶ πίσευσαντες ἐκολύθησαν. Greg. Nazi. Apologet.

Esay. 6.

Heb. 5. 5.

Heb. 10. 5

his commiſſion ſigned with the hands of men, to ſeeke it might better haue beſeemed his humilitie then it doth our boldnes to reprehend them of pride and ambition that make no worſe kind of ſutes then by leters of information. Himſelfe in calling his Apoſtles preuented all cogitations of theirs that way, to the end it might truely be ſaid of them, *Ye chooſe not me, but I of mine owne voluntarie motion made choice of you*. Which kind of vndeſired nomination to Eccleſiaſticall places befell diuers of the moſt famous amongſt the auncient fathers of the Church in a cleane contrarie conſideration. For our Sauiours election reſpected not any merit or worth but tooke them which were farthest of from likelihood of fitneſſe, that afterwards their ſupernaturall habilitie and performance beyond hope might cauſe the greater admiration, whereas in the other meere admiration of their ſingular and rare vertues was the reaſon why honors were in forced vpon them which they of meekneſſe and modeſtie did what they could to auoide. But did they euer iudge it a thing vnlawfull to wiſh or deſire the office, the onely charge and bare function of the miniſterie? Towards which labour what doth the bleſſed Apoſtle elſe but encourage ſaying, *Hee which deſireth it is deſirous of a good worke?* What doth he els by ſuch ſentences but ſtirre kindle and inflame ambition, if I may terme that deſire ambition, which coueteth more to teſtifie loue by painefulneſſe in Gods ſeruice, then to reape any other benefit? Although of the very honour it ſelfe, and of other emoluments annexed to ſuch labours, for more encouragement of mans induſtrie, we are not ſo to conceiue neither, as if no affection could be caſt towards them without offence. Only as the wiſe man giueth counſell. *Seeke not to be made a iudge leaſt thou be not able to take away iniquitie and leaſt thou fearing the perſon of the mightie ſhouldeſt commit an offence againſt thine vprightneſſe*, ſo it alwaies behoueth men to take good heede leaſt affection to that which hath in it as well difficultie as goodneſſe ſophiſticate the true and ſincere iudgement which before hand they ought to haue of their owne habilitie, for want whereof many forward minds haue found inſteade of contentment repentance. But for as much as hardneſſe of things in themſelues moſt excellent cooleth the feruencie of mens deſires vnleſſe there be ſomewhat naturally acceptable to incite labour (for both the method of ſpeculatiue knowledge doth by things which we ſenſibly perceiue conduct to that which is in nature more certaine though leſſe ſenſible, & the method of vertuous actions is alſo to traine beginners at the firſt by things acceptable vnto the taſt of naturall appetite, till our minds at the length be ſetled to imbrace things precious in the eye of reaſon, meerely and wholly for their own ſakes) howſoeuer inordinate deſires doe heereby take occaſion to abuſe the politie of God and nature, either affecting without worth, or procuring by vnſeemly meanes that which was inſtituted and ſhould be reſerued for better minds to obtain by more approued courſes, in which cõſideratiõ ỹ Emperors Anthemius & Leo did worthily oppoſe againſt ſuch ambitious practiſes that ancient famous conſtitution wherin they haue theſe ſentences; *Let not a Prelate be ordained for reward or vpon requeſt, who ſhould be ſo farre ſequeſtred frõ al ambition that they which aduance him might bee faine to ſearch wher he hideth himſelfe, to intreat him drawing back, & to follow him til importunitie haue made him yeeld, let*

Eccleſ. 7. 6.

nothing promote him but his excuses to auoide the burthen, they are vnworthie of that vocation which are not thereunto brought vnwillingly; notwithstanding we ought not therefore with the odious name of ambition to traduce and draw into hatred euerie poore request or sute wherein men may seeme to affect honor; seeing that ambition and modestie do not alwaies so much differ in the mark they shoote at as in the manner of their prosecutions. Yea euen in this may be error also if we still imagine them least ambitious which most forbeare to stirre either hand or foote towards their owne preferments. For there are that make an Idole of their great sufficiencie, and because they surmise the place should be happie that might enioy them, they walke euerie where like graue Pageants obseruing whether men doe not wonder why so small accompt is made of so rare worthinesse, and in case any other mans aduancement bee mentioned they either smile or blush at the meruailous follie of the worlde which seeth not where dignities should offer themselues. Seeing therefore that sutes after spirituall functions may be as ambitiously for-borne as prosecuted, it remaineth that the [a] euenest line of moderation betweene both is neither to follow them *without conscience*, nor *of pride* to withdraw our selues vtterly from them.

[a] μέσος εἰμά πις τῶν τε ἄγαν πλημπρῶν καὶ τῶν λίαν δειλῶν, τῶν μὲν πόσοις ἐπιπηδώντων προσπασίαις δειλότερος τῶν δὲ φυγόντων πάσας θαρσαλεώτερος Gregor. Nazian. Apologet. Of degrees whereby the power of order is distinguished and concerning the attire of Ministers.

78 It pleased almightie God to choose to himselfe for discharge of the [b] legall ministerie one onely Tribe out of twelue others, the tribe of Leui, not all vnto euerie diuine seruice, but Aaron and his sonnes to one charge, the rest of that sanctified Tribe to another. With what solemnities they were admitted into their functions, in what manner Aaron and his successors the high Priests ascended euery Sabboth and festiuall day, offered, and ministred in the Temple; with what sinne offering once euery yeare they reconciled first themselues and their owne house, afterwards the people vnto God; how they confessed all the iniquities of the children of *Israel*, laide all their trespasses vppon the head of a sacred Goate, and so carried them out of the Cittie; how they purged the holy place from all vncleaneneſse, with what reuerence they entred within the Vaile, presented themselues before the mercy seate, and consulted with the Oracle of God: What seruice the other Priestes did continually in the holy place, how they ministred about the Lampes morning and Euening, how euery Sabboth they placed on the Table of the Lord those twelue loaues with pure incense in perpetuall remembrance of that mercy which the Fathers the twelue Tribes had found by the prouidence of God for their foode when hunger caused them to leaue their naturall soyle and to seeke for sustinance in Egypt; how they imployed themselues in sacrifice day by day; finally what offices the Leuits discharged, and what duties the rest did execute, it were a labour too long to enter into if I should collect that which Scriptures and other ancient records doe mention. Besides these there were indifferently out of al Tribes from time to time some cald of God as Prophets fore-showing them things to come and giuing them counsell in such particulars as they could not be directed in by the Law; some chosen of men to reade studie and interpret the law of God, as the sonnes or Schollers of the olde Prophets in whose roome afterwards Scribes and expounders of the law succeeded. And because where so great varietie is, if there should be

[b] Πρὸς διατήρησιν καὶ φυλακὴν ἀδιάπλοος καὶ εὐσεβείας καὶ λειτουργιῶν ἀεὶ πρὸς τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ τιμὴν ἀναφέροντας. Philo p. 297

equalitie,

equalitie, confuſion would follow, the Leuits were in all their ſeruice at the appointment and direction of the ſonnes of Aaron or Prieſts, they ſubiect to the principall guides and leaders of their owne order, and they all in obedience vnder the high Prieſt. Which difference doth alſo manifeſt it ſelfe in the very titles that men for honours ſake gaue vnto them terming Aaron and his ſucceſſors High or Great; the auncients ouer the companies of Prieſts, Archprieſts; Prophets, Fathers; Scribes and interpretors of the law, Maſters. Touching the miniſterie of the Goſpell of Ieſus Chriſt the whole body of the Church beeing deuided into *Laitie* and Cleargie, the Clergie are either Preſbiters or Deacons. I rather terme the one ſort Presbiters then [a] Prieſtes, becauſe in a matter of ſo ſmall moment I would not willingly offend their eares to whom the name of prieſthood is odious thugh with out cauſe. For as things are diſtinguiſhed one from an other by thoſe true eſſentiall formes which being really and actually in them doe not onely giue them the verie laſt and higheſt degree of their naturall perfection, but are alſo the knot, foundation and roote whereupon all other inferiour perfections depend, ſo if they that firſt doe impoſe manes did alwaies vnderſtand exactly the nature of that which they nominate, it may be that then by hearing the termes of vulgar ſpeech we ſhould ſtill be taught what the things themſelues moſt properly are. But becauſe words haue ſo many artificers by whome they are made, and the things whereunto we apply them are fraught with ſo many varieties, it is not alwaies apparant what the firſt inuentors reſpected, much leſſe what euery mans inward conceipt is which vſeth their words. For any thing my ſelfe can diſcerne herein, I ſuppoſe that they which haue bent their ſtudie to ſearch more dilligently ſuch matters doe for the moſt part find that names aduiſedly giuen had either regard vnto that which is naturally moſt proper; or if perhaps to ſome other ſpecialtie, to that which is ſenſibly moſt eminent in the thing ſignified; and concerning popular vſe of wordes that which the wiſedome of their inuentors did intend thereby is not commonly thought of, but by the name the thing altogether conceiued in groſſe, as may appeare in that if you aske of the common ſort what any certaine word for example what a Prieſt doth ſignifie their manner is not to anſwere a Prieſt is a Cleargie man which offereth ſacrifice to God, but they ſhow ſome particular perſon whome they vſe to call by that name. And if we liſt to deſcend to grammer, wee are tolde by Maſters in thoſe Scholes that the word *Prieſt* hath his right place ἐπὶ τοῦ ἱερῶς προεςῶτος τῆς θεραπείας τοῦ θεοῦ, in him whoſe meere function or charge is the ſeruice of God. Howbeit becauſe the moſt eminent part both of *Heathniſh* and *Iewiſh* ſeruice did conſiſt in ſacrifice, when learned men declare what the word Prieſt doth *properly* ſignifie *according to the mind of the firſt impoſer* of that name

[a] T.C.l.1.p. 198. For ſo much as the common and vſuall ſpeech of England is to note by the word *Prieſt* not a Miniſter of the Goſpell but a *Sacrificer* which the Miniſter of the Goſpell is not, therfore we ought not to call the Miniſters of the Goſpell *Prieſts*. And that this is the Engliſh ſpeech it appeareth by all the Engliſh tranſlations which Tranſlate alwaies ἱερεῖς which were Sacrificers *Prieſts*, and doe not of the other ſide for any that euer I red tranſlate πρεσβύτερος a *Prieſt*. Seeing therefore a Prieſt with vs and in our tongue doth ſignifie both by the Papiſts iudgment in reſpect of their abominable Maſſe and alſo by the iudgement of the Proteſtants in reſpect of the beaſts which were offered in the Law a *ſacrificing office*, which the Miniſter of the Goſpell neither doth nor can execute, it is manifeſt that it cannot be without great offence ſo vſed.

Etymol. magn.

name their ordinarie. Scholies doe well expound it to imply ſacrifice. Seeing then that ſacrifice is now no part of the Church miniſterie how ſhoulde the name of prieſthood be thereunto rightly applyed? Surely euen as Saint Paul applieth the name of [b] *fleſh* vnto that very ſubſtance of fiſhes which hath a proportionable correſpondence to fleſh, although it be in nature an other thing. Whereupon when Phyloſophers will ſpeake warily they [c] make a difference betweene fleſh in one ſort of liuing creatures and that other ſubſtance in the reſt which hath but a kind of analogie to fleſh: the Apoſtle contrariwiſe hauing matter of greater importance wherof to ſpeake nameth indifferently both fleſh. The fathers of the Church of Chriſt with like ſecuritie of ſpeech call vſually the miniſterie of the Goſpell *Prieſthoode* in regard of that which the Goſpell hath *proportionable* to ancient ſacrifices, namely the *Communion* of the bleſſed body and bloud of Chriſt, although it haue properly now no ſacrifice. As for the people when they heare the name it draweth no more *their mindes* to any cogitation of ſacrifice, then the name of a Senator or of an Alderman cauſeth them to thinke vpon olde age or to imagine that euery one ſo termed muſt needs be ancient becauſe yeares were reſpected in the firſt nomination of both. Wherefore to paſſe by the name, let them vſe what dialect they will, whether we call it a prieſthood, a presbiterſhip, or a miniſterie it skilleth not: Although in truth the word *Presbyter* doth ſeeme more fit, and in proprietie of ſpeech more agreeable then *Prieſt* with the drift of the whole Goſpell of Ieſus Chriſt. For what are they that imbrace the Goſpell but ſonnes of God? What are Churches but his families? Seeing therefore wee receiue the adoption and ſtate of ſonnes by their miniſterie whome God hath choſen out for that purpoſe, ſeing alſo that when we are the ſonnes of God, our continuance is ſtill vnder their care which were our progenitors, what better title could there bee giuen them then the reuerend name of *Preſbiters* or fatherly guides? The holy Ghoſt throughout the body of the new Teſtament making ſo much mention of them doth not any where call them Prieſts. The Prophet Eſay I graunt doth, but in ſuch ſort as the auncient Fathers by way of analogie. *A Presbiter* according to the proper meaning of the new Teſtament *is he vnto whome our Sauiour Chriſt hath communicated the power of ſpirituall procreation*. Out of twelue Patriarkes iſſued the whole multitude of Iſrael according to the fleſh. And according to the miſterie of heauenly birth our Lords Apoſtles we al acknowledge to be the Patriarks of his whole Church. Saint Iohn therefore beheld ſitting about the throne of God in heauen [d] foure and twentie Presbiters, the one halfe Fathers of the old, [e] the other of the new Ieruſalem. In which reſpect the Apoſtles likewiſe gaue them ſelues the ſame title, albeit that name were not proper but common vnto them with others. For of Presbyters ſome were greater ſome leſſe in power and that by our Sauiours owne appointment; the greater they which receiued fulneſſe of ſpirituall power, the leſſe they to whome leſſe was graunted. The Apoſtles peculiar charge was to publiſh the Goſpell of Chriſt vnto all nations, and to deliuer them his ordinances receiued by *immediate reuelation*

from

[a] ἱερεῦσαι, θυσιάσαι. *Heſy. Chriſtus homo dicitur quia natus eſt, Propheta quia futura reuelauit, ſacerdos quia pro nobis hoſtiam ſe obtulit. Iſid. orig. l. 7. c. 2.*

[b] 1. Cor. 15.

[c] Ἐν δὲ ἀποφάσει τὸ ἀδιάφορον τὸ τοῦ ἁπλοῦ ἀπτικοῦ, πότερον ἡ σὰρξ ἢ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις τὸ ἀνάλογον, ἢ οὔ. *Ariſt. de Anim. l. 2. ca. 11.*

Eſay. 66. 21.

[d] *Reuel. 4. 4.*
[e] *Reuel. 21. 14. Mat. 19. 28. 1. Pet. 5. 1.*

[a] *from himselfe*. Which preeminence excepted, to all other offices and duties incident into their order it was in them to ordaine and consecrate whome so euer they thought meete, euen as our Sauiour did himselfe assigne seauentie other of his owne Disciples inferior Presbiters, whose commission to preach and Baptise was the same which the Apostles had. Wheras therefore we find that the very first Sermon which the Apostles did publikly make was the conuersion of aboue three thousand soules, vnto whome there were euerie day more and more added, they hauing no open place permitted them for the exercise of Christian Religion, thinke we that twelue were sufficient to teach and administer Sacraments in so many priuate places as so great a multitude of people did require? This harueſt our Sauiour no doubt foreseeing prouided accordingly labourers for it before hand. By which meanes it came to passe that the growth of that Church being so great and so suddaine, they had notwithstanding in a readinesse Presbyters enow to furnish it. And therfore the historie doth make no mention by what occasion Presbyters were instituted in Ierusalem, onely wee reade of things which they did, and how the like were made afterwards elswhere. To these two degrees appointed of our Lord and Sauior Christ his Apostles sooneafter annexed Deacons. Deacons therefore must know saith Cyprian that our Lord himselfe did elect Apostles, but Deacons after his ascention into heauen the Apostles ordained. Deacons were stewards of the Church vnto whome at the first was committed the distribution of Church-goods, the care of prouiding therewith for the poore, and the charge to see that all things of expense might be religiously and faithfully delt in. A part also of their office was attendance vppon their Presbyters at the time of diuine seruice. For which cause Ignatius to set forth the dignitie of their calling sayth, that they are in such case to the Bishop as if Angelicall powers did serue him. These onely being the vses for which Deacons were first made, if the Church haue sithence extended their ministerie farther then the circuit of their labour at the first was drawn, we are not herein to thinke the ordinance of Scripture violated except there appeare some prohibition which hath abridged the Church of that libertie. Which I note chiefly in regarde of them to whome it seemeth a thing so monstrous that Deacons should sometime be licensed to preach whose institution was at the first to an other ende. To charge them for this as men not contented with their owne vocations and as breakers into that which appertaineth vnto others is very hard. For when they are thereunto once admitted, it is a part of their owne vocation, it appertaineth now vnto them as well as others, neither is it intrusion for them to doe it being in such sort called but rather in vs it were temeritie to blame them for doing it. Suppose we the office of teaching to be so repugnant vnto the office of Deaconship that they cannot concurre in one and the same person? What was there done in the Church by Deacons which the Apostles did not first discharge being teachers? Yea but the Apostles found the burthen of teaching so heauie that they iudged it meete to cut of that other charge and to haue Deacons which might vndertake it. Be it so. The multitude of Christians increasing in Ierusalem and waxing great it was too much for the Apostles to teach and to minister vnto Tables also.

[a] ὁι τῶν ἱερῶν διοπαραδότως νομοθέται. *Dionys. Arcop. p. 110.*

Act. 2. 41. 47.

Cypr. Ep. 9. l. 3. ad Rogatianũ.

Ignat. Epist. ad Tral.

alſo. The former was not to bee ſlacked that this latter might bee followed. Therefore vnto this they appointed others. Whereupon wee may rightly ground this axiome, that when the ſubiect wherein one mans labours of ſundrie kinds are imployed doth wax ſo great that the ſame men are no longer able to menage it ſufficiently as before, the moſt naturall way to helpe this is by deuiding their charge into ſlipes and ordaining of vnder officers, as our Sauiour vnder twelue Apoſtles ſeauentie Presbiters, and the Apoſtles by his example ſeauen Deacons to be vnder both. Neither ought it to ſeeme leſſe reaſonable, that when the ſame men are ſufficient both to continue in that which they doe and alſo to vndertake ſomewhat more a combination be admitted in this caſe, as well as diuiſion in the former. Wee may not therefore diſalow it in the Church of Geneua, that Caluin and Beza were made both Paſtors and readers of Diuinitie, being men ſo able to diſcharge both. To ſay they did not content themſelues with their paſtorall vocations, but brake into that which belonged to others; to alleage againſt them, *Hee that exhorteth in exhortation*, as againſt vs *Hee that diſtributeth in ſimplicitie*, is alleaged in great diſlike of graunting licence for Deacons to preach, were very hard. The ancient cuſtome of the Church was to yeeld the poore much relieſe, eſpecially widdowes. But as poore people are alwaies querulous and apt to thinke themſelues leſſe reſpected then they ſhould be, we ſee that when the Apoſtles did what they could without hinderance to their waightier buſines yet there were which grudged that others had too much and they too little, the *Grecian* widowes ſhorter commons then the Hebrewes. By meanes wherof the Apoſtles ſaw it meete to ordaine Deacons. Now tract of time hauing cleane worne out thoſe firſt occaſions for which the Deaconſhip was then moſt neceſſarie, it might the better be afterwards extended to other ſeruices, and ſo remaine as at this preſent day a degree in the Cleargie of God which the Apoſtles of Chriſt did inſtitute. That the firſt ſeauen Deacons were choſen out of the ſeauentie Diſciples is an errour in Epiphanius. For to drawe men from places of waightier vnto roomes of meaner labour had not beene fit. The Apoſtles to the ende they might followe teaching with more freedome committed the miniſterie of Tables vnto Deacons. And ſhal we think they iudged it expedient to chooſe ſo many out of thoſe ſeauentie to be miniſters vnto Tables, when Chriſt himſelfe had before made them teachers? It appeareth therefore how long theſe three degrees of Eccleſiaſticall order haue continued in the Church of Chriſt, the higheſt and largeſt that which the Apoſtles, the next that which Presbyters, and the loweſt that which Deacons had. Touching Prophets they were ſuch men as hauing otherwiſe learned the Goſpell had from aboue beſtowed vppon them a ſpeciall gift of expounding Scriptures and of foreſhowing things to come. Of this ſort Agabus was and beſides him in Ieruſalem ſundrie others, who notwithſtanding are not therefore to be reckoned with the Cleargie, becauſe no mans gifts or qualities can make him a miniſter of holy things, vnleſſe ordination doe giue him power. And wee no where find Prophets to haue beene made by ordination, but all whome the Church did ordaine were either to ſerue as preſbyters or as Deacons. Euangeliſts were Presbyters of principall ſufficiencie whome

Rom. 12

Epiph. l. 1. *c.* 21

Act. 21. 10.
Act. 11. 27.

whome the Apoſtles ſent abroade and vſed as agents in Eccleſiaſtical affaires whereſoeuer they ſaw need. They whome we find to haue beene named in Scripture Euangeliſts as [a] Ananias, [b] Apollos, [c] Timothie, and others were thus imployed. And concerning Euangeliſts afterwards in Traians daies, the hiſtorie Eccleſiaſticall noteth that many of the Apoſtles Diſciples and Schollers which were then aliue and did with ſingular loue of wiſedome affect the heauenly word of God to ſhow their willing minds in executing that which Chriſt firſt of all required at the hands of men, they ſoulde their poſſeſſions, gaue them to the poore, & betaking themſelues to trauaile vndertooke the labour of Euangeliſts, that is they painefully preached Chriſt and deliuered the Goſpell to them who as yet had neuer heard the doctrine of faith. Finally whome the Apoſtle nameth Paſtors and teachers what other were they then Presbyters alſo, howbeit ſetled in ſome certaine charge and therby differing from Euangeliſts? I beſeech them therefore which haue hitherto troubled the Church with queſtions about degrees and offices of Eccleſiaſticall calling, becauſe they principally ground themſelues vppon two places, that all partialitie laide aſide they would ſincerely waigh and examine whether they haue not miſinterpreted both places, and all by ſurmiſing incompatible offices where nothing is ment but ſundrie graces gifts and habilities which Chriſt beſtowed. To them of Corinth his wordes are theſe, *God placed in the Church firſt of all ſome Apoſtles, Secondly Prophets, Thirdly teachers, after them powers, then gifts of Cures, aydes, gouernments, kinds of languages. Are all Apoſtles? Are all Prophets? Are all teachers? Is there power in all? Haue all grace to cure? Doe all ſpeake with tongues? Can all interpret? But bee you deſirous of the better graces.* They which plainely diſcerne firſt that ſome *one generall* thing there is which the Apoſtle doth here deuide into al theſe branches, and doe ſecondly conceiue that generall to bee Church offices, beſides a number of other difficulties, can by no meanes poſſibly denie but that many of theſe might concurre in one man, and peraduenture in ſome one all, which mixture notwithſtanding their forme of Diſcipline doth moſt ſhunne. On the other ſide admit that *Communicants of ſpeciall infuſed grace*, for the benefit of members knit into one body the Church of Chriſt, are heere ſpoken of, which was in truth the plaine drift of that whole diſcourſe, and ſee if euerie thing doe not anſwere in due place with that fitneſſe which ſhoweth eaſily what is likelieſt to haue beene ment. For why are Apoſtles the firſt but becauſe vnto them was graunted the reuelation of all truth from Chriſt immediatly? Why Prophets the ſecond, but becauſe they had of ſome things knowledge in the ſame maner? Teachers the next becauſe whatſoeuer was knowne to them it came by hearing, yet God withall made them able to inſtruct which euerie one coulde not doe that was taught. After gifts of edification there follow generall habilities to worke things aboue nature, grace to cure men of bodily diſeaſes, ſupplies againſt occurrent defects and impediments, dexterities to gouerne and direct by counſell, finally aptnes to ſpeake or interpret forraine tongues. Which graces not powred out equally but diuerſly ſorted and giuen were a cauſe why not onely they all did furniſh vp the whole body but each benefit and helpe other. Againe the ſame Apoſtle other where in like ſort, *To euery*

[a] *Act. 9. 18.*
[b] *Act. 18. 24.*
[c] *2. Tim. 4. 5. 9. 1. Tim 3. 15. 5. 14. 2. 8.*
Euſeb. Eccl. hiſt lib. 3 cap 34.

1. Cor. 12. 28.

one

one of vs is giuen grace according to the measure of the gift of Christ. Wherefore hee
Eph. 4.7. *saith, when hee ascended vp on high he led captiuitie captiue and gaue gifts vnto men.*
Psal. 68. 18. *He therefore gaue some Apostles and some Prophets and some Euangelistes and some Pastors and teachers, for the gathering together of Saints, for the worke of the ministerie, for the edification of the body of Christ.* In this place none but gifts of instruction are expreſt. And becauſe of teachers ſome were Euangeliſts which neither had any part of their knowledge by reuelation as the Prophets and yet in habilitie to teach were farre beyond other Paſtors, they are as hauing receiued one way leſſe then Prophets and an other way more then teachers, ſet accordingly betweene both. For the Apoſtle doth in neither place reſpect what any of them were by office or power giuen them through ordination, but what by grace they all had obtained through miraculous infuſion of the holy Ghoſt. For in Chriſtian Religion this being the ground of our w hole beliefe that the promiſes which God of olde had made by his Prophets concerning the woonderfull gifts and graces of the holy Ghoſt, wherewith the raigne of the true Meſſias ſhould bee made glorious, were immediatly after our Lords aſcenſion performed, there is no one thing whereof the Apoſtles did take more often occaſion to ſpeake. Out of men thus indued with giftes of the ſpirit vpon their conuerſion to Chriſtian faith the Church had her miniſters choſen, vnto whome was giuen Eccleſiaſticall power by ordination. Now becauſe the Apoſtle in reckoning degrees and varieties of grace doth mention Paſtors and teachers, although he mention them not in reſpect of their ordination to exerciſe the miniſterie, but as examples of men eſpecially enritcht with the gifts of the holy Ghoſt, diuers learned and skiful men haue ſo taken it as if thoſe places did intend to teach what orders of Eccleſiaſticall perſons there ought to be in the Church of Chriſt, which thing we are not to learne from thence but out of other parts of holy Scripture, whereby it clearely appeareth that Churches Apoſtolique did know but three degrees in the power of Eccleſiaſticall order, at the firſt Apoſtles, Presbyters, & Deacons, afterwards inſteade of Apoſtles Biſhops concerning whoſe order wee are to ſpeake in the ſeauenth booke. There is an error which beguileth many who much intangle both themſelues and others by not diſtinguiſhing *Seruices*, *Offices*, and *Orders* Eccleſiaſticall, the firſt of which three and in part the ſecond may be executed by the Laitie, whereas none haue or can haue the third but the Cleargie. Catechiſts, Exorciſts, Readers, Singers, and the reſt of like ſort, if the nature onely of their labours and paines be conſidered, may in that reſpect ſeeme Cleargie men, euen as the Fathers for that cauſe terme them vſually Clerkes, as alſo in regard of the end whereunto they were trained vp which was to bee ordered when yeares and experience ſhould make them able. Notwithſtanding in as much as they no way differed frō others of the Laitie longer then during that worke of ſeruice which at any time they might giue ouer being thereunto but admitted not tied by irreuocable ordi-
T. C. l. 1. p. 191 nation, we find them alwaies exactly ſeuered from that body whereof thoſe
1. Tim. 5. 9. three before rehearſed orders alone are naturall parts. Touching widowes of whome ſome men are perſwaded, that if ſuch as Saint Paule deſcribeth may be gotten we ought to retaine them in the Church for euer, certaine meane

ſeruices

ſeruices ther were of attendance as about wemen at the time of their Baptiſme, about the bodies of the ſicke and dead, about the neceſſities of trauailers waifaring men and ſuch like, wherein the Church did commonly vſe them when neede required, becauſe they liued of the almes of the Church and were fitteſt for ſuch purpoſes. Saint Paul doth therefore to auoide ſcandal require that none but wemen well experienced and vertuouſly giuen neither any vnder threeſcore yeare of age ſhould be admitted of that number. Widowes were neuer in the Church ſo highly eſteemed as virgines. But ſeing neither of them did or could receiue ordination, to make them Eccleſiaſticall perſons were abſurd. The ancienteſt therefore of the Fathers mention thoſe three degrees of Eccleſiaſticall order ſpecified and no moe. *When your captaines* (ſaith Tertullian) *that is to ſay the Deacons, Presbyters and Biſhops flie, who ſhall teach the Laitie that they muſt be conſtant?* Againe *what ſhould I mention Laymen* (ſaith Optatus) *Yea or diuers of the miniſterie it ſelfe? To what purpoſe Deacons which are in the third, or Presbyters in the ſecond degree of prieſthood, when the verie heads and Princes of all euen certaine of the Biſhops themſelues* were content to redeeme life with the loſſe of heauen? Heapes of allegations in a caſe ſo euident and plaine are needleſſe. I may ſecurely therefore conclude that there are at this day in the Church of England no other then the ſame degrees of Eccleſiaſticall order, namely Biſhops, Presbyters, and Deacons, which had their beginning from Chriſt and his bleſſed Apoſtles themſelues. As for Deanes, Prebendaries, Parſons, Vicars, Curates, Archdecons, Chancelors, Officials, Commiſſaries and ſuch other the like names which being not found in holy Scripture, we haue beene thereby through ſome mens error thought to allow of Eccleſiaſticall degrees not known nor euer heard of in the better ages of former times, all theſe are in truth but titles of office whereunto partly Eccleſiaſticall perſons, and partly others are in ſundrie formes and conditions admitted as the ſtate of the Church doth need, degrees of order ſtill continuing the ſame they were from the firſt beginning. Now what habit or attire doth beſeeme ech order to vſe in the courſe of common life both for the grauitie of his place and for example ſake to other men is a matter friuolous to be diſputed of. A ſmall meaſure of wiſedom may ſerue to teach them how they ſhould cut their coates. But ſeeing all well ordered polities haue euer iudged it meete and fit by certaine ſpeciall diſtinct ornaments to ſeuer ech ſort of men from other when they are in publique, to the end that al may receiue ſuch complements of ciuill honour as are due to their roomes & callings euen where their perſons are not knowne, it argueth a diſproportioned mind in them whome ſo decent orders diſpleaſe.

Tertul. de pœnit.

Optat. lib. 1.

Of oblations, foundations, endowments, tithes, all intended for perpetuitie of religion, which purpoſe being chiefely fulfiled by the Clergies certaine and ſufficient maintenance muſt needes by alienation of Church liuings be made fruſtrate.

79 We might ſomewhat maruaile what the Apoſtle Saint Paule ſhoulde meane to ſay that couetouſneſſe is Idolatrie, if the dayly practiſe of men did not ſhow that whereas nature requireth God to bee honoured with wealth, we honor for the moſt part wealth as God. Faine we would teach our ſelues to belieue that for worldly goods it ſufficeth frugally & honeſtly to vſe them to our owne benefit, without detriment and hurt of others; or if we goe a degree farther, and perhaps conuert ſome ſmal contemptible portion thereof to charitable vſes, the whole dutie which we owe vnto God herein is fully ſatisfied

fied. But for as much as wee cannot rightly honour God vnleſſe both our ſoules and bodies bee ſometime imployed meerely in his ſeruice; againe ſith we know that Religion requireth at our hands the taking away of ſo great a part of the time of our liues quite and cleane from our own buſineſſe and the beſtowing of the ſame in his, ſuppoſe we that nothing of our wealth and ſubſtance is immediatly due to God, but all our own to beſtow and ſpend as our ſelues thinke meete? Are not our riches as well his as the dayes of our life are his? Wherefore vnleſſe with part wee acknowledge his ſupreme Dominion by whoſe benevolence we haue the whole, how giue we honour to whome honour belongeth, or how hath God the things that are Gods? I woulde know what nation in the world did euer honor God and not thinke it a point of their dutie to doe him honour with their very goods. So that this we may boldly ſet downe as a principle cleare in nature, an axiome which ought not to be called in queſtion, a truth manifeſt and infallible, that men are eternally bound to honor God with their ſubſtance in token of thankful acknowledgment that all they haue is from him. To honor him with our worldly goods, not onely by ſpending them in lawfull manner, and by vſing them without offence, but alſo by alienating from our ſelues ſome reaſonable part or portion thereof and by offering vp the ſame to him as a ſigne that we gladly confeſſe his ſole and ſoueraigne Dominion ouer all, is a dutie which all men are bound vnto and a part of that very worſhip of God which as the law of God and nature it ſelfe requireth, ſo wee are the rather to thinke all men no leſſe ſtrictly bound thereunto then to any other naturall dutie, in as much as the harts of men doe ſo cleaue to theſe earthly things, ſo much admire them for the ſwaie they haue in the world, impute them ſo generally either to nature or to chaunce and fortune, ſo little thinke vppon the grace and prouidence from which they come, that vnleſſe by a kind of continuall tribute we did acknowledge Gods dominion it may be doubted that in ſhort timemen would learne to forget whoſe tenants they are and imagine that the world is their owne abſolute free and independent inheritance. Now concerning the kind or qualitie of gifts which God receiueth in that ſort, we are to conſider them partly as firſt they proceed from vs, and partly as afterwards they are to ſerue for diuine vſes. In that they are teſtimonies of our affection towardes God, there is no doubt but ſuch they ſhould bee as beſeemeth moſt his glorie to whome wee offer them. In this reſpect the fatneſſe of Abels ſacrifice is commended, the flower of all mens increaſe aſſigned to God by Salomon, the gifts and donations of the people reiected as oft as their colde affection to Godward made their preſents to bee little worth. Somewhat the Heathens ſaw touching that which was herein fit, and therefore they vnto their Gods did not think they might conſecrate any thing which was *impure*, or *vnſound*, or *already giuen*, or elſe *not truely their owne to giue*. Againe in regard of vſe, for as much as we know that God hath himſelfe no neede of worldly commodities but taketh them becauſe it is our good to be ſo exerciſed, and with no other intent accepteth them but to haue them vſed for the endleſſe continuance of Religion, there is no place left of doubt or controuerſie but that wee in the choyce of our giftes are to leuell at the ſame marke and to frame our ſelues

Purum, probũ, profanum ſuum. Feſt. lib. 14.

selues to his knowne intents and purposes. Whether we giue vnto God therfore that which himselfe by commaundement requireth; or that which the publique consent of the Church thinketh good to allot; or that which euery mans priuate deuotion doth best like, in as much as the gift which wee offer proceedeth not onely as a testimonie of our affection towards God, but also as a meane to vpholde Religion, the exercise whereof cannot stand without the helpe of temporall commodities, if all men bee taught of nature to wish and as much as in them lyeth to procure the perpetuitie of good things, if for that very cause we honour and admire their wisedome who hauing beene founders of common-weales could deuise how to make the benefit they left behinde them durable, if especially in this respect wee preferre Lycurgus before Solon and the Spartan before the Athenian politie, it must needes follow that as we doe vnto God verie acceptable seruice in honouring him with our substance, so our seruice that way is then most acceptable when it tendeth to perpetuitie. The first permanent donations of honour in this kinde are temples. Which workes doe so much set forward the exercise of Religion that while the world was in loue with Religion it gaue to no sort greater reuerence then to whome it could point and say *These are the men that haue built vs Synagogs.* But of Churches wee haue spoken sufficiently heretofore. The next things to Churches are the ornaments of Churches, memorials which mens deuotion hath added to remaine in the treasure of Gods house not only for vses wherein the exercise of Religion presently needeth them, but also partly for supply of future casuall necessities whereunto the Church is on earth subiect, and partly to the ende that while they are kept they may continually serue as testimonies giuing all men to vnderstand that God hath in euerie age and nation such as thinke it no burthen to honour him with their substance. The riches first of the Tabernacle of God and then of the Temple of Ierusalem arysing out of voluntarie giftes and donations whereas wee commonly speake *a Nemo scit*, the value of them aboue that which any man would imagine. After that the Tabernacle was made, furnished withall necessaries and set vp, although in the wildernesse their habilitie could not possibly be great, the verie mettle of those vessels which the Princes of the twelue Tribes gaue to God for their first presents amounted euen then to two thousand and foure hundred shekels of Siluer, an hundred and twentie shekels of Gold, euery shekell waighing halfe an ounce. What was giuen to the temple which Salomon erected wee may partly coniecture when ouer and besides woode, marble, iron, brasse, vestments, precious stones, and money the sum which Dauid deliuered into Salomons hands for that purpose was of Gold in Masse eight thousand, and of Siluer seauenteene thousand Cichars, euery Cichar containing a thousand & eight hundred shekels which riseth to nine hundred ounces in euery one Cichar: whereas the whole charge of the Tabernacle did not amount vnto 30. Cichars. After their return out of Babylon they were not presently in case to make their second temple of equall magnificence & glory with that which the enemy had destroied. Notwithstanding what they could they did. In so much that the building finished ther remained in the Cofers of the Church to vphold the fabrick therof 6. hundred & 50

a Num. 7. 85, 86

1. Chro. 29.

Exod. 25. 28. & 37. 24. Ezr. 2. 68. 69. Hag. 2. 4. Ezr. 8. 24.

Cichars of siluer, one hundred of Golde. Whereunto was added by Nehemias of his owne gift a thousand drammes of Golde, fiftie vessels of Siluer, fiue hundred & thirtie Priests vestments, by other the Princes of the fathers twentie thousand drammes of Golde, two thousand and two hundred peeces of Siluer, by the rest of the people twentie thousand of Golde, two thousand of Siluer, threescore and seauen attires of Priests. And they furthermore bound themselues towards other charges to giue by the Pole in what parte of the world soeuer they should dwell the third of a Shekell that is to saye the sixt parte of an ounce yearely. [a] This out of forraine prouinces they alwaies sent in Golde. Whereof [b] Mithridates is said to haue taken vp by the way before it could passe to Ierusalem from Asia in one aduenture eight hundred talents; Crassus after that to haue borrowed of the temple it selfe eight thousand: at which time Eleazar hauing both many other rich ornaments and al the tapestrie of the Temple vnder his custody thought it the safest way to grow vnto some composition and so to redeeme the residue by parting with a certaine beame of Golde about seauen hundred and a halfe in waight a pray sufficient for one man as hee thought who had neuer bargained with Crassus till then, and therefore vpon the confidence of a solemne oath that no more should be looked for he simply deliuered vp a large morsell whereby the value of that which remained was betrayed and the whole lost. Such being the casualties whereunto moueable treasures are subiect the law of Moses did both require eight and twentie Cities together with their fields and whole territories in the land of Iurie to be reserued for God himselfe and not onely prouide for the libertie of farther additions if men of their owne accord should thinke good, but also for the safe preseruation thereof vnto all posterities, that no mans auarice or fraude by defeating so vertuous intents might discourage from like purposes. Gods third indowment did therefore of old consist in lands. Furthermore some cause no doubt there is why besides sundrie other more rare donations of vncertaine rate, the tenth should be thought a reuenue so naturall to be alotted out vnto God. For of the spoyles which Abraham had taken in war he deliuered vnto Melchisedeck the Tithes. The vow of Iacob at such time as he tooke his iorney towards Haran was, *If God will bee with me and will keepe me in this voiage which I am to goe, and will giue me bread to eate and clothes to put on, so that I may returne to my fathers house in safetie, then shall the Lord bee my God, and this stone which I haue set vp as a piller the same shall be Gods house, and of all thou shalt giue me I will giue vnto thee the Tith.* And as Abraham gaue voluntarily, as Iacob vowed to giue God tithes, so the law of Moyses did require at the hands of all men the selfe same kind of tribute, the tenth of their corne, wine, oyle, fruit, cattle and whatsoeuer increase his heauenly prouidence should send. In so much that Painims being heerein followers of their steps paide Tithes likewise. Imagine wee that this was for no cause done, or that ther was not some speciall inducement to iudge the tenth of our worldly profites the most conuenient for Gods portion? Are not all things by him created in such sort that the formes which giue them their distinction are number, their operations measure, and their matter waight?

Nehe. 7. 70.

Nehe. 10. 32

a Cic. orat. pro L. Flac. Cum aurum Iudæorum nomine quotannis ex Italia & ex omnibus vestris prouincijs Hierosolymam exportari soleret Flaccus Sanxit edicto ne ex Asia exportari liceret.

b Ioseph. Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 12.

c Euery talent in value 600. crownes.

Num. 35. Leuit. 25. 34 & 27. 28.

Gen. 14. 20.

Gen. 28. 20.

Deut. 14. 22

Plin. hist. nat. lib. 12. cap. 14.

Three being the misticall number of Gods vnsearchable perfection within himselfe; *seauen* the number wherby our owne perfections through grace are most ordered; and [a] *tenne* the number of natures perfections (for the beautie of nature is order, and the foundation of order number, and of number ten the highest wee can ryse vnto without iteration of numbers vnder it) could nature better acknowledg the power of the God of nature then by assigning vnto him that quantitie which is the continent of all she possesseth? There are in Philo the Iew many arguments to show the great congruitie and fitnesse of this number in things consecrated vnto God. But because ouer nice and curious speculations become not the earnestnes of holy things, I omit what might be farther obserued as well out of others as out of him touching the quantitie of this generall sacred tribute, whereby it commeth to passe that the meanest and the verie poorest amongst men yeelding vnto God as much in proportion as the greatest and many times in affection more, haue this as a sensible token alwayes assuring their mindes, that in his sight, from whome all good is expected, they are concerning acceptation, protection, diuine priueledges and preeminences whatsoeuer, equals and peeres with them vnto whome they are otherwise in earthly respects inferiours, being furthermore well assured that the top as it were thus presented to God is neither lost nor vnfruitfully bestowed, but doth sanctifie to them againe the whole Masse, and that hee by receiuing a little vndertaketh to blesse all. In which consideration the Iewes were accustomed to name their Tithes the [b] *hedge* of their riches. Albeit a hedge do onely fence and preserue that which is contained, whereas their Tithes and offerings did more, because they procured increase of the heape out of which they were taken. God demaundeth no such debt for his owne neede but for their onely benefit that owe it. Wherefore detaining the same they hurt not him whome they wrong, and themselues whome they thinke they relieue they wound, except men will happily affirme that God did by faire speeches & large promises delude the world in saying, *Bring yee all the tithes into the storehouse that there may be meate in mine house* (deale truely, defraude not God of his due, but bring all) *and proone if I will not open vnto you the windowes of heauen and poure downe vpon you an immeasurable blessing*. That which Saint Iames hath concerning the effect of our prayers vnto God is for the most part of like moment in our gifts. Wee pray and obtaine not, because hee which knoweth our hearts doth see our desires are euill. In like manner we giue and we are not the more accepted, because he beholdeth how vnwisely wee spill our gifts in the [c] bringing. It is to him which needeth nothing all one whether any thing or nothing bee giuen him. But for out owne good it alwayes behoueth that whatsoeuer wee offer vp into his hands we bring it seasoned with this cogitation, *Thou Lord art worthie of all honour*. With the Church of Christ touching these matters it standeth as it did with the whole worlde before Moses. Whereupon for many yeares men being desirous to honour God in the same manner as other vertuous and holy personages before had done both during the time of their life and if farther habilitie did serue by such deuice as might cause

[a] Δεκὰς ἀριθμῶν τῶν ἀπὸ μονάδος ἐστὶ πέρας τελεῖον. Philo περὶ Ἀποιν.

[b] *Massoreth seyag legis, decimarum sepes decima. R. Aquiba in Pirk. Aboth.*

[c] *Nemo libenter debet quod non accepit sed exprestit. Sen. de benef. li. 1. ca. 1.*

Mal. 3.

cause their workes of pietie to remaine alwayes, it came by these meanes to passe that the Church from time to time had treasure proportionable vnto the poorer or wealthier estate of Christian men. And assoone as the state of the Church could admit thereof, they easily condescended to thinke it most naturall and most fit that God should receiue as before of all men his ancient accustomed reuenewes of Tithes. Thus therfore both God and nature haue taught to conuert things temporall to eternall vses, and to prouide for the perpetuitie of Religion euen by that which is most transitorie. For to the end that in worth and value there might be no abatement of any thing once assigned to such purposes, the law requireth precisely the best of that we possesse, and to preuent all damages by waye of commutation, where in steade of naturall commodities or other rights the price of them might bee taken, the law of Moyses determined their rates, and the payments to be alwaies made by the sicle of the Sanctuarie wherein there was great aduantage of waight aboue the ordinarie currant sicle. The truest and surest way for God to haue alwaies his owne is by making him payment in kind out of the very self same riches which through his gracious benediction the earth doth continually yeeld. This where it may be without inconuenience is for euerie mans conscience safe. That which commeth from God to vs by the naturall course of his prouidence which we know to be innocent and pure is perhaps best accepted because least spotted with the staine of vnlawfull or indirect procurement. Besides whereas prices dayly change, nature which commonly is one must needes be the most indifferent and permanent standard betweene God and man. But the maine foundation of all, whereupon the securitie of these things dependeth, as farre as any thing may bee ascertained amongst men, is that the title and right which man had in euerie of them before donation, doth by the act and from the time of any such donation dedication or grant remaine the proper possession of God till the worlds end, vnlesse himselfe renounce or relinquish it. For if equitie haue taught vs that euery one ought to enioy his owne; that what is ours no other can alienate from vs but with our [a] owne [b] deliberate consent; finally that no man hauing past his consent or deede may [c] change it to the preiudice of any other, should wee presume to deale with God worse then God hath allowed any man to deale with vs? Albeit therefore we be now free from the law of Moyses and consequently not thereby bound to the payment of Tithes, yet because nature hath taught men to honour God with their substance, and Scripture hath left vs an example of that particular proportion which for morall considerations hath beene thought fittest by him whose wisdome could best iudge, furthermore seeing that the Church of Christ hath long sithence entered into like obligation, it seemeth in these dayes a question altogether vaine and superfluous whether Tithes be a matter of diuine right: because howsoeuer at the first it might haue beene thought doubtfull, our case is clearely the same now with theirs vnto whom Saint Peter sometime spake saying, *While it was whole it was whole thine.* Whenour Tithes might haue probably seemed our owne, wee had colour of libertie to vse them as wee our selues saw good. But hauing made them his whose they are, let vs be warned by other mens example what it is

Leuit. 27. 25.

a *L. 11. de. reg. iur.*

b *Cuius per errorem dati repetitio est, eius consulto dati donatio est. l. 1. D. de cond. indeb.* This the ground of *Consideration* in alienations from man to man.

c *Nemo potest mutare consilium suum in alterius praeiudicium l. 75. de reg. iur. Act. 5. 4.*

βαφέως, to waſh or clip that coyne which hath on it the marke of God. For that all theſe are his poſſeſsions and that he doth himſelfe ſo reckon them appeareth by the forme of his owne ſpeeches. Touching giftes and oblations, *Thou ſhalt giue* them *me*; touching Oratories and Churches, *My houſe* ſhall be called the houſe of prayer; touching tithes, *Will a man ſpoyle God?* Yet behold euen me your God ye haue [d] *ſpoyled*, notwithſtanding yee aske wherein as though ye were ignorant what iniurie there hath beene offered in *Tithes*, ye are heauily accurſed becauſe with a kinde of publique conſent ye haue ioyned your ſelues in one to rob me imagining the commonnes of your offence to be euery mans particular iuſtification; touching lands, *Ye ſhall offer to the Lord a ſacred portion of ground, and that ſacred portion ſhall belong to the Prieſts.* Neither did God onely thus ordaine amongſt the Iewes, but the very purpoſe intent and meaning of all that haue honoured him with their ſubſtance was to inueſt him with the propertie of thoſe benefits the vſe whereof muſt needes be committed to the hands of men. In which reſpect the ſtile of auncient graunts and Charters is *We haue giuen vnto God both for vs and our heires for euer.* Yea we know ſaith Charles the great that *the goods of the Church are the ſacred indowments of God, to the Lord our God we offer and dedicate whatſoeuer wee deliuer vnto his Church.* Whereupon the lawes imperiall doe likewiſe deuide all things in ſuch ſort that they make ſome to belong by right of nature indifferently vnto euery man, ſome to bee the certaine goods and poſſeſsions of common-weales ſome to appertaine vnto ſeuerall corporations or companies of men, ſome to be priuately mens owne in particular, and ſome to bee ſeperated quite [e] from all men, which laſt branch compriſeth things ſacred and holy, becauſe thereof God alone is owner: The ſequell of which receiued opinion as well without as within the walles of the houſe of God touching ſuch poſſeſsions hath beene euer, that there is not an act more honourable then by all meanes to amplifie and to defend the patrimonie of Religion not any more [f] impious and hatefull then to impaire thoſe poſſeſsions which men in former times when they gaue vnto holy vſes were woont at the altar of God and in preſence of their Ghoſtly ſuperiours to make as they thought inuiolable by words of fearefull execration ſaying; *Theſe things wee offer to God from whom if any take them away (which we hope no man wil attempt to do) but if any ſhall, let his accompt be without fauour in the laſt day when he commeth to receiue the doome which is due for ſacriledge againſt that Lord and God vnto whome we dedicate the ſame.* The beſt and moſt renoumed Prelats of the Church of Chriſt haue in this conſideration rather ſuſtained the wrath then yeelded to ſatisfie the hard deſire of their greateſt commaunders on earth coueting with ill aduiſe and counſell that which they willingly ſhould haue ſuffered God to inioye. There are of Martyrs whome poſteritie doth much honour for that hauing vnder their hands the cuſtodie of ſuch [g] treaſures they could by vertuous deluſion inuent how to ſaue them from pray euen when the ſafetie of their owne liues they gladly neglected, as one ſometime an Archdeacon vnder Xyſtus the Biſhop of Rome did, whome when his iudge vnderſtoode to bee one of the Church ſtewards, thirſt of bloud began to ſlake and an other humor to worke which firſt by a fauourable countenance and then by quiet ſpeech did

Exod. 32. 29. 30. Mat. 21. 13. Mal. 3. 8.

d *Non videntur rem amittere quibus propria non fuit. l. 83. de reg. iur.*

Ezech. 45. 1. 4

Mag. char. c. 1

Capitul. Caru. lib. 6. ca. 284.

e *Nullius autē ſunt res ſacra & religioſa & ſancta. Quod enim diuini iuris eſt id nullius in bonis eſt. Inſtit. lib. 2. tit. 1.*

f *Soli cum Dijs ſacrileg i pugnant. Curt. l. 7. Sacrum ſacrue commendatum qui clepſerit ſuo ſpiritu parricida eſto. leg. 12. tab. Capitul Carul. lib. 6. ca. 285.*

g *Depoſita pauperum. Tertul. Apologet. Prudent. Peri ſtephan.*

thus calmely disclose it selfe, *You that professe the Christian Religion make great complaint of the wonderfull crueltie we show towardes you. Neither peraduenture altogether without cause. But for my selfe, I am farre from any such bloody purpose. Yee are not so willing to liue, as I vnwilling that out of these lippes should proceed any capitall sentence against you. Your Bishops are said to haue rich vesselles of gold and siluer, which they vse in the exercise of their religion, besides the fame is that numbers sell away their landes and liuinges the huge prices whereof are brought to your Church coffers, by which meanes the deuotion that maketh them and their whole posteritie poore must needes mightely inrich you, whose God wee knowe was no coiner of money but left behinde him many holesome and good precepts, as namely that Cæsar shoulde haue of you the thinges that are fit for and due to Cæsar. His warres are costly and chargeable vnto him. That which you suffer to rust in corners th'affaires of the common wealth doe neede. Your profession is not to make account of things transitory. And yet if ye can be contented but to forgo that which ye care not for, I dare vndertake to warrant you both safetie of life and freedome of vsing your conscience, a thing more acceptable to you thenwealth.* Which fayre parlie the happie Martyr quietly hearing and perceiuing it necessarie to make some shift for the safe concealement of that which being now desired was not vnlikely to be more narrowly afterwardes sought, he craued respect for three dayes to gather the riches of the Church together, in which space against the time the Gouernour shoulde come to the doores of the Temple bigge with hope to receiue his pray, a miserable ranke of poore lame and impotent persons was prouided, their names deliuered him vp in writing as a true inuentory of the Churches goods and some fewe wordes vsed to signifie how proude the Church was of these treasures. If men did not naturally abhorre sacriledge, to resist or defeat so impious attemptes would deserue smal praise. But such is the generall detestation of rapine in this kinde, that whereas nothing doth eyther in peace or warre more vpholde mens reputation then prosperous successe, because in common construction vnlesse notorious improbitie be ioyned with prosperitie it seemeth to argue fauour with God, they which once haue stained their handes with these odious spoyles doe thereby fasten vnto all their actions an eternall preiudice, in respect whereof for that it passeth through the worlde as an vndoubted rule & principle that sacriledge is open defiance to God, whatsoeuer they afterwards vndertake if they prosper in it men recken it but *Dionisius* his nauigation, and if any thing befall them otherwise it is not, as commonly, so in them ascribed to the great vncertainty of casuall euentes wherein the prouidence of God doth controll the purposes of men oftentimes much more for their good then if all thinges did answere fully their hartes desire, but the censure of the world is euer directly against them both [a] bitter and peremptorie. To make such actions therefore lesse odious, and to mittigate the enuie of them, many colourable shiftes and inuentions haue beene vsed, as if the worlde did hate onely Woolues and thinke the Foxe a goodly creature. The time

[a] *Nouimus multa regna, & reges eorum propterea cecidisse, quia ecclesias spoliauerunt rebus, earumq; ædificauerunt, alienauerunt vel diripuerunt episcopis, & sacerdotibus, itaq; quod malus est ecclesijs eorum abstulerunt, & pugnantibus dederunt. Quapropter nec fortes in bello, nec in fide stabiles fuerunt, nec vlturedes-titerunt, sed tergà multis vulneribus, et plures interfecti, Verterunt regnum, & regiones & quod pessimum est regnum cælestia perdiderunt, atq; propriis hæreditatibus caruerunt & hactenus carent. Verba Carol. magn. in Capitul. Caroli, lib 7. c. 104.*

[a] time it may be will come when they that either violently haue ſpoyled or thus ſmoothly defrauded God ſhall finde they did but deceiue themſeues. In the meane while there will bee alwayes ſome skilfull perſons which can teach a way how to grinde treatablie the Church with iawes that ſhal ſcarſe moue, and yet deuoure in the end more then they that come rauening with open mouth as if they would worry the whole in an inſtant; others alſo who hauing waſtfully eaten out their owne patrimony would be glad to repaire if they might their decayed eſtates with the ruine they care not of what nor of whom ſo the ſpoyle were theirs, whereof in ſome parte if they happen to ſpeede, yet commonly they are men borne vnder that conſtellation which maketh them I know not how as vnapt to enrich themſelues as they are readie to impouerish others, it is their lot to ſuſtaine during life both themiſerie of beggars and the infamie of robbers. But though no other plague and reuenge ſhould follow ſacrilegious violations of holy thinges, the naturall ſecret diſgrace & ignominie the very turpitude of ſuch actions in the eye of a wiſe vnderſtanding heart is it ſelfe a [b] heauy puniſhment. Men of vertuous qualitie are by this ſufficiently moued to beware how they anſwere and requite the mercies of God with iniuries whether openly or indirectly offered. I will not abſolutely ſay concerning the goods of the Church that they may in no caſe be ſeyzed on by men, or that no obligation commerce & bargaine made betweene man and man can euer be of force to alienate the propertie which God hath in them. Certaine caſes I grant there are wherein it is not ſo darke what God himſelfe doth warrant, but that wee may ſafely preſume him as willing to forgoe for our benefite, as alwayes to vſe and conuert to our benefite whatſoeuer our religion hath honoured him withall. But ſurely vnder the name of that which may bee, many thinges that ſhoulde not be are often done. By meanes whereof the Church moſt commonly for gold hath flanell, and whereas the vſuall ſaw of olde was *Glaucus his chaunge*, the Prouerbe is now *A Church bargaine.* And for feare leſt couetouſneſſe alone ſhould linger out the time too much and not be able to make hauocke of the houſe of God with that expedition which the mortall enemie thereof did vehemently wiſh, hee hath by certaine ſtrong inchauntmentes ſo deepely bewicht religion it ſelfe as to make it in the end an earneſt ſollicitor and an eloquent perſwader of ſacriledge, vrging confidently, that the verie beſt ſeruice which men of power can doe to Chriſt is without any more ceremonie to ſweepe all and to leaue the Church as bare as in the day itwas firſt borne, that fulneſſe of bread hauing made the children of the houſholde wanton, it is without any ſcruple to bee taken away from them and throwne to dogges. that they which laide the prices of their landes as offeringes at the Apoſtles feete did but ſow the ſeedes of ſuperſtition; that they which endowed Churches with landes poyſoned religion; that tythes and oblations are now in the ſight of God as the ſacrificed blood of Goates, that if we giue him our harts and affections our goods are better beſtowed otherwiſe; that *Irenæus Polycarps* diſciple ſhoulde not haue ſaide, *Wee offer vnto God our goods as tokens of thankefulnes for that we receiue*, nether Origen, *Hee which worſhippeth*

[a] *Turpe tempus erit magno cum optauerit emptũ Intactum Pallanta & cum ſpoliaiſſe dicẽ. Oderit. Virgil. Aen. lib. 10.*

[b] ἡ τῶν πραγμάτων αἰσχύνη ἐυδαιμίας ἐλάττων ζημία τοῖς γε σώφροσιν. *Demoſt. Panam non dico legum quas ſæpe perrũpunt, ſed ipſius turpitudinis quæ acerbiſſima eſt non vident. Cic. Offic. l. 3. Impunita tu credis eſſe quæ inuiſa ſunt? aut vllũ ſupplicium grauius exiſtimas publico odio? Senec. de benef. lib. 3. cap. 17.*

Irena. l. 4. c. 34. Orig. in 18. Num. hom. 11.

worshippeth God must by giftes and oblations acknowledge him the Lorde of all, in a worde that to giue vnto God is error, reformation of error to take from the Church that which the blindnes of former ages did vnwisely giue. By these or the like suggestions receyued with all ioy and with like sedulitie practised in certaine partes of the Christian worlde they haue brought to passe, that as Dauid doth say of man so it is in hazard to be verified concerning the whole religion and seruice of God, *The time thereof may peraduenture fall out to bee threescore and tenne yeares, or if strength doe serue vnto fourescore, what followeth is likely to be small ioy for them whosoeuer they be that beholde it.* Thus haue the best thinges beene ouerthrowne not so much by puissance and might of aduersaries as through defect of counsell in them that should haue vphelde and defended the same.

Psal. 90. 10.

Of ordinations lawfull without title, and without any popular election precedent, but in no case without regard of due information what their quality is that enter into holy orders.

80. There are in a minister of God these foure thinges to bee considered, his ordination which giueth him power to meddle with thinges sacred, the charge or portion of the Church allotted vnto him for exercise of his office, the performance of his dutie according to the exigence of his charge, and lastly the maintenance which in that respect he receyueth. All ecclesiasticall lawes and Canons which either concerne the bestowing or the vsing of the power of ministerial order haue relation to these fower. Of the first we haue spoken before at large. Concerning the next, for more conuenient discharge of ecclesiasticall duties, as the bodie of the people must needs be seuered by diuers precinctes, so the cleargie likewise accordingly distributed. Whereas therefore religion did first take place in Citties, & in that respect was a cause why the name of *Pagans* which properly signifieth countrie people came to be vsed in common speech for the same that infidels & vnbeleeuers were, it followed therevpon that all such citties had their ecclesiasticall Colledges consisting of Deacons and of Presbyters whom first th'Apostles or their delegates the Euangelistes did both ordayne and gouerne. Such were the colledges of Ierusalem, Antioch, Ephesus, Rome, Corinth, and the rest where th'Apostles are knowne to haue planted our fayth & religion. Now because religion and the cure of soules was their generall charge in common ouer all that were neere about them, neyther had any one Presbyter his seuerall cure apart till *Euaristus* Bishop in the Sea of Rome about the yeare 112. beganne to assigne precinctes vnto euery Church or title which the Christians helde, and to appoint vnto ech Presbiter a certayne compasse whereof himselfe shoulde take charge alone, the commodiousnes of this inuention caused all parts of Christendome to follow it, and at the length amongst the rest our owne Churches about the yeare 636. became diuided in like manner. But other distinction of Churches there doth not appeare any in th'apostles writinges saue onely according to those [a] citties wherein they planted the Gospel of Christ & erected ecclesiastical Colledges. Wherefore to ordaine [b] κατὰ πόλιν throughout euery Cittie, and [c] κατ' ἐκκλησίαν throughout euery Church doe in them signifie the same thing. Churches then neither were nor coulde bee in so conuenient sorte limited as nowe they are, first by the bounds of ech state, and then within ech state by more particular precincts, til at the length we descend vnto seueral congregations termed *Parishes* with farre

[a] *Act. 15. 36. Apoc. 1. 20.*
[b] *Tit. 1. 5.*
[c] *Act. 14. 23*

far narrower reſtraint then this name at the firſt was vſed. And from hence hath growne their errour, who as oft as they read of the duetie which eccleſiaſticall perſons are now to performe towardes the Church, their manner is alwaies to vnderſtand by that Church ſome particular congregation or pariſh church. They ſuppoſe that there ſhoulde now be no man of eccleſiaſticall order which is not tyed to ſome certayne pariſh. Becauſe the names of all church officers are wordes of relation, becauſe a ſhepheard muſt haue his flocke, a teacher his ſchollers, a miniſter his companie which he miniſtreth vnto, therefore it ſeemeth a thing in their eyes abſurd and vnreaſonable that any man ſhould be ordayned a miniſter otherwiſe then onely for ſome particular congregation. Perceiue they not how by this meane they make it vnlawfull for the church to imploy men at all in conuerting nations? For if ſo be the church may not lawfully admit to an eccleſiaſticall function vnleſſe it tie the partie admitted vnto ſome particular pariſh, then ſurely a thankeleſſe labour it is whereby men ſeeke the conuerſion of infidels which know not Chriſt and therefore cannot be as yet diuided into their ſpeciall congregations and flockes. But to the ende it may appeare howe much this one thing amongſt many moe hath beene miſtaken, there is firſt no precept requiring that Presbiters and Deacons be made in ſuch ſort and not otherwiſe. Albeit therefore th'Apoſtles did make them in that order yet is not their example ſuch a law as without all exception bindeth to make them in no other order but that. Againe if we will conſider that which th'Apoſtles themſelues did, ſurely no man can iuſtly ſay that herein wee practiſe any thing repugnant to their example. For by them there was ordayned only in ech Chriſtian cittie a colledge of Presbyters & Deacons to adminiſter holy things. *Euariſtus* did a hundred years after the birth of our Sauiour Chriſt begin the diſtinction of the Church into pariſhes. Presbiters and Deacons hauing beene ordayned before to exerciſe eccleſiaſticall functions in the church of Rome promiſcuouſly, he was the firſt that tyed them each one to his owne ſtation. So that of the two indefinite ordination of Presbiters & Deacons doth come more neere th'Apoſtles example, and the tying of them to be made onely for particular congregations may iuſtlier grounde it ſelfe vpon th'example of *Euariſtus* then of any Apoſtle of Chriſt. It hath beene th'opinion of wiſe men & good men heretofore that nothing was euer deuiſed more ſingularlie beneficiall vnto Gods church then this which our honourable predeceſſors haue to their endleſſe prayſe founde out by erecting ſuch houſes of ſtudie as thoſe two moſt famous vniuerſities doe contayne, and by prouiding that choyce wittes after reaſonable time ſpent in contemplation may at the length either enter into that holy vocation for which they haue beene ſo long nouriſhed and brought vp, or els giue place & ſuffer others to ſucceed in their roomes, that ſo the Church may be alwayes furniſhed with a number of men whoſe habilitie being firſt knowne by publique triall in Church labors there where men can beſt iudge of them, their calling afterwardes vnto particular charge abroade may bee according. All this is fruſtrate, thoſe worthy foundations wee muſt diſſolue, their whole deuiſe & religious purpoſe which did erect them is made voyde, their orders and ſtatutes are to be cancelled and diſſanulled,

nulled in case the church be forbidden to graunt any power of order vnlesse it be with restraint to the partie ordained vnto some particular parish or congregation. Nay might we not rather affirme of Presbyters and of Deacons that the very nature of their ordination is vnto necessary locall restraint a thing opposite and repugnant? The Emperour *Iustinian* doth say of Tutors *Certæ rei vel causæ tutor dari non potest quia personæ non causæ vel rei tutor datur.* Hee that should gtant a tutorship restrayning his grant to some one certaine thing or cause shoulde doe but idly because tutors are giuen for personall defence generally and not for menaging of a few particular thinges or causes. So he that ordayning a Presbyter or a Deacon should in the forme of ordination restrayne the one or the other to a certayne place might with much more reason bee thought to vse a vayne and a friuolous addition then they reasonablie to require such locall restraint as a thing which must of necessity concurre euermore with all lawfull ordinations. Presbyters and Deacons are not by ordination consecrated vnto places but vnto functions. In which respect and in no other it is, that sith they are by vertue thereof bequeathed vnto God, seuered and sanctified to be imployed in his seruice, which is the highest aduancement that mortall creatures on earth can be raysed vnto, the Church of Christ hath not beene acquainted in former ages with any such prophane and vnnaturall custome as doeth hallow men with ecclesiasticall functions of order onely for a time and then dismisse them agayne to the common affayres of the worlde: Whereas contrariwise from the place or charge where that power hath beene exercised we may bee by sundry good and lawful occasions translated retaining neuertheless the selfe same power which was first giuen. It is some griefe to spende thus much labour in refuting a thing that hath so little grounde to vphold it especially sith they themselues that teach it doe oot seeme to giue thereunto any great credite, if wee may iudge their minds by their actions. There are amongst them that haue done the worke of ecclesiasticall persons sometime in the families of noble men, sometime in much more publique and frequent congregations, there are that haue successiuely gone thorowe perhaps seauen or eyght particular Churches after this sort, yea some that at one and the same time haue beene, some which at this present hower are in reall obligation of ecclesiastical dutie and possession of commodity thereto belonging euen in sundry particular churches within the land, some there are amongst them which will not so much abridge their libertie as to be fastned or tyed vnto any place, some which haue bound themselues to one place onely for a time and that tyme being once expyred haue afterwards voluntarily giuen other places the like experience and tryall of them. All this I presume they would not doe if their perswasion were as strict as their words pretend. But for th'auoyding of these & such other the like confusions as are incident into the cause and question whereof we presently treate there is not any thing more materiall then first to separate exactly the nature of the ministerie from the vse and exercise thereof; Secondly to knowe that the onely true and proper acte of ordination is to inuest men with that power which doeth make them ministers by consecrating their persons to God and his seruyce in holy thinges during

Iust. lib. 1. tit. 14. §. 4.

terme

terme of life whether they exercyſe that power or no, thirdly that to giue them a title or charge where to vſe their miniſterie concerneth not the making but the placing of Gods miniſters and therefore the lawes which concerne onely their election or admiſſion vnto place of charge are not applyable to infringe any way their ordination; fourthly that as oft as any auncient conſtitution lawe or Canon is alleadged concerning eyther ordinations or elections wee forget not to examine whether the preſent caſe bee the ſame which the auncient was or elſe doe contayne ſome iuſt reaſon for which it cannot admit altogether the ſame rules which former affaires of the Church now altered did then require. In the queſtion of making miniſters without *a title*, which to doe they ſay is a thing vnlawfull, they ſhould at the very firſt haue conſidered what the name of *title* doth implie, and what affinitie or coherence ordinations haue with titles, which thing obſerued woulde plainly haue ſhewed them their own errour. They are not ignorant that when they ſpeake of a title they handle that which belongeth to the placing of a miniſter in ſome charge, that the place of charge wherein a miniſter doth execute his office requireth ſome houſe of God for the people to reſorte vnto, ſome definite number of ſoules vnto whome hee there adminiſtreth holy thinges, and ſome certayne allowance whereby to ſuſtaine life; that the fathers at the firſt named *Oratories* and houſes of prayer tytles, thereby ſignifying howe God was intereſſed in them and helde them as his owne poſſeſſions. But becauſe they knowe that the Church had miniſters before Chriſtian temples & oratories were, therfore ſome of them vnderſtande by a tytle a *definite congregation* of people onely & ſo deny that any ordination is lawful which maketh miniſters that haue no certayne flock to attend, forgetting how the ſeuentie whome Chriſt himſelfe did ordayne miniſters had their calling in that manner whereas yet no certayne charge coulde be giuen them. Others referring the name of a tytle eſpecially to the *maintenance* of the miniſter infringe all ordinations made [a] except they which receyue orders be firſt intiteled to a competent eccleſiaſticall benefice and (which is moſt ridiculouſly ſtrange) except beſides their preſent title to ſome ſuch benefice they haue likewiſe ſome other tytle of annuall rent or penſion whereby they may bee relieued in caſe through infirmitie ſicknes or other lawfull impediment they growe vnable to execute their eccleſiaſticall function. So that euery man lawfully ordayned muſt bring a bow which hath two ſtrings, a tytle of preſent right and another to prouide for future poſſibilitie or chance. Into theſe abſurdittes and follies they ſlide by miſconceyuing the true purpoſe of certaine Canons which indeede haue forbidden to ordayne a miniſter without a title, not that ſimplie it is vnlawfull ſo to ordayne, but becauſe it might grow to aninconuenience if the Church did not ſomewhat reſtrayne that libertie. For ſeeing they which haue once receyued ordination cannot agayne returne into the worlde, it behoueth them which ordayne to fereſee how ſuch ſhalbe afterwards able to liue, leaſt their pouerty and deſtitution ſhould redound to the diſgrace and diſcredite of their calling. Which euill preuented, thoſe very laws which in that reſpect forbid, do expreſly admit ordinations to bee made at large and without title, namely if the partie

[a] Vnlawful to ordaine a miniſter without a title. Abſtrac. p. 243. & p. 246. The law requireth that euery one admitted vnto orders hauing for his preſent relief ſome eccleſiaſtical benefice ſhould alſo haue ſom other tytle vnto ſome annuall rent or penſion whereby hee might bee relieued in caſe he were not able through infirmity ſickenes or other lawful impediment to execute his eccleſiaſtical office and funcſion.

ſo ordayned haue of his owne for the ſuſtenance of this life, or if the Biſhop which giueth him orders will find him competent allowance till ſome place of miniſtration from whence his maintenaunce may ariſe bee prouided for him, or if any other fitte and ſufficient meanes bee had againſt the daunger before mentioned. Abſolutely therefore it is not true that any ancient Canon of the Church which is or ought to be with vs in force doth make ordinations at large vnlawfull, and as the ſtate of the church doth ſtande they are moſt neceſſarie. If there be any conſcience in men touching that which they write or ſpeake, let them conſider as well what the preſent condition of all thinges doth now ſuffer, as what the ordinances of former ages did appoint, as well the waight of thoſe cauſes for which our affayres haue altered, as the reaſons in regard whereof our fathers and predeceſſors did ſometime ſtrictly and ſeuerely keepe that which for vs to obſerue now is neyther meete nor alwayes poſſible. In this our preſent cauſe and controuerſie whether any not hauing title of right to a benefice may bee lawfully ordayned a miniſter is it not manifeſt in the eyes of all men, that whereas the name of a benefice doth ſignifie ſome ſtanding eccleſiaſticall reuennue taken out of the treaſure of God and allotted to a ſpirituall perſon to the ende hee may vſe the ſame and inioy it as his owne for terme of life vnleſſe his default cauſe depriuation, the cleargie for many yeares after Chriſt had no other benefices but onely their canonicall portions or monethly diuidendes allowed them according to their ſeuerall degrees and qualities out of the common ſtocke of ſuch gifts oblations and tythes as the feruour of Chriſtian pietie did then yeelde? Yea that euen when miniſters had their Churches & flockes aſſigned vnto them in ſeuerall, yet for maintenance of life their former kind of allowance continued, till ſuch time as Biſhops and Churches Cathedrall being ſufficiently endowed with landes, other Presbyters enioyed in ſteade of their firſt benefices the tithes and profits of their own congregations whole to themſelues? Is it not manifeſt that in this Realme, and ſo in other the like dominions, where the tenure of landes is altogether grounded on militarie lawes, and helde as in fee vnder princes which are not made heades of the people by force of voluntary election but born the ſoueraigne Lords of thoſe whole & intire territories, which territories their famous progenitors obtayning by way of conqueſt retayned what they wold in their own hands & diuided the reſt to others with reſeruation of ſouerainty and capitall intereſt, the buylding of Churches and conſequently th'aſſigning of eyther pariſhes or benefices was a thing impoſſible without conſent of ſuch as were principall owners of lande, in which conſideration for their more encouragement hereunto they which did ſo farre benefite the Church had by common conſent graunted (as great equitie and reaſon was) a right for them and their heires till the worldes ende to nominate in thoſe benefices men whoſe qualitie the Biſhoppe allowing might admit them therevnto? Is it not manifeſt that from hence ineuitablie ſuch inequalitie of pariſhes hath growne as cauſeth ſome through the multitude of people which haue reſort vnto one Church to bee more then any one man can weilde, and ſome to be of that nature by reaſon of Chappelles annext, that they which are incumbentes

ſhould

ſhoulde wrong the Church if ſo be they had not certaine ſtipendaries vnder them, becauſe where the corps of the profite or benefice is but one the tytle can be but ohe mans and yet the charge may require moe? Not to mention therefore any other reaſon whereby it may clearely appeare how expedient it is and profitable for this Church to admit ordinations without tytle, this little may ſuffice to declare howe impertinent their allegations againſt it are out of ancient Canons, how vntrue their confident aſſeuerations that onely through negligence of popiſh Prelates the cuſtome of making ſuch kinde of miniſters hath preuayled in the Church of Rome agaynſt their Canons, and that with vs it is expreſly againſt the lawes of our owne gouernment when a miniſter doth ſerue as a ſtipendarie curate, which kind of ſeruice neuertheleſſe the greateſt Rabbins of that part doe altogether follow. For howſoeuer they are loth peraduenture to be named Curates, ſtipendaries they are and the labour they beſtow is in other mens cures, a thing not vnlawful for them to doe, yet vnſeemely for them to condemne which practiſe it. I might here diſcouer the like ouerſight throughout all their diſcourſes made in behalfe of the peoples pretended right to elect their miniſters before the Biſhop may lawfully ordayne. But becauſe we haue otherwhere at large diſputed of popular elections, and of the right of patronage wherein is drowned whatſoeuer the people vnder any pretence or colour may ſeeme to challenge about admiſſion and choyce of the paſtors that ſhall feede their ſoules, I cannot ſee what one dutie there is which alwayes ought to goe before ordination but onely care of the parties worthines as well for integritie and vertue as knowledge, yea for vertue more in as much as defect of knowledge may ſundry wayes be ſupplyed, but the ſcandall of vitious and wicked life is a deadly euill.

Of the learning y ſhould be in miniſters, their reſidence, & the number of their liuinges.

81 The truth is that of all thinges hitherto mentioned the greateſt is that threefolde blot or blemiſh of notable ignorance, vnconſcionable abſence from the cures whereof men haue taken charge, and vnſatiable hunting after ſpirituall prefermentes without eyther care or conſcience of the publique good. Whereof to the end that we may conſider as in Gods owne ſight and preſence with all vprightnes ſincerity and truth, let vs particularly waigh and examine in euery of them firſt how far forth they are reproueable by reaſons and maximes of common right; ſecondly whether that which our lawes do permit be repugnant to thoſe maximes and with what equitie wee ought to iudge of things practiſed in this caſe neyther on the one hand defending that which muſt be acknowledged out of ſquare, nor on the other ſide condemning raſhly whome wee liſt for whatſoeuer wee diſallow. Touching argumentes therefore taken from the principles of common right to proue that miniſters ſhoulde bee [a] learned, that they ought to bee [b] reſident vpon their liuinges, and that [c] more then one onely benefice or ſpirituall liuing may not bee graunted vnto one man, the firſt becauſe Saint Paule requireth in a miniſter habilitie to teach, to conuince, to diſtribute the worde rightly, becauſe alſo the Lorde himſelfe hath proteſted they ſhall bee no Prieſtes to him which haue reiected knowledge, and becauſe if the blinde leade the blinde they muſt both needes fall into the pitte; the

a *T. C. l. 1. p. 78*
b *66.*
c *69.*

1. Tim. 3. 2. Tit. 1. 9. 2. Tim. 2. 15. Hoſ. 4. 6. Mat. 15. 14. Luc. 2. 8

seconde becauſe teachers are ſhepheards whoſe flockes can be at no time ſe-
Act.20.2. cure from daunger, they are watchmen whom the enemie doth alwaies be-
1.Sam.1.19. ſiege, their labors in the word and ſacramentes admit no intermiſſion, their
1.Tim.4.12 dutie requireth inſtruction and conference with men in priuate, they are the
Ioh.10.4. liuing oracles of God to whom the people muſt reſort for counſell, they are
1.Pet.5.2 commanded to be paternes of holines, leaders, feeders, ſuperuiſors amongſt
Act.20.28. their owne, it ſhould be their griefe as it was th'Apoſtles to be abſent though
1.Theſſ.2.17. neceſſarily from them ouer whom they haue taken charge; finally the laſt
Concil.Nicæ 6. 15. becauſe pluralitie and reſidence are oppoſite, becauſe the placing of one
Mat.6.24. clarke in two Churches is a point of merchandiſe and filthie gaine, becauſe
1.Cor.7.24 no man can ſerue two maiſters, becauſe euery one ſhould remaine in that vo-
cation whereto hee is called, what conclude they of all this? Againſt igno-
rance, againſt non-reſidence, and againſt pluralitie of liuinges is there any
man ſo raw and dull but that the volumes which haue beene written both
of olde and of late may make him in ſo plentifull a cauſe eloquent? For if by
that which is *generally* iuſt and requiſite wee meaſure what knowledge there
ſhoulde be in a miniſter of the Goſpell of Chriſt, the arguments which light
of nature offereth, the lawes and ſtatutes which ſcripture hath, the Canons
that are taken out of ancient Synodes, the decrees and conſtitutions of ſin-
cereſt times, the ſentences of all antiquitie, and in a worde euen euery mans
full conſent and conſcience is agaynſt ignorance in them that haue charge &
cure of ſoules. Agayne what auayleth it if we bee learned and not faithfull?
or what benefite hath the Church of Chryſt if there bee in vs ſufficiencie
without endeuour or care to do that good which our place exacteth? Tou-
ching the paynes and induſtrie therefore wherewith men are in conſcience
bounde to attende the worke of their heauenly calling euen as much as in
them lyeth bending therevnto their whole endeuour without eyther fraud
ſophiſtication or guyle, I ſee not what more effectuall obligation or bonde
of dutie there ſhoulde bee vrged then their owne onely vowe and promiſe
made vnto God himſelfe at the time of their ordination. The work which
they haue vndertaken requireth both care and feare. Their ſloth that neg-
ligently performe it maketh them ſubiect to malediction. Beſides wee alſo
know that the fruite of our paynes in this function is life both to our ſelues
and others. And do we yet neede incitementes to labour? Shall we ſtoppe
our eares both againſt thoſe coniuring exhortations which Apoſtles, and a-
gainſt the fearefull comminations which Prophetes haue vttered out of the
mouth of God, the one for preuention the other for reformation of our
Act.20.27. ſluggiſhnes in this behalfe? Saint Paule, *Attend to your ſelues and to all the flock*
whereof the holy Ghoſt hath made you ouerſeers to feede the Church of God which hee
hath purchaſed with his owne blood. Againe I charge thee before God and the Lorde
Ieſus Chriſt which ſhall iudge the quicke and deade at his comming, preache the
Ier.23.2. *worde, bee inſtant.* Ieremie, *Woe vnto the Paſtors that deſtroy and ſcatter the*
ſheepe of my paſture, I will viſite you for the wickedneſſe of your workes ſayeth the
Lorde, the remnente of my ſheepe I will gather together out of all Countryes
and will bring them agayne to their foldes, they ſhall growe and in-
creaſe, and I will ſette vppe ſhepheardes ouer them which ſhall feede them.

Ezechiel,

Ezechiel, Should not the ſhepheards ſhould they not feede the flocks? Ye eate the fat, and yee cloth your ſelues with the wooll, but the weake yee haue not ſtrengthened, the ſicke yee haue not cured, neyther haue yee bounde vp the broken nor brought home againe that which was driuen away, ye haue not inquired after that which was loſt, but with crueltie and rigor ye haue ruled. Wherefore as I liue ſaith the Lord God, I will require my ſheepe at their handes, nor ſhall the ſhepheards feede themſelues any more, for I will deliuer my ſheepe from their mouthes, they ſhall no more deuoure them. Ezech. 34. 2

Nor let vs think to excuſe our ſelues if happely we labor though it be at randome and ſit not altogether idle abroade. For we are bound to attend that part of the flocke of Chriſt whereof the holy Ghoſt hath made vs ouerſeers. The reſidence of miniſters vpon their owne peculiar chatge is by ſo much the rather neceſſarie, for that abſenting themſelues from the place where they ought to labour they neyther can doe the good which is looked for at their handes nor reape that comfort which ſweetneth life to them that ſpend it in theſe trauayles vpon their owne. For it is in this as in all thinges elſe which are through priuat intereſt dearer then what concerneth either others wholie or vs but in parte and according to the rate of a generall regarde. As for pluralitie it hath not onely the ſame inconueniences which are obſerued to grow by abſence, but ouer and beſides at the leaſt in common conſtruction a ſhow of that worldly humour which men do thinke ſhoulde not raigne ſo high. Now from hence their collections are as followeth, firſt a repugnancy or contradiction betweene the principles of common right and that which our lawes in ſpeciall conſiderations haue allowed; ſecondly a nullitie or fruſtration of all ſuch acts as are by them ſuppoſed oppoſite to thoſe principles, an inualiditie in all ordinations of men vnable to preach & in all diſpenſations which mittigate the law of commō right for the other two. And why ſo? Forſooth becauſe whatſoeuer we do in theſe three caſes & not by vertue of common right, we muſt yeelde it of neceſſitie done by warrant of peculiar right or priuiledge. Now a priuiledge is ſaide to bee that that for fauour of certaine perſons commeth forth *againſt* common right; things *prohibited* are diſpenſed with becauſe thinges *permitted* are diſpatched by common right, but thinges *forbidden* require diſpenſations. By which deſcriptions of a priuiledge and diſpenſation it is (they ſay) apparent, that a priuiledge muſt licence and authoriſe the ſame which the law againſt ignorance non-reſidence and pluralitie doth infringe, and ſo bee a law contrariant or repugnant to the law of nature and the law of God, becauſe all the reaſons wherevpon the poſitiue law of man agaynſt theſe three was firſt eſtabliſhed are taken and drawn from the law of nature and the law of God. For anſwere wherevnto we will but lead them to anſwere themſelues. Firſt therefore if they will grant (as they muſt) that all direct oppoſitions of ſpeech require one and the ſelfe ſame ſubiect to be meant on both partes where oppoſition is pretended it will follow that eyther the maximes of common right do inforce *the very ſame thinges* not to be good which wee ſaye are good grounding our ſelues on the reaſons by vertue whereof our priuiledges are eſtabliſhed, or if the one doe not reach vnto that *particular ſubiect* forwhich the other haue prouided, then is there no contradiction betweene them. In all conttadictious

Abſtract. p. 117

if the one parte bee true the other eternally muſt bee falſe. And therefore if the principles of common right doe at any time truely inforce *that particular* not to be good which priuiledges make good, it argueth inuincible that ſuch priuiledges haue beene grounded vpon ſome error. But to ſay that euery priuiledge is oppoſite vnto the principles of common right, becauſe it diſpenſeth with that which common right doth prohibit, hath groſſe abſurditie. For the voyce of equitie and iuſtice is that a generall lawe doth neuer derogate from a ſpeciall priuiledge, whereas if the one were contrariant to the other, a generall law being in force ſhould alwayes diſſolue a priuiledge. The reaſon why many are deceyued by imagining that ſo it ſhould do, and why men of better inſight conclude directly it ſhoulde not, doth reſt in the *ſubiect or matter* it ſelfe, which matter *indefinitely* conſidered in lawes of common right is in priuiledges conſidered as *beſet and limited with ſpeciall circumſtances*, by meanes whereof to them which reſpect it but by way of generalitie it ſeemeth one and the ſame in both although it bee not the ſame if once we deſcend to particular conſideration thereof. Precepts doe alwayes propoſe perfection, not ſuch as none can attayne vnto, for then in vaine ſhould we aske or require it at the hands of men, but ſuch perfection as all men muſt ayme at to the ende that as largely as humaine prouidence and care can extende it, it may take place. Morall lawes are the rules of politique, thoſe politique which are made to order the whole Church of God rules vnto all particular Churches, and the lawes of euery particular Church rules vnto euery particular man within the body of the ſame church. Now becauſe the higher we aſcend in theſe rules the further ſtill we remoue from thoſe ſpecialities, which being proper to the ſubiect wherevpon our actions muſt work are therfore chiefly conſidered by vs, by them leaſt thought vpon that wade altogether in the two firſt kindes of general directions, their iudgement cannot be exact and ſounde concerning eyther lawes of Churches or actions of men in particular, becauſe they determine of effectes by a parte of the cauſes onely out of which they growe, they iudge concluſions by dimipremiſes & halfe principles, they lay them in the balance ſtript from thoſe neceſſarie materialcircumſtances, which ſhould giue them waight, and by ſhow of falling vneuen with the ſcale of moſt vniuerſal & abſtracted rules, they pronounce that too light which is not if they had the skil to waigh it. This is the reaſon why men altogether conuerſant in ſtudie doe knowe how to teach but not how to gouerne; men experienced contrariwiſe gouerne well, yet know not which way to ſet downe orderly the precepts and reaſons of that they doe. Hee that will therefore iudge rightly of thinges done muſt ioyne with his formes and conceiptes of general ſpeculation the matter wherein our actions are conuerſant. For by this ſhal appeare what equitie there is in thoſe priuiledges & peculiar grants or fauours which otherwiſe will ſeeme repugnant to iuſtice, & becauſe in themſelues conſidered they haue [a] a ſhowe of repugnancy, this deceiueth thoſe great Clearks which hearing a priuiledge defined to bee *an eſpeciall right brought in by their power & authority that make it for ſome publique benefit againſt the generall courſe of reaſon*, are not able to comprehende howe the worde *againſt* doeth importe *exception* without any *oppoſition* at all.

[a] *Aut ſingulare eſt quod contra tenorē rationis propter aliquā vtilitatem auctoritate conſtituentium introductum eſt. Paulus. ff. de legib.*

For

For in as much as the hand of iuſtice muſt diſtribute to *euerie particular* what is due, and iudge what is due with reſpect had no leſſe of particular circumſtances then of generall rules and axiomes, it cannot fit all ſortes with one meaſure, the wils counſels qualities and ſtates of men being diuers. For example, the law of common right bindeth al men to keepe their promiſes performe their compactes and aunſwere the faith they haue giuen either for themſelues or others. Notwithſtanding hee which bargaineth with one vnder yeares can haue no benefite by this allegation, becauſe hee bringeth it againſt a perſon which is exempt from the common rule. Shall wee then conclude that thus to exempt certaine men from the law of common right is againſt God, againſt nature, againſt whatſoeuer may auaile to ſtrengthen and iuſtifie that law before alleaged, or elſe acknowledge (as the truth is) that ſpeciall cauſes are to be ordered by ſpeciall rules, that if men growne vnto ripe age diſaduantage themſelues by bargaining yet what they haue wittingly done is ſtrong and in force againſt them, becauſe they are able to diſpoſe and menage their owne affaires, whereas youth for lacke of experience and iudgment being eaſily ſubiect to circumuention is therefore iuſtly exempt from the law of common right whereunto the reſt are iuſtly ſubiect. This plaine inequalitie betweeee men of yeares and vnder yeares is a cauſe why equitie and iuſtice cannot apply equally the ſame generall rule to both, but ordereth the one by common right and graunteth to the other a ſpeciall priueledge. Priueledges are either tranſitorie or permanent. * Tranſitorie ſuch as ſerue only ſome one turne or at the moſt extend no farther then to this or that man with the ende of whoſe naturall life they expire; permanent ſuch as the vſe whereof doth continue ſtill, for that they belong vnto certaine *kinds* of men and cauſes which neuer die. Of this nature are al immunities and preeminences which for iuſt conſiderations one ſorte of men enioyeth aboue an other both in the Church and common-wealth, no man ſuſpecting them of contrarietie to any branch of thoſe lawes or reaſons whereupon the general right is grounded. Now there being generall lawes and rules whereby it cannot be denied but the Church of God ſtandeth bound to prouide that the miniſterie may be learned, that they which haue charge may reſide vppon it, and that it may not be free for them in ſcandalous manner to multiply Eccleſiaſticall liuings, it remaineth in the next place to be examined, what the lawes of the Church of England doe admit which may be thought repugnant to any thing hitherto alleaged, and in what ſpeciall conſideration they ſeeme to admit the ſame. Conſidering therefore that to furniſh all places of cure in this Realme it is not an armie of twelue thouſand learned men that would ſuffice nor two Vniuerſities that can alwaies furniſh as many as decay in ſo great a number, nor a fourth part of the liuings with cure that when they fall are able to yeelde ſufficient maintenance for learned men, is it not plaine that vnleſſe the greateſt part of the people ſhould be left vtterly without the publike vſe and exerciſe of Religion there is no remedie but to take into the Eccleſiaſticall order a number of men meanely qualified in reſpect of learning? For whatſoeuer we may imagine in our priuate cloſets or talke for communication ſake at our boords, yea or write in our books through a notionall conceipt

* *Priuilegium perſonale cum perſona extinguitur, & priuilegium datum actioni tranſit cum actione. Op. de regulit. par. 1. 227.*

of things needfull for performance of ech mans dutie, if once we come from the theorie of learning to take out ſo many learned men let them be diligently viewed out of whome the choyce ſhall bee made and thereby an eſtimate made what degree of skill we muſt either admit or elſe leaue numbers vtterly deſtitute of guides, and I doubt not but that men indued with ſence of common equitie will ſoone diſcerne that beſides eminent and competent knowledge wee are to deſcend to a lower ſtep receiuing knowledge in that degree which is but tolerable. When wee commend any man for learning our ſpeech importeth him to be more then meanely qualified that way, but when lawes doe require learning as a qualitie which maketh capable of any function, our meaſure to iudge a learned man by muſt bee ſome certaine degree of learning beneath which we can hold no man ſo qualified. And if euerie man that liſteth may ſet that degree himſelfe, how ſhall we euer knowe when lawes are broken when kept, ſeeing one man may thinke a lower degree ſufficient, another may iudge them vnſufficient that are not qualified in ſome higher degree. Wherfore of neceſſitie either we muſt haue ſome iudge in whoſe conſcience they that are thought and pronounced ſufficient are to be ſo accepted and taken, or elſe the law it ſelfe is to ſet downe the very loweſt degree of fitneſſe that ſhall be allowable in this kind. So that the queſtion doth grow to this iſſue. Saint Paul requireth learning in Presbyters, yea ſuch learning as doth inable them to exhort in doctrine which is ſound and to diſproue them that gainſay it. What meaſure of habilitie in ſuch things ſhall ſerue to make men capable of that kind of office he doth not himſelf preciſely determine, but referreth it to the conſcience of Titus and others which had to deale in ordaining Presbyters. We muſt therefore of neceſſitie make this demaund, whether the Church lacking ſuch as the Apoſtle would haue choſen may with good conſcience take out of ſuch as it hath in a meaner degree of fitneſſe them that may ſerue to performe the ſeruice of publique prayer, to miniſter the Sacraments vnto the people, to ſolemnize marriage, to viſit the ſicke and burie the dead, to inſtruct by reading although by preaching they be not as yet ſo able to benefit & feede Chriſts flocke. We conſtantly hold that in this caſe the Apoſtles law is not broken. He requireth more in Presbyters then there is found in many whome the Church of England alloweth. But no man being tyed vnto impoſſibilities, to doe that we cannot we are not bound. It is but a ſtratagem of theirs therefore and a very indirect practiſe, when they publiſh large declamations to prooue that learning is required in the miniſterie and to make the ſillie people belieue that the contrarie is maintained by the Biſhops and vpheld by the lawes of the land, whereas the queſtion in truth is not whether learning bee required, but whether a Church wherein there is not ſufficient ſtore of learned men to furniſh all congregations ſhould doe better to let thouſands of ſoules grow ſauage, to let them liue without any publique ſeruice of God, to let their children die vnbaptiſed, to withholde the benefit of the other Sacrament from them, to let them depart this world like Pagans without any thing as much as read vnto them concerning the way of life, then as it doth in this neceſſitie to make ſuch Presbyters as are ſo farre foorth ſufficient although they want that habilitie

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litie of preaching which ſome others haue. In this point therefore wee obey neceſsitie, and of two euils wee take the leſſe; in the reſt a publique vtilitie is ſought and in regard thereof ſome certaine inconueniences tolerated, becauſe they are recompenced with greater good. The lawe giueth libertie of non Reſidence for a time to ſuch as will liue in Vniuerſities, if they faithfully there labour to grow in knowledge that ſo they may afterwards the more edifie & the better inſtruct their congregations. The Church in their abſence is not deſtitute, the peoples ſaluation not neglected for the preſent time, the time of their abſence is in the intendment of law beſtowed to the Churches great aduantage & benefit, thoſe neceſſarie helpes are procured by it which turne by many degrees more to the peoples comfort in time to come then if their Paſtors had continually abidden with them. So that the law doth hereby prouide in ſome part to remedie and helpe that euill which the former neceſsitie hath impoſed vpon the Church. For compare two men of equall meanneſſe the one perpetually reſident, the other abſent for a ſpace in ſuch ſort as the lawe permitteth. Allot vnto both ſome nine yeares continuance with cure of ſoules. And muſt not three yeares abſence in all probabilitie & likelihood make the one more profitable then the other vnto Gods Church by ſo much as the increaſe of his knowledge gotten in thoſe three yeares may adde vnto ſixe yeares trauaile following? For, the greater habilitie there is added to the inſtrument wherewith it pleaſeth God to ſaue ſoules, the more facilitie and expedition it hath to worke that which is otherwiſe hardlier effected. As much may be ſaid touching abſence graunted to them that attend in the families of Biſhops, which Schooles of grauitie diſcretion and wiſedome preparing men againſt the time that they come to reſide abroad are in my poore opinion euen the fitteſt places that any ingenuous minde can wiſh to enter into betweene departure from priuate ſtudie and acceſſe to a more publique charge of ſoules, yea no leſſe expedient for men of the beſt ſufficiencie & moſt maturitie in knowledge, then the very Vniuerſities themſelues are for the ripening of ſuch as bee raw. Imployment in the families of Noble men or in Princes Courts hath an other end for which the ſelfe ſame leaue is giuen not without great reſpect to the good of the whole Church. For aſſuredly whoſoeuer doth well obſerue how much all inferiour things depend vpon the orderly courſes & motions of thoſe greater Orbes, will hardly iudge it either meete or good that the Angels aſsiſting them ſhould bee driuen to betake themſelues vnto other ſtations, although by nature they were not tyed where now they are, but had charge alſo elſwhere, as long as their abſence from beneath might but tolerably bee ſupplyed, and by deſcending their roomes aboue ſhould become vacant. For wee are not to dreame in this caſe of any platforme which bringeth equally high & low vnto pariſh Churches, nor of any conſtraint to maintaine at their own charge men ſufficient for that purpoſe; the one ſo repugnant to the maieſtie and greatneſſe of Engliſh nobilitie, the other ſo improbable and vnlikely to take effect that they which mention either of both ſeeme not indeede to haue conceiued what either is. But the eye of lawe is the eye of God, it looketh into the harts and ſecret diſpoſitions of men, it beholdeth how farre one ſtar differeth from an other

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in glorie, and as mens ſeuerall degrees require accordingly it guideth them, graunting vnto principall perſonages priuiledges correſpondent to their high eſtates, and that not onely in ciuill but euen in ſpirituall affaires, to the end they may loue that Religion the more which no way ſeeketh to make them vulgar, no way diminiſheth their dignitie and greatneſſe, but to doe them good doth them honour alſo and by ſuch extraordinarie fauours teacheth them to be in the Church of God the ſame which the Church of God eſteemeth them, more worth then thouſands. It appeareth therefore in what reſpect the lawes of this realme haue giuen libertie of non Reſidence to ſome that their knowledge may bee increaſed and their labours by that meane bee made afterwards the more profitable, to others leaſt the houſes of great men ſhould want that dayly exerciſe of Religion wherein their example auaileth as much yea many times peraduenture more then the lawes themſelues with the common ſort. A third thing reſpected both in permitting abſence and alſo in graunting to ſome that libertie of addition or pluralitie which neceſſarily inforceth their abſence is a meere both iuſt and conſcionable regard that as men are in qualitie and as their ſeruices are in waight for the publike good, ſo likewiſe their rewardes and incouragments by ſpeciall priuiledge of lawe might ſomewhat declare how the ſtate it ſelfe doth accept their paines, much abhorring from their beaſtiall and ſauage rudeneſſe which thinke that Oxen ſhould onely labour and Aſſes feede. Thus to Readers in Vniuerſities whoſe very paper and booke-expenſes their ancient allowances & ſtipends at this day doe either not or hardly ſuſtaine; to gouernours of Colledges leaſt the great ouerplus of charges neceſſarily inforced vppon them by reaſon of their place and very ſclenderly ſupplied by meanes of that change in the preſent condition of things which their founders coulde not foreſee; to men cald away from their cures & imployed in waightier buſineſſe either of the Chuch or common-wealth, becauſe to impoſe vpon them a burthen which requireth their abſence and not to releaſe them from the dutie of Reſidence were a kinde of cruell and barbarous iniuſtice; to Reſidents in Cathedrall Churches or vpon dignities Eccleſiaſticall, for as much as theſe being roomes of greater hoſpitality places of more reſpect and conſequence then the reſt, they are the rather to be furniſhed with men of beſt qualitie, and the men for their qualities ſake to bee fauoured aboue others, I ſay vnto all theſe in regarde of their worth and merite the law hath therefore giuen leaue while themſelues beare waightier burthens to ſupply inferiour by deputation, and in like conſideration partly, partly alſo by way of honour to learning nobilitie and authoritie, permitteth that men which haue taken Theologicall degrees in Schooles, the Suffraganes of Biſhops, the houſholde Chaplennes of men of honour or in great office, the brethren and ſonnes of Lords temporall or of Knights if God ſhall mooue the hearts of ſuch to enter at any time into holy orders, may obtaine to themſelues a facultie or licence to holde two Eccleſiaſticall liuings though hauing cure, any ſpirituall perſon of the Queenes Counſell three ſuch liuings, her Chaplens what number of promotions her ſelfe in her owne princely wiſedome thinketh good to beſtow vppon them. But, as it fareth in ſuch caſes, the gap which for iuſt conſiderations wee open

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vnto ſome letteth in others thorough corrupt practiſes to whome ſuch fauours were neither ment nor ſhould be communicated. The greatnes of the harueſt and the ſcarcitie of able workmen hath made it neceſſarie that lawe ſhould yeeld to admit numbers of men but ſclenderly and meanly qualified. Hereupon becauſe whome all other worldly hopes haue forſaken they commonly reſerue miniſteriall vocation as their laſt and ſureſt refuge euer open to forlorne men, the Church that ſhoulde nouriſh them whoſe ſeruice ſhee needeth hath obtruded vpon her their ſeruice that know not otherwiſe how to liue & ſuſtaine themſelues. Theſe finding nothing more eaſie then meanes to procure the writing of a few lines to ſome one or other which hath authoritie, and nothing more vſuall then too much facilitie in condeſcending vnto ſuch requeſts are often receiued into that vocation whereunto their vnworthineſſe is no ſmall diſgrace. Did any thing more aggrauate the crime of Ieroboams profane Apoſtaſie then that he choſe to haue his Clergie the ſcumme and refuſe of his whole land? Let no man ſpare to tell it them, they are not faithfull towards God that burthen wilfully his Church with ſuch ſwarmes of vnworthy creatures. I wil not ſay of all degrees in the miniſtery that which Saint Chryſoſtome doth of the higheſt, *Hee that will vndertake ſo waightie charge had neede to be a man of great vnderſtanding, rarely aſſiſted with diuine grace, for integritie of manners, puritie of life, and for all other vertues to haue in him more then a man*; but ſurely this I will ſay with Chryſoſtome, *We need not doubt whether God bee highly diſpleaſed with vs, or what the cauſe of his anger is if things of ſo great feare and holineſſe as are the leaſt and loweſt duties of his ſeruice be throwne wilfully on them whoſe not onely meane but bad and ſcandalous qualitie doth defile whatſoeuer they handle.* Theſe eyſores and blemiſhes in continuall attendants about the ſeruice of Gods Sanctuarie do make them euery day fewer that willingly reſort vnto it, till at length all affection and zeale towards God be extinct in them through a wearieſome contempt of their perſons which for a time onely liue by Religion and are for recompence in fine the death of the nurce that feedeth them. It is not obſcure how incommodious the Church hath found both this abuſe of the libertie which law is enforced to graunt, and not onely this but the like abuſe of that fauour alſo which law in other conſiderations already mentioned affordeth touching reſidence and pluralitie of ſpirituall liuings. Now that which is practiſed corruptly to the detriment & hurt of the Church againſt the purpoſe of thoſe very lawes which notwithſtanding are pretended in defence and iuſtification thereof, wee muſt needes acknowledge no leſſe repugnant to the groundes and principles of common right then the fraudulent proceedings of tyrants to the principls of iuſt ſouereignitie. Howbeit not ſo thoſe ſpecial priueledges which are but inſtruments wreſted and forced to ſerue malice. There is in the Patriarke of heathen Philoſophers this precept, [a] *Let no husbandman nor no handicraftſman be a Prieſt.* The reaſon whereupon he groundeth is a maxime in the law of nature, It importeth greatly the good *of all men that God be reuerenced*, with whoſe honour it ſtandeth not that they which are publikly imployed in his ſeruice ſhoulde liue of baſe and manuarie trads. Now compare herewith the Apoſtles words [b] *Yee know that theſe hands haue miniſtred to my neceſſities & them that are with me.*

[a] Chryſoſt. de Sacerd. lib. 3. c. 15.

[a] οὔτε γεωργὸν οὔτε δάνεισον ἱερέα καταστέον ὑπόλαβε τῶν πολιτῶν πρέπει τιμᾶς τοὺς θεούς. Ariſt. Po. 7. c. 9

[b] Act. 20. 34. 1. Cor. 4. 12. 1. Theſ. 2. 9. 2. Theſ. 3. 8.

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What thinke we? Did the Apoſtle any thing oppoſite herein or repugnant to the rules and maximes of the lawe of nature? The ſelſe ſame reaſons that accord his actions with the law of nature ſhall declare our priueledges & his lawes no leſſe conſonant. Thus therefore we ſee that although they vrge verie coulorably the Apoſtles owne ſentences requiring that a Miniſter ſhould be able to diuide rightly the word of God, that they who are placed in charg ſhould attend vnto it themſelues which in abſence they cannot doe, and that they which haue diuers cures muſt of neceſſitie be abſent from ſome, whereby the law Apoſtolique ſeemeth apparently broken, which lawe requiring attendance cannot otherwiſe bee vnderſtood then ſo as to charge them with perpetuall reſidence; againe though in euerie of theſe cauſes they infinitly heape vp the ſentences of Fathers, the decrees of Popes, the ancient Edicts of imperiall authoritie, our owne nationall lawes and ordinances prohibiting the ſame and grounding euermore their prohibitions partly on the lawes of God and partly on reaſons drawne from the light of nature, yet hereby to gather and inferre contradiction betwene thoſe lawes which forbid indefinitly and ours which in certaine caſes haue allowed the ordaining of ſundry Miniſters whoſe ſufficiencie for learning is but mean, againe the licenſing of ſome to be abſent from their flockes and of others to hold more then one onely liuing which hath cure of ſoules, I ſay to conclude repugnancie betwene theſe eſpeciall permiſſions & the former generall prohibitions which ſet not down their owne limits is erronious, and the manifeſt cauſe thereof ignorance in differences of matter which both ſorts of law concerne. If then the conſiderations be reaſonable iuſt and good whereupon wee ground whatſoeuer our lawes haue by ſpeciall right permitted; if onely the effects of abuſed priueledges be repugnant to the maximes of common right, this maine foundation of repugnancie being broken whatſoeuer they haue built thereupon falleth neceſſarily to ground. Whereas therefore vpon ſurmiſe or vaine ſuppoſall of oppoſition betweene our ſpeciall and the principles of common right they gather that ſuch as are with vs ordained Miniſters before they can preach be neither lawfull, becauſe the lawes already mentioned forbid generally to create ſuch, neither are they indeede Miniſters although wee commonly ſo name them, but whatſoeuer they execute by vertue of ſuch their pretended vocation is voide; that all our graunts and tollerations as well of this as the reſt are fruſtrate and of no effect, the perſons that enioy them poſſeſſe them wrongfully and are depriuable at all howers; finally that other iuſt and ſufficient remedy of euils there can be none beſides the vtter abrogation of theſe our mitigations and the ſtrict eſtabliſhment of former ordinaunces to be abſolutly executed whatſoeuer follow, albeit the anſwere already made in diſcouerie of the weake and vnſound foundation whereupon they haue built theſe erronious collections may be thought ſufficient, yet becauſe our deſire is rather to ſatisfie if it bee poſſible then to ſhake them off, wee are with very good will contented to declare the cauſes of all particulars more formally and largely then the equitie of our owne defence doth require. There is crept into the minds of men at this day a ſecret pernicious and peſtilent conceipt that the greateſt perfection of a Chriſtian man doth conſiſt in diſcouerie

rie of other mens faultes, and in witte to diſcourſe of our owne profeſſion. When the world moſt abounded with iuſt righteous and perfect men, their chiefeſt ſtudie was the exerciſe of pietie, wherein for their ſafeſt direction they reuerently harkened to the readinges of the lawe of God, they kept in mind the oracles and aphoriſmes of wiſedome which tended vnto vertuous life, if any ſcruple of conſcience did trouble them for matter of actions which they tooke in hande nothing was attempted before counſell and aduiſe were had for feare leſt raſhly they might offende. Wee are now more confident, not that our knowledge and iudgement is riper, but becauſe our deſires are an other way. Their ſcope was obedience, ours is skill; their endeuour was reformation of life, [a] our vertue nothing but to heare gladly the reproofe of vice; they in the practiſe of their religion wearied chiefly their knees and hands, we eſpecially our eares & tongues. We are growne as in many things elſe ſo in this to a kind of intemperancie which (onely ſermons excepted) hath almoſt brought all other duties of religion out of taſt. At the leaſt they are not in that accompt and reputation which they ſhoulde be. Now becauſe men bring all religion in a manner to the only office of hearing ſermons, if it chaunce that they who are thus conceipted doe imbrace any ſpeciall opinion different from other men, the ſermons that reliſhe not that opinion can in no wiſe pleaſe their appetite. Such therefore as preach vnto them but hit not the ſtring they looke for are reiected as vnprofitable, the reſt as vnlawfull and indeede no miniſters if the facultie of ſermons want. For why? A miniſter of the worde ſhould, they ſay, be able rightly to *diuide* the worde. Which Apoſtolique Canon many thinke they doe well obſerue, when in opening the ſentences of holy ſcripture they draw all thinges fauourablie ſpoken vnto one ſide, but whatſoeuer is reprehenſiue ſeuere and ſharpe they haue others on the contrarie parte whome that muſt alwayes concerne, by which their ouer partiall and vnindifferent proceeding while they thus labour amongſt the people to diuide the worde, they make the worde a meane to diuide and diſtract the people. Ὀρθοτομεῖν *to diuide aright* doth note in th'apoſtles writinges ſoundnes of doctrine onely, and in meaning ſtandeth oppoſite to καινοτομεῖν *the broching of new opinions againſt that which is receyued.* For queſtionleſſe the firſt thinges deliuered to the Church of Chriſt were pure and ſincere truth. Which whoſoeuer did afterwards oppugne could not chooſe but diuide the church into two moities, in which diuiſion ſuch as taught what was firſt belieued helde the truer parte, the contrarie ſide in that they were teachers of nouelty erred. For preuention of which euill there are in this Church many ſingular and well deuiſed remedies, as namely the vſe of ſubſcribing to the articles of religion before admiſſion to degrees of learning or to any eccleſiaſticall liuing, the cuſtome of reading the ſame articles and of approuing them in publique aſſemblies whereſoeuer men haue benefices with cure of ſoules, the order of teſtifying vnder their handes allowance of the booke of common prayer and the booke of ordayning miniſters, finally the diſcipline and

[a] Ἀλλ' οἱ πολλοὶ ταῦτα μόνῃ οὐ πράττουσιν ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν λόγον καταφεύγοντες οἴονται φιλοσοφεῖν, καὶ οὕτως ἔσεσθαι σπουδαῖοι· ὅμοιόν τι ποιοῦντες ὡς οἱ κάμνουσιν οἱ τῶν ἰατρῶν ἀκούουσι, μὴν ἐπιμελῶς, ποιοῦσι δὲ οὐδὲν τῶν προσταττομένων· ὥσπερ οὖν ἐκεῖνοι ἐῶ ἕξουσι τὸ σῶμα οὕτω θεραπευόμενοι, οὐδ' οὗτοι τὴν ψυχὴν οὕτω φιλοσοφοῦντες. *Ariſt. Eth. l. 2. c. 5.*

moderate seueritie which is vsed eyther in otherwise correcting or silencing them that trouble and disturbe the Church with doctrines which tend vnto innouation, it being better that the Church should want altogether the benefite of such mens labors then indure the mischiefe of their inconformitie to good lawes; in which case if any repine at the course and proceedinges of iustice, they must learne to content themselues with the answere of *M. Curius*, which had sometime occasion to cut off one from the body of the common wealth, in whose behalfe because it might haue beene pleaded that the partie was a man seruiceable, hee therefore began his iudiciall sentence with this preamble *non esse opus reip: eo ciue qui parere nesciret, The common wealth needeth men of qualitie yet neuer those men which haue not learned how to obey.* But the wayes which the Church of Englande taketh to prouide that they who are teachers of others may doo it soundly, that the puritie and vnitie as well of ancient discipline as doctrine may be vpheld, that auoyding singularities we al may glorifie God with one hart & one tongue, they of all men do least approue, that most vrge the Apostles rule and Canon. For which cause they alleadge it not so much to that purpose, as to proue that vnpreaching ministers (for so they terme them) can haue no true nor lawfull calling in the Church of God. Saint Augustin hath saide of the will of man that *simplie to will proceedeth from nature, but our welwilling is from grace.* Wee say as much of the minister of God, *publikely to teach and instruct the Church is necessarie in euery ecclesiastical minister, but abilitie to teach by sermons is a grace which God doth bestow on them whome hee maketh sufficient for the commendable discharge of their dutie.* That therefore wherein a minister differeth from other Christian men is not as some haue childishly imagined the *sound preaching of the worde of God*, but as they are lawfully and truely gouernors to whom authority of regiment is giuen in the common wealth according to the order which politie hath set, so canonicall ordination in the Church of Christ is that which maketh a lawfull minister *as touching the validitie of any acte which appertayneth to that vocation.* The cause why S. Paule willed Timothie not to bee ouer hastie in ordayning ministers, was (as we very well may coniecture) because impositon of hands doth consecrate and make them ministers whether they haue gifts and qualities fitte for the laudable discharge of their duties or no. If want of learning and skill to preach did frustrate their vocation, ministers ordayned before they be growne vnto that maturity should receiue new ordination whensoeuer it chaunceth that studie and industry doth make them afterwards more able to performe the office, then which what conceipt can bee more absurde? Was not Saint Augustine himselfe contented to admit an assistant in his owne Church a man of small erudition, considering that what hee wanted in knowledge was supplied by those vertues which made his life a better oratour then more learning coulde make others whose conuersation was lesse holy? Were the Priestes sithence Moyses all able & sufficient men learnedly to interprete the law of God? or was it euer imagined that this defect shoulde frustrate what they executed, and depriue them of right vnto any thing they claymed by vertue of their priesthood? Surely as in magistrates the want of those giftes which their office needeth is cause

Valer. l. 6. c. 3.

Oxf. man. p. 21.

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of iuſt imputation of blame in them that wittingly chooſe vnſufficient and vnfitte men when they might doe otherwiſe, and yet therefore is not their choyce voyde, nor euery action of magiſtracie fruſtrate in that reſpect. So whether it were of neceſſitie or euen of very careleſneſſe that men vnable to preach ſhould be taken in Paſtors roomes, neuertheleſſe it ſeemeth to be an errour in them which thinke that the lacke of any ſuch perfection defeateth vtterly their calling. To wiſh that all men were ſo qualified as their places and dignities require, to hate all ſiniſter and corrupt dealinges which hereunto are any let; to couet ſpeedy redreſſe of thoſe thinges whatſoeuer whereby the Church ſuſtayneth detriment, theſe good and vertuous deſires cannot offend any but vngodly mindes. Notwithſtanding ſome in the true vehemncie, and others vnder the fair pretence of theſe deſires haue aduentured that which is ſtrange that which is violent and vniuſt. There are which in confidence of their generall allegations concerning the knowledge the reſidence and the ſingle liuinges of miniſters preſume not onely to annihilate the ſolemne ordinattons of ſuch as the Church muſt of force admit, but alſo to vrge a kinde of vniuerſall proſcription againſt them, to ſet downe articles, to draw commiſſions, and almoſt to name themſelues of the *Quorum* for inquirie into mens eſtates & dealings, whom at their pleaſure they wold depriue and make obnoxious to what puniſhment themſelues liſt, and that not for any violation of lawes eyther ſpiritual or ciuill, but becauſe men haue truſted the lawes too farre, becauſe they haue helde and inioyed the liberty which law graunteth, becauſe they had not the witte to conceyue as theſe men do that laws were made to intrap the ſimple by permitting thoſe things in ſhow & appearance which indeed ſhoulde neuer take effect, for as much as they were but granted with a ſecrete condition to be put in practiſe *if they ſhoulde be profitable and agreeable with the worde of God*, which condition fayling in all miniſters that cannot preach, in all that are abſent from their liuings and in al that haue diuers liuinges (for ſo it muſt be preſumed though neuer as yet proued) therefore as men which haue broken the law of God and nature they are depriuable at all howres. Is this the iuſtice of that diſcipline wherevnto all chriſtian Churches muſt ſtoop and ſubmit themſelues? Is this the equitie wherewith they labour to reforme the worlde? I will no way diminiſh the force of thoſe argumentes wherevpon they grounde. But if it pleaſe them to beholde the viſage of theſe collections in an other glaſſe, there are ciuill as well as eccleſiaſticall vnſufficiencies non reſidencies and pluralities; yea the reaſons which light of nature hath miniſtred againſt both are of ſuch affinitie that much leſſe they cannot inforce in the one then in the other. When they that beare great offices be perſons of meane worth, the contempt whereinto their authoritie groweth [a] weakeneth the ſinewes of the whole ſtate. Notwithſtanding where many gouernours are needefull & they not many whome their qualitie can commende, [b] the penurie of worthier muſt needes make the meaner ſorte of men capable. Citties in the abſence of their gouernours are as ſhips wanting Pilots at ſea. But were it therefore [c] iuſtice to puniſh whom ſuperior authority pleaſeth to cal from home, or alloweth to be imployed elſewhere? In committing [d] many offices to one

The Author of the abſtract.

[a] Μεγάλων κύριοι καθεζῶντες ἀν' ἐυτελεῖς ὧσι μεγάλα ἐλάττουσι. *Ariſto. polit. 2. cap. 11.*

[b] *Nec ignoro maximos honores ad parum dignos penuria meliorum ſolere deferri. Mamertin. paneg. ad Iulian.*

[c] *Neq; enim abſentem quum ſiſtam eſſe abſentem reipub. cauſa inter reos referri dum reſp. operatur. Vlpian l. 15 ſimaritus. ad legem Iulian de adulter.*

[d] *Ariſt. polit. l. 2. c. 11*

man there are apparantly theſe inconueniences, the common wealth doeth looſe the benefite of ſeruiceable men which might bee trayned vp in thoſe roomes; it is not eaſie for one man to diſcharge many mens duties well; in ſeruice of warfare and nauigation were it not the ouerthrow of whatſoeuer is vndertaken if one or two ſhoulde ingroſſe ſuch offices as being now diuided into many handes are diſcharged with admirable both perfection and expedition? Neuertheleſſe be it farre from the mind of any reaſonable man to imagine, that in theſe conſiderations princes eyther ought of dutie to reuoke all ſuch kinde of grants though made with very ſpeciall reſpect to the extraordinarie merite of certayne men, or might in honor demand of them the reſignation of their offices with ſpeech to this or the like effect, *Foraſmuch as you A. B. by the ſpace of many yeares haue done vs that faithfull ſeruice in moſt important affaires for which wee alwaies iudging you worthy of much honour haue therefore committed vnto you from time to time verie great and waightie offices, which offices hitherto you quietly inioy; we are now giuen to vnderſtand that certain graue and learned men haue founde in the bookes of ancient Philoſophers diuers arguments drawne from the common light of nature and declaring the wonderfull diſcommodities which vſe to grow by dignities thus heaped together in one, For which cauſe at this preſent mooued in conſcience and tender care for the publique good wee haue ſummoned you hither to diſpoſſes you of thoſe places & to depoſe you from thoſe rooms, whereof indeed by vertue of our owne grant, yet againſt reaſon, you are poſſeſſed. Neither ought you or any other to think vs raſh light or vnconſtant in ſo doing. For wee tell you plaine that herein wee will both ſay and doe that thing which the noble & wiſe Emperour ſometimes both ſaid and did in a matter of farre leſſe waight then this, Quod inconſulto fecimus conſulto reuocamus, That which we vnaduiſedly haue done we aduiſedly will reuoke and vndoe.* Now for mine own part the greateſt harme I woulde wiſh them who thinke that this were conſonant with equitie and right, is that they might but liue where all thinges are with ſuch kind of iuſtice ordered, till experience haue taught them to ſee their error. As for the laſt thing which is incident into the cauſe whereof wee ſpeake, namely what courſe were the beſt and ſafeſt whereby to remedy ſuch euils as the Church of God may ſuſtayne where the preſent libertie of law is turned to great abuſe, ſome light we may receyue from abroade not vnprofitable for direction of Gods owne ſacred houſe and family. The Romaines being a people ful of generoſitie and by nature courteous did no way more ſhow their gentle diſpoſition then by eaſie condeſcending to ſet their bondmen at libertie. Which benefite in the happier and better times of the common wealth was beſtowed for the moſt parte as an ordinarie reward of vertue, ſome few now and then alſo purchaſing freedome with that which their iuſt labours coulde gayne and their honeſt frugalitie ſaue. But as the Empire dayly grewe vp ſo the manners and conditions of men decayed, wealth was honoured and vertue not cared for, neither did any thing ſeeme opprobrious out of which there might riſe commoditie and profite, ſo that it coulde bee no maruell in a ſtate thus farre degenerated if when the more ingenuous ſorte were become baſe the baſer laying aſide all ſhame and face of honeſtie did ſome by robberyes, burglaries, and proſtitutions of their bodies gather wherewith to redeeme libertie; others obtaine the ſame at the handes of their Lordes

by

See the like preamble framed by the author of the Abſtract, where hee phancieth a Biſhop depoſing one vnapt to preach whom himſelfe had before ordained.

by ſeruing them as vile inſtruments in thoſe attempts which had beene worthy to bee reuenged with tenne thouſand deathes. A learned iudicious and polite hiſtorian hauing mentioned ſo fowle diſorders giueth his iudgment and cenſure of them in this ſorte, *Such eye ſoares in the common wealth haue occaſioned many vertuous mindes to condemne altogether the cuſtome of graunting liberty to any bondſlaue, for as much as it ſeemed a thing abſurde that a people which commanded all the worlde ſhoulde conſiſt of ſo vile refuſe. But neither is this the onely cuſtome wherein the profitable inuentions of former are depraued by latter ages, and for my ſelfe I am not of their opinion that wiſh the abrogation of ſo groſſely vſed cuſtomes, which abrogation might peraduenture be cauſe of greater inconueniences enſuing, but as much as may be I woulde rather aduiſe that redreſſe were ſought through the carefull prouidence of chiefe rulers and ouerſeers of the Common wealth, by whome a yearely ſuruay being made of all that are manumiſed, they which ſeeme worthy might be taken and diuided into tribes with other cittizens, the reſt diſperſed into colonies abroad or otherwiſe diſpoſed of that the common welth might ſuſtain neyther harme nor diſgrace by them.* The wayes to meete with diſorders growing by abuſe of lawes are not ſo intricate and ſecrete eſpecially in our caſe that men ſhoulde neede eyther much aduertiſement or long time for the ſearch thereof. And if counſell to that purpoſe may ſeeme needfull, this Church God be thanked is not deſtitute of men eudued with ripe iudgment whenſoeuer any ſuch thing ſhall bee thought neceſſary. For which ende at this preſent to propoſe any ſpeciall inuentions of mine owne might argue in a man of my place and calling more preſumption perhaps then witte. I wil therefore leaue it intire vnto grauer conſideration, ending nowe with requeſt onely and moſt earneſt ſute, firſt that they which giue ordination woulde as they tender the very honour of Ieſus Chriſt, the ſafety of men & the endles good of their owne ſoules, take hede leaſt vnneceſſarily and through their default the Church be founde worſe or leſſe furniſhed then it might bee; Secondly that they which by right of patronage haue power to preſent vnto ſpirituall liuinges and may in that reſpecte much damnifie the Church of God wold for the eaſe of their own accompt in that dreadful day ſomwhat conſider what it is to betray for gain the ſouls which Chriſt hath redeemed with blood, whatto violate the ſacred bond of fidelity & ſolemn promiſe giuen at the firſt to God & his church by them from whoſe original intereſt together with the ſelfe ſame title of right the ſame obligation of duty likewiſe is deſcended; Thirdly that they vnto whome the graunting of diſpenſations is committed; or which otherwiſe haue any ſtroke in the diſpoſition of ſuch preferments as appertayne vnto learned men woulde bethinke themſelues what it is to reſpect any thing eyther aboue or beſides merite, conſidering howe hardely the worlde taketh it when to men of commendable note and qualitie there is ſo little reſpect had or ſo great vnto them whoſe deſertes are verie mean that nothing doth ſeeme more ſtrange then the one ſort becauſe they are not accompted of, and the other becauſe they are, it being euerie mans hope and expectation in the Church of God eſpecially that the onely purchaſe of greater rewardes ſhoulde bee alwayes greater deſertes, and that nothing ſhoulde euer bee able to plant a thorne where a vine ought to growe; Fourthly, that honourable perſonages and

Dyonyſ. Halicar. Rom. antiq. l. 4.

they who by vertue of any principall office in the common wealth are inabled to qualifie a certayne number and make them capable of fauours or faculties aboue others, ſuffer not their names to be abuſed contrarie to the true intent and meaning of holeſome lawes by men in whom there is nothing notable beſides couetouſnes and ambition; Fiftly that the grauer and wiſer ſort in both vniuerſities, or whoſoeuer they bee with whoſe approbation the markes and recogniſances of all learning are beſtowed would thinke th'apoſtles caution againſt vnaduiſed ordinations not impertinent or vnneceſſary to be borne in mind euen when they grant thoſe degrees of ſchooles, which degrees are not *gratia gratis data*, kindneſſes beſtowed by way of humanity, but they are *gratia gratum facientes*, fauours which alwayes imply a teſtimonie giuen to the Church & cõmon wealth concerning mens ſufficiencie for manners and knowledge, a teſtimonie vpon the credite whereof ſundry ſtatutes of the Realme are built, a teſtimonie ſo farre auayleable that nothing is more reſpected for the warant of diuers mens habilities to ſerue in th'affaires of the Realme, a teſtimonie wherein if they violate that religion wherewith it ought to be alwayes giuen and do thereby induce into error ſuch as deem it a thing vnciuill to call the credite thereof in queſtion, let them looke that God ſhall returne backe vpon their heades & cauſe them in the ſtate of their own corporations to feele eyther one way or other the puniſhment of thoſe harmes which the Church through their negligence doeth ſuſtaine in that behalfe; Finally and to conclude that they who inioy the benefite of any ſpecial indulgence or fauour which the lawes permit would as well remember what in duetie towardes the Church and in conſcience towardes God they ought to doe, as what they may doe by vſing to their owne aduantage whatſoeuer they ſee tollerated, no man being ignorant that the cauſe why abſence in ſome caſes hath beene yeelded vnto and in equitie thought ſufferable is the hope of greater fruite through induſtry elſewhere, the reaſon likewiſe wherefore pluralities are allowed vnto men of note a very ſoueraign and ſpeciall care that as fathers in the ancient worlde did declare the preeminence of priority in birth by dubling the worldly portions of their firſt born, ſo the Church by a courſe not vnlike in aſſigning mens rewards might teſtifie an eſtimation had proportionablie of their vertues, according to the ancient rule apoſtolique, *They which excell in labour ought to excell in honour*, and therefore vnleſſe they anſwer faythfully the expectation of the Church herein vnleſſe ſincerely they bende their wits day & night both to ſowe becauſe they reap, and to ſow as much more aboundantly as they reap more aboundantly then other men, wherevnto by their very acceptance of ſuch benignities they formally binde themſelues, let them be well aſſured that the honie which they eate with fraude ſhall turne in the ende into true gall, for as much as lawes are the ſacred image of his wiſedome who moſt ſeuerely puniſheth thoſe coulorable and ſuttle crimes that ſeldome are taken within the walke of humaine iuſtice. I therefore conclude that the groundes and maximes of common rrght vvherevppon ordinations of Miniſters vnable to preach, tollerations of abſence from their cures, and the multiplications of their ſpiritual liuings are diſproued, do but indefinitly enforce them

For the maine hypotheſis or foundation of theſe concluſions let that be foreſet downe in the 9. be red together with this laſt the 81 Paragrafe.

them vnlawfull, not vnlawfull vniuerſally and without exception; that the lawes which indefinitely are againſt all theſe thinges, and the priuiledges which make for them in certain caſes are not the one repugnant to the other, that the lawes of God and nature are violated through the effects of abuſed priuiledges; that neyther our ordinations of men vnable to make ſermons nor our diſpenſations for the reſt can bee iuſtly proued fruſtrate by vertue of any ſuch ſurmiſed oppoſition betweene the ſpeciall lawes of this Church which haue permitted and thoſe generall which are alledged to diſproue the ſame; that when priuiledges by abuſe are growne incommodious there muſt be redreſſe; that for remedie of ſuch euils there is no neceſſitie the Church ſhould abrogate eyther in whole or in part the ſpecialties before mentioned; & that the moſt to be deſired were a voluntarie reformation thereof on all hands which may giue paſſage vnto any abuſe.

To the Reader.

HAue patience with me for a ſmall time, and by the helpe of Almightie God I will pay the whole. Faults eſcaped in the printing of this part, eſpecially theſe enſuing need amendment.

Pag.	*Lin.*	*Fault.*	*Correct.*	*Pag.*	*Lin.*	*Fault.*	*Correct.*
50.	8.	ſitteſt	fitteſt.	136.	14.	Cicilie	Sicilie.
43.	37	infallible	infalliblie.	142.	6.	free	frie.
89.	21	yet becauſe	yet cauſe.	158.	36.	or where	for where
233.	vlt.	think that the	thinke the.	172.	Marg.	Heb. 1.7.	Heb. 6.3.

FINIS.